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TITLE:

**HISTORY AND
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The history and antiquities of the Doric race,
by C. O. Müller... translated from the German by
Henry Tufnell... and George Cornwall Lewis... 2nd
ed., rev... London, Murray, 1839.

2 v. maps 22 cm.

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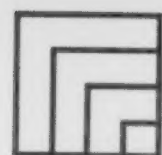
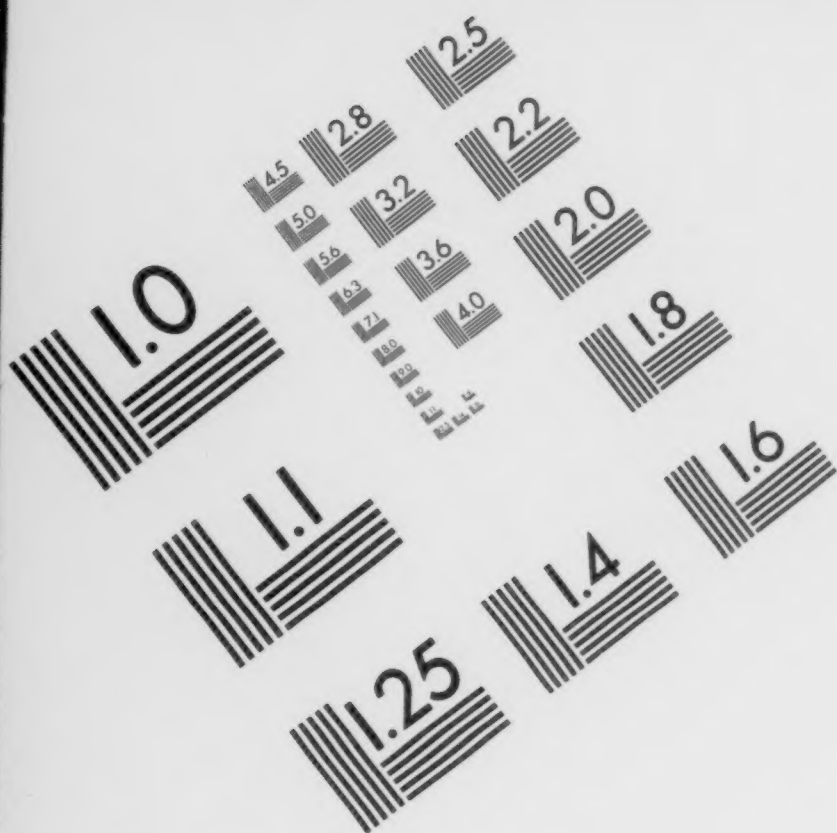
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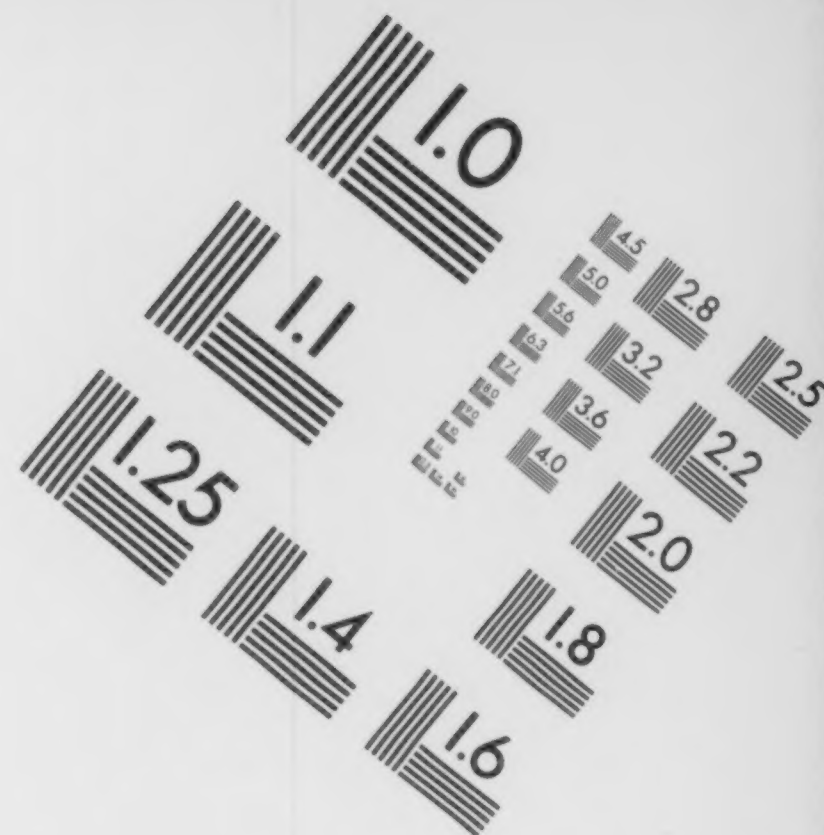
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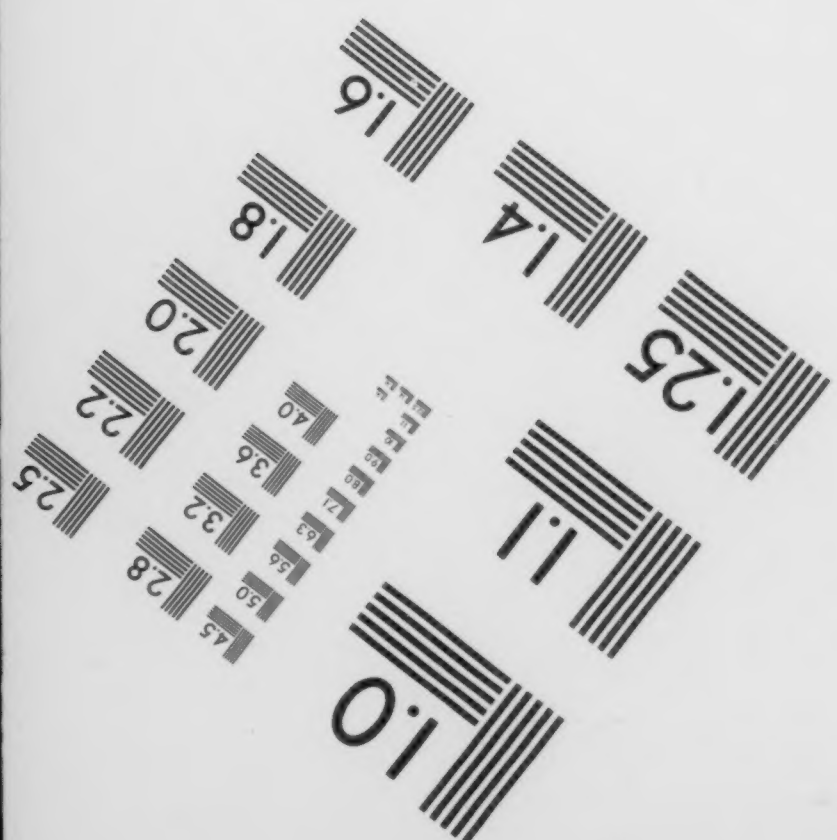
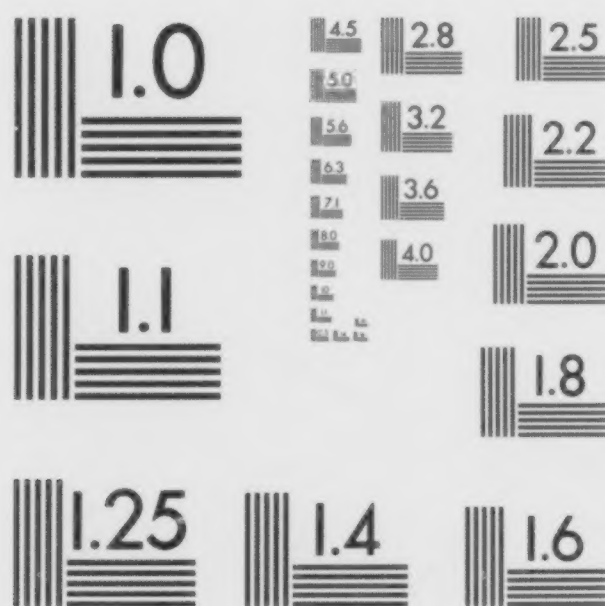
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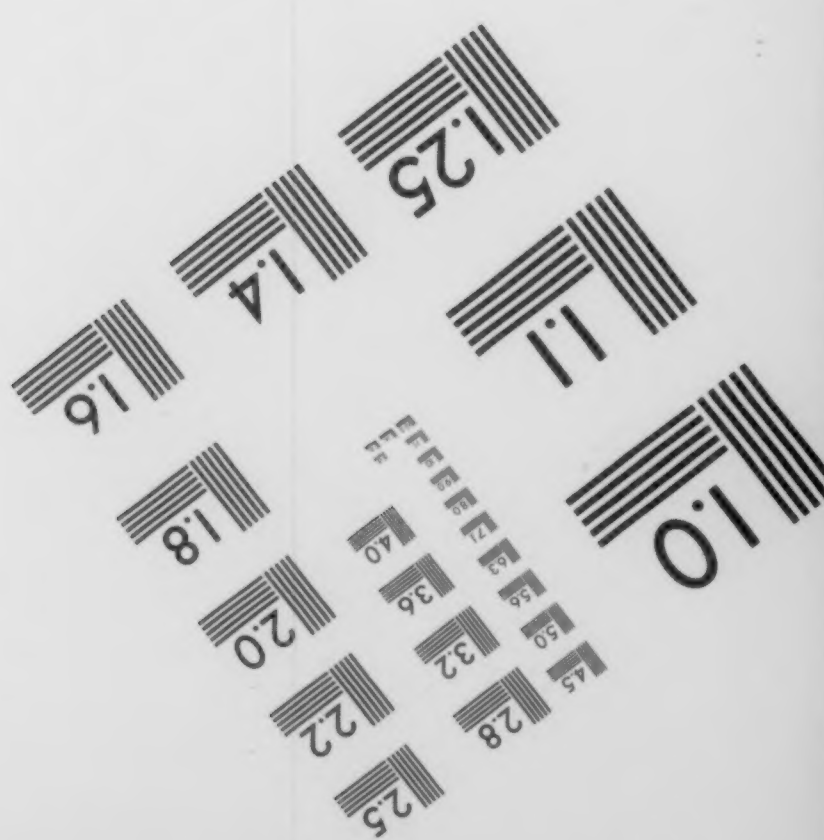
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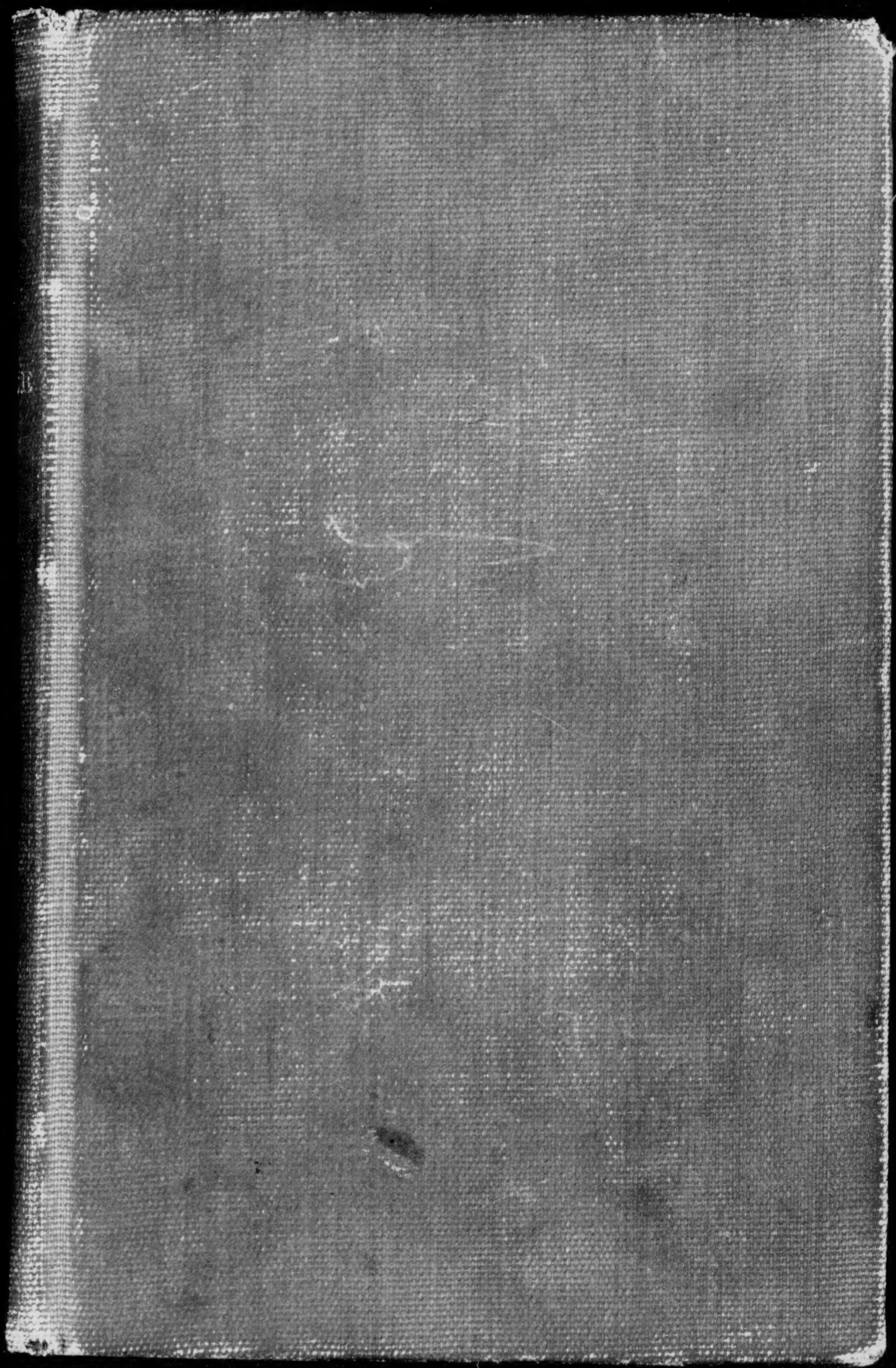


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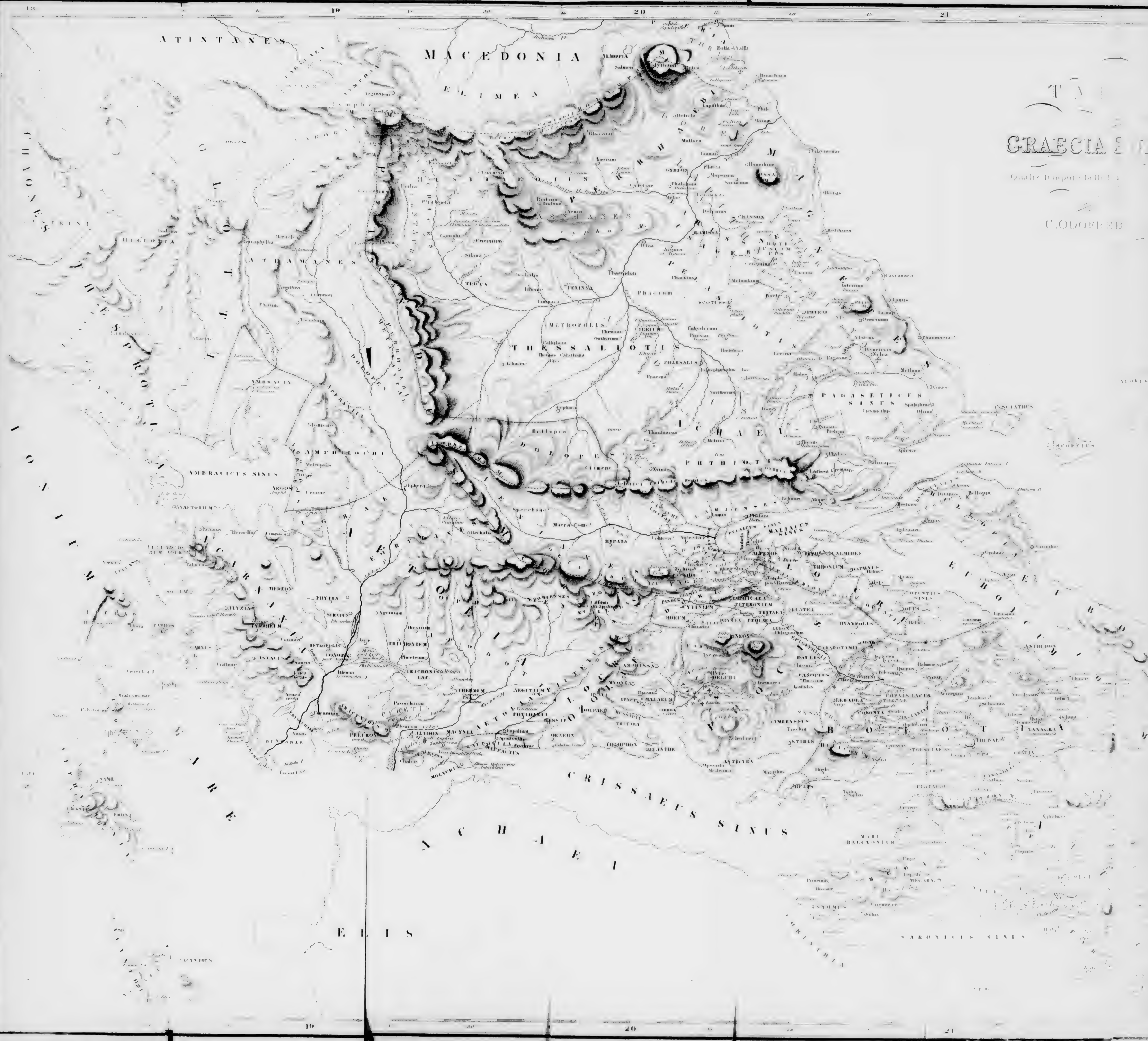
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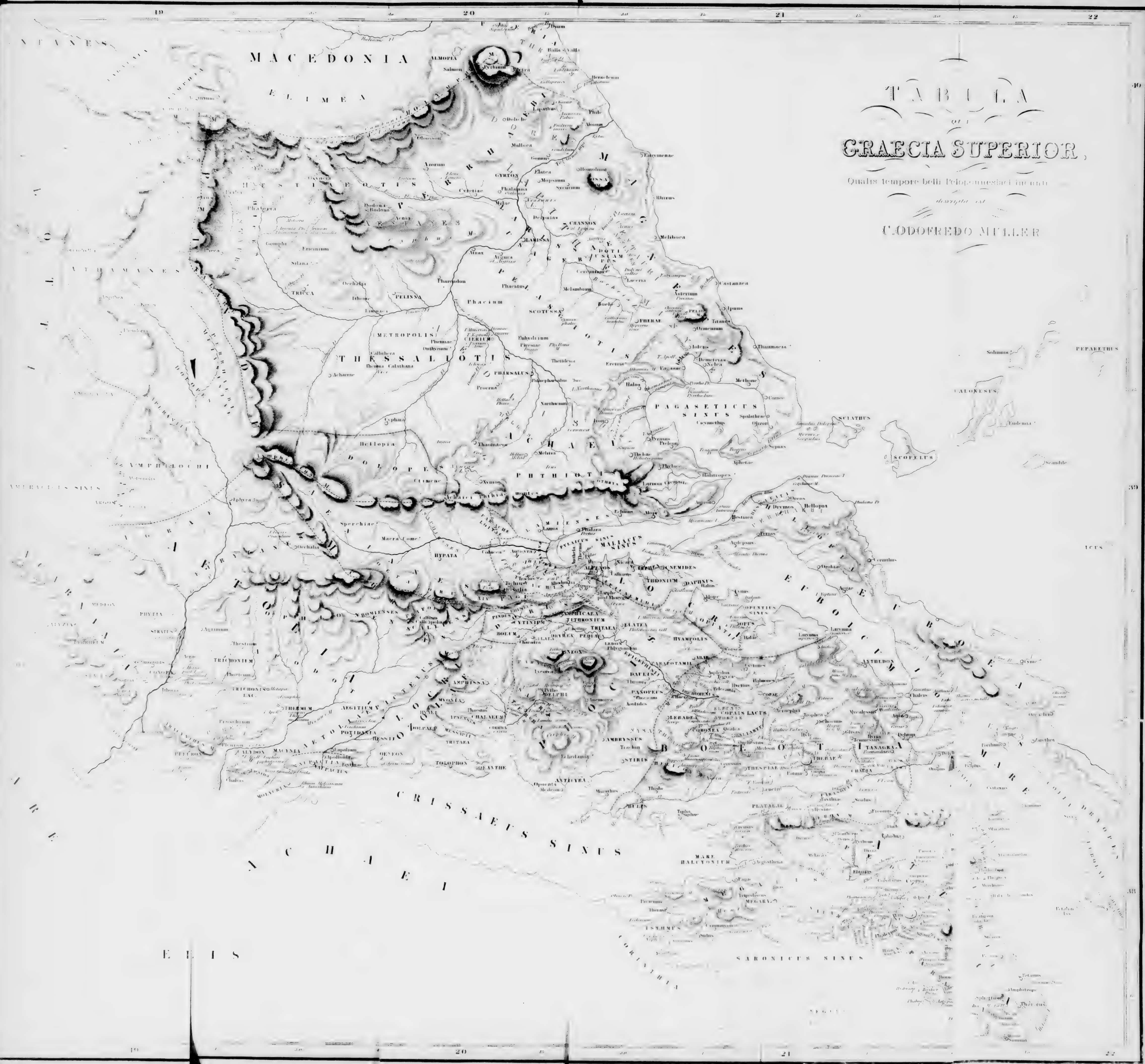
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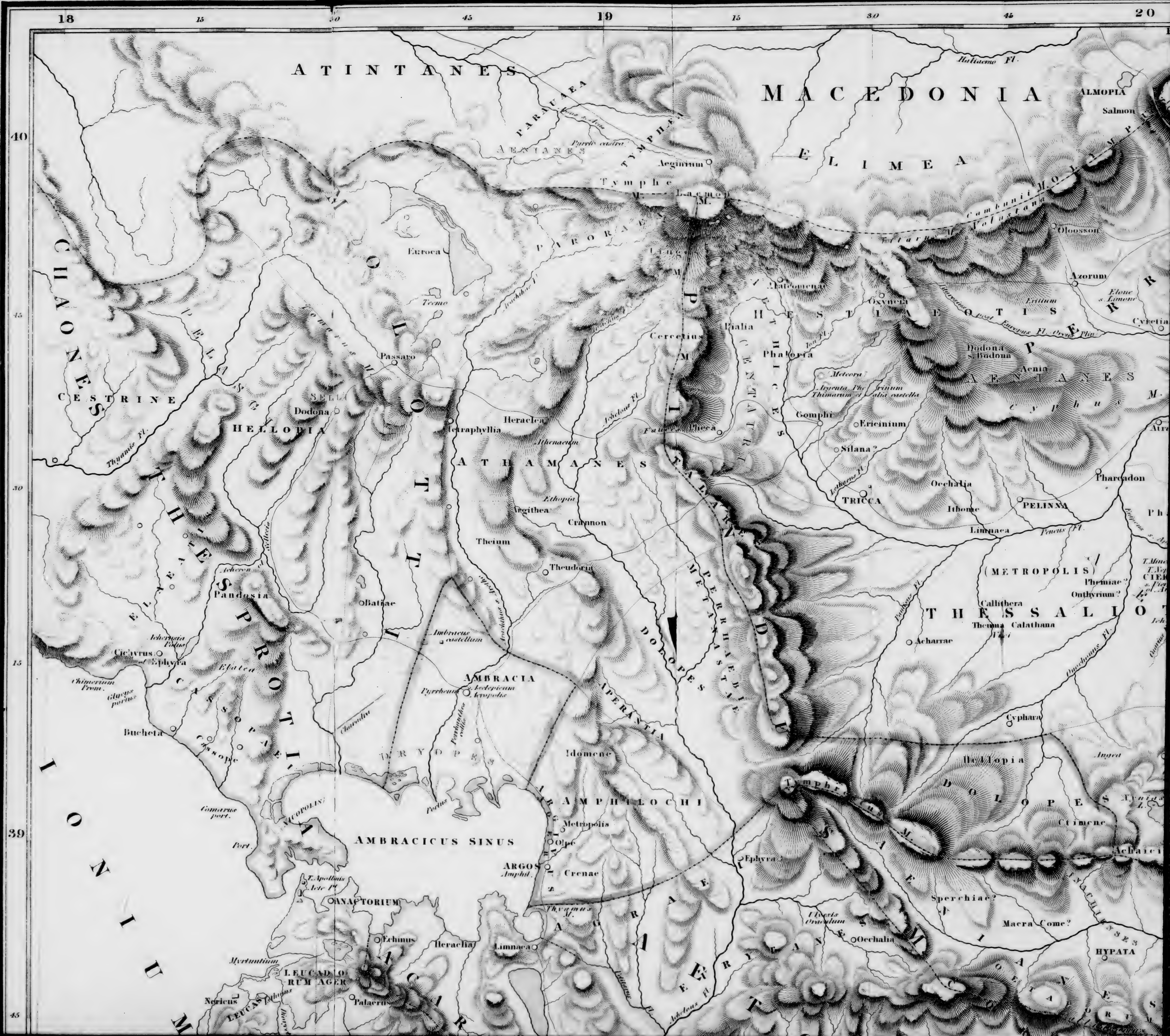
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45
30
15
38
45
21
15
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22



THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

DORIC RACE,

BY

one of the
C. O. MÜLLER,

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

HENRY TUFNELL, ESQ.

AND

GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS, ESQ., A.M.

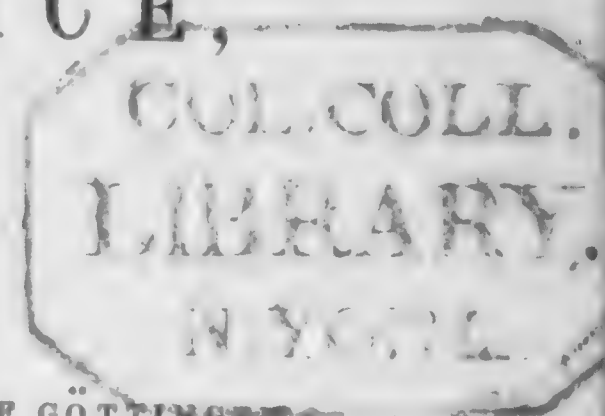
STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

MDCCCXXXIX.



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LONDON:
Printed by W. CLOWES and SONS,
Stamford-Street.

EXTRACT
FROM
THE TRANSLATORS' PREFACE
TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE History, of which an English translation is now offered to the public, forms the second and third volumes of a work by Professor C. O. Müller, entitled, "Histories of Greek Tribes and Cities." The first volume of this series was published separately under the name of "Orchomenos and the Minyæ;" and contains a most learned examination of the mythology and early history of Orchomenos and other towns of Bœotia, and of the migrations of the Minyæ, together with other questions more or less connected with these subjects. It is, in every respect, a distinct and separate work from the Dorians, comprised in the second and third volumes; nor was it more incumbent on us to publish a translation of that first volume, because it is often referred to in the subsequent volumes, than of the many other admirable works on Grecian history, equally referred to, which are inaccessible to persons not acquainted with the German language.

30934

At a time when a large part of the present translation had been completed, the translators communicated by letter to Professor Müller their intention with regard to his work on the Dorians, and requested him to read the manuscript of their translation before it was printed, in case they should have anywhere committed any errors, or failed to catch the import of his words. To this request Mr. Müller, though not personally known by either of the translators, not only acceded, but, with an unexpected, and indeed unhopèd-for liberality, expressed his willingness to contribute to our translation all the alterations and additions which his reading had suggested since the appearance of the original work. The manuscript was accordingly transmitted, and carefully revised, corrected, and enlarged by the author. Of the value of these changes it would perhaps be improper that we should speak in the terms which they seem to us to deserve: of their number, however, as this can be brought to a certain test, we will venture to assert, that few books undergo so great changes after their first publication; and that the present work may be in strictness considered, not only a translation, but a new edition of the original. In making these changes, it was also the author's wish to clear up ambiguities or obscurity of meaning, either by a change in the expression, or a fuller development of the thought: and we cannot help hoping, that even to a person

acquainted with German, our translation will thus be found in many places more explicit and satisfactory than the original text.

Besides those alterations, which appear for the first time in the following translation, the additions and corrections published by the author in his "Introduction to a scientific System of Mythology" have been here incorporated; and a Dissertation on the early history of the Macedonian nation, published separately by the author, some time after the appearance of the Dorians, has been inserted in the Appendix.

Not only has the small map of Macedonia, appended to this Dissertation, been inserted in our translation, in addition to the map of the Peloponnese, which was alone contained in the original work, but also a map of northern Greece, which, together with the explanatory article inserted in the Appendix, is now for the first time given to the public. These three maps together furnish a complete geographical picture of ancient Greece, from the promontory of Tænarum to the north of Macedonia; and we may be allowed to say, that in accuracy and fulness of detail, they rival, if not excel, all other maps of the same regions^a.

^a The map of Northern Greece was not received until that of the Peloponnese had been engraved; and being intended by the author for circulation in Germany, as well as in England, the names are given in Latin. This must serve as an apology for this want of uniformity in the two maps.

After the printing of the whole work (with the exception of the Appendix) had been completed, the sheets were sent to Mr. Müller, by which means not only the translation of the original, but also of the manuscript additions, have received the approbation of the author. Any discrepancies, therefore, which may appear between the translation and the original must be considered as sanctioned by the author. The translators at the same time think it right to state, in case Mr. Müller should be exposed to any misrepresentations in his own country, that in making their translation they did not consider themselves bound to follow the letter of the original, and have sometimes indulged in a free paraphrase: while in some places they suggested more considerable changes, on account of the difference between the opinions on many important subjects which generally prevail in England and Germany.

(1830.)

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE First Edition of the present Translation has been revised by the Author; and he has supplied several corrections and additions, which have been inserted in their proper places.

The accounts of the geography of Peloponnesus and Northern Greece, which were inserted in the Appendix to the First Edition of the Translation, have been omitted in the present Edition.

April, 1839.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

INTRODUCTION.

- § 1. Origin of the Dorians in the North of Greece. § 2. Northern boundary of Greece. § 3. The Macedonians. § 4. The Thes-
salians. § 5. Diffusion of the Illyrians in Western Greece.
§ 6. The Phrygians. § 7. The Thracians. § 8. The Hellenes,
Achæans, Minyans, Ionians, and Dorians. § 9. The Hylleans.
§ 10. Relation of the above nations to the Pelasgians.
§ 11. Difference between the Pelasgic and Hellenic religions.
§ 12. Early language of Greece, and its chief dialects..Page 1

BOOK I.

HISTORY OF THE DORIC RACE, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO
THE END OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

CHAP. I.

- § 1. Earliest Settlement of the Dorians in Thessaly. § 2. De-
scription of the Vale of Tempe. § 3. Of the Passes of Olym-
pus. § 4. And of Hestiæotis. § 5. The Perrhæbians. § 6.
The Lapithæ. § 7. Limits of the Territory in Thessaly occu-
pied by the Dorians. § 8. Contents of the Epic Poem *Ægi-*
mius. § 9. Doric Migration from Thessaly to Crete. § 10.
Relation of the Dorians to the Macedonians.....p. 19

CHAP. II.

- § 1. Migration of the Dorians from Thessaly to the Valley of
Cæta and Parnassus. § 2. District of Cæta. § 3. Limits of
Doris. § 4. The Dryopians. § 5. The Malians. § 6. The
Ænians.....p. 38

CHAP. III.

- § 1. Migration of the Dorians into Peloponnesus represented as
the return of the descendants of Hercules. § 2. Improbability
of the common account. § 3. Sources of the common account.

§ 4. Legends inconsistent with the common account. § 5. Common account. The Heraclidæ fly from Trachis to Attica, and are assisted by the Athenians against Eurystheus. § 6. Expeditions of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus. § 7. Junction of the Heraclidæ with the Dorians. § 8. The Heraclidæ pass into Peloponnesus by Rhium. § 9. Connexion of the Dorians with the Locrians and Ætolians. § 10. Tisamenus and the Peloponnesians defeated by the Dorians. § 11. Partition of Peloponnesus. 12. Immediate consequences of the immigration of the Doriansp. 50

CHAP. IV.

§ 1. Physical Structure of Greece and Peloponnesus. § 2. Physical Structure of Arcadia. § 3. Of Laconia. § 4. Of Argolis. § 5. Of Achaia and Elis. § 6. Improvement of the Soil by artificial means. § 7. Early Cultivation of the Soil by the Pelasgians and Leleges. § 8. Numbers of the Doric Invaders. § 9. Mode by which they conquered Peloponnesusp. 73

CHAP. V.

§ 1. Reduction of Argos by the Dorians. § 2. Of Sicyon. § 3. Of Phlius and Cleonæ. § 4. Of the Actè, Epidaurus, Ægina, and Trœzen. § 5. Independence of Mycenæ and Tiryns. § 6. Ancient homage of the towns of the Actè to Argolis. § 7. Territory of the Dryopians in Argolis. § 8. Reduction of Corinth by the Dorians. § 9. Ancient inhabitants of Corinth. § 10. Reduction of Megara by the Dorians. § 11. Reduction of Laconia by the Dorians under Aristodemus. § 12. Resistance of Amyclæ. Position of Sparta. § 13. Resistance of other Laconian towns to the Dorians. § 14. Traditions respecting Eurysthenes and Procles. § 15. Reduction of Messenia by the Dorians. § 16. Political state of Messeniap. 87

CHAP. VI.

§ 1. Doric colonies of Argos, Epidaurus, and Trœzen. § 2. Doric league of Asia Minor. § 3. Mythical accounts of the colonization of Halicarnassus, Rhodes, Cos, Nisyrus, Carpathos, and Casos. § 4. Rhodian Colonies. § 5 and 6. Legends respecting the foundation of Mallus, Mopsuestia, Mopsucrene, and Phaselis. § 7 and 8. Colonies of Corinth. § 9 and 10. Colonies of Megara. § 11 and 12. Colonies of Spartap. 112

CHAP. VII.

§ 1. Sources of the early history of Peloponnesus. § 2. Quoit of Iphitus, Registers of Victors at the Olympic and Carnean Games, Registers at Sicyon and Argos. § 3. Registers of the Spartan Kings. § 4. Spartan Rhetras, Landmarks. § 5. Lyric Poets, Oral Tradition, and Political Institutions. § 6. Mythical character of Lycurgus. § 7. Lycurgus founder of the sacred armistice of Olympia. § 8. and 9. Messenian wars: sources of the history of them. § 10. First Messenian war. § 11. Second Messenian war. § 12. Influence in Arcadia obtained by the Spartans. § 13. Limited ascendancy of Argos in Argolis. § 14. Disputes between Argos and Sparta. § 15. Pheidon of Argos. § 16. Further struggles between Argos and Spartap. 142

CHAP. VIII.

§ 1. The Doric principles of government opposed to despotic (or tyrannical) power. § 2. Tyrants of Sicyon. § 3. Of Corinth. § 4. Of Epidaurus and Megara overthrown by Sparta. § 5. Other tyrants overthrown by Sparta. § 6. Expedition of Cleomenes against Argos. § 7. Internal history of Argos. § 8. Contests between Megara and Athensp. 176

CHAP. IX.

§ 1. Sparta the head of the Peloponnesian confederacy. Its members and their order of precedence. § 2. Mode in which the supremacy of Sparta was exercised. § 3. Congress of the confederacy. § 4. Non-interference of the confederacy with the internal affairs of the confederated States. § 5. Sparta the head of the confederacy by general acknowledgment. § 6. Hellenic league during the Peloponnesian war. § 7. Sparta withdraws from the command of the Allied Army. § 8. Ionia never completely liberated by Athens from the power of Persia. § 9. War between Sparta and Arcadia. § 10. Revolt of the Helots; third Messenian war. § 11. Dissolution of the alliance between Sparta and Athens. Battles of Tanagra and Ænophyta. Five years' truce. Thirty years' truce. § 12. Origin of the Peloponnesian war. § 13. Opposite principles of the contending parties in the Peloponnesian war. § 14. Its influence upon Spartap. 196

BOOK II.

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY OF THE DORIANS.

CHAP. I.

- § 1. Apollo and Artemis the principal deities of the Doric race. § 2. Traces of the worship of Apollo in Tempe. § 3. Route of the Theoria from Tempe to Delphi. § 4. Establishment of the worship of Apollo at Delphi; § 5. Crete; § 6. And Delos. § 7. Early history of Crissa. § 8. Doric population of Delphi. § 9. Opposition to the worship of the Delphian Apollo. . . p. 219

CHAP. II.

- § 1. Propagation of the worship of Apollo from Crete. § 2. in Lycia. § 3 and 4. in the Troad. § 5. in Thrace. § 6 and 7. on the Coast of Asia Minor. § 8. at Trœzen, Tænarum, Megara. § 9. Thoricus. § 10. and Leucatas. § 11 and 12 in Bœotia. § 13, 14, and 15. and in Attica p. 235

CHAP. III.

- § 1. Diffusion of the worship of Apollo in Peloponnesus by the Dorians. § 2. His Introduction by the Dorians at the Olympic festival. § 3. Influence of the Delphian oracle of Apollo. Subjects of the oracle. § 4. Migrations caused by the oracle. § 5. Connexion of the temple of Delphi with the Amphictyons of Thermopylæ. § 6. Worship of Apollo in Asia Minor and the islands. § 7. In Italy and Sicily, in Apollonia and Cyrene. p. 266

CHAP. IV.

- § 1. Connexion of the fable of the Hyperboreans with the worship of Apollo. § 2. Its connexion with the temples at Delphi; § 3, and Delos. § 4. Original locality of the Hyperboreans. § 5. Localities subsequently assigned by Poets and Geographers. § 6. The Hyperboreans considered a sacred people. p. 284

CHAP. V.

- § 1. The Apollo of Tempe, Delphi, Delos, Crete, Lycia, Troy, Athens, and Peloponnesus, the same deity. § 2. Apollo

- Nomius of Arcadia rightly distinguished from the preceding. § 3. Apollo the father of Æsculapius likewise a distinct deity. § 4 and 5. Apollo not originally an elementary deity, or god of the sun. § 6. Origin of this idea. § 7. Rites of Apollo unlike those of the elementary deities p. 294

CHAP. VI.

- § 1. Homer's conception of Apollo. § 2. Apollo as a punishing deity. § 3. Apollo as a beneficent deity. § 4. Explanation of the name Pæan. § 5. Of the name Agyieus. § 6. Of the name Apollo. § 7. Of the name Phœbus. § 8. Of the name Lyceus. § 9. Religious Attributes of Apollo. p. 303

CHAP. VII.

- § 1. Zeus and Apollo originally the only two male deities of the Dorians. § 2. Birth of Apollo. § 3. Sanctity of the island of Delos. § 4. Pains of Latona. § 5. Spot of Apollo's birth. § 6. Battle with the Python. § 7. Apollo sings the Pythian strain. § 8. Bondage of Apollo. § 9. Combat with Tityus. § 10. Apollo's assumption of the oracular power. p. 318

CHAP. VIII.

- § 1. Ritual worship of Apollo. Bloodless offerings. § 2. Expiatory rites. § 3. Peace offerings. § 4. Festivals of Apollo. § 5. Traces of a festival calendar. § 6. Expiations for homicide. § 7. Rites of purification—use of the laurel therein. § 8. Prophetic character of Apollo. § 9. His modes of divination. § 10. Use of music in the worship of Apollo. § 11. Apollo represented as playing on the cithara. § 12. Contest of Apollo and Linus. Ancient plaintive songs. § 13. Ancient hymns to Apollo. § 14. The pæan and hyporcheme. § 15. The Hyacinthian and Carnean festivals. § 16. Apollo as represented by the sculptors. § 17. Ancient statues of Apollo. § 18. Apollo as represented by successive schools of sculptors. § 19. Political influence of the worship of Apollo. § 20. Its connexion with the Pythagorean philosophy. p. 330

CHAP. IX.

- § 1. Worship of Artemis. § 2. The Artemis connected with Apollo distinct from the other goddesses of that name. Her attributes. § 3. The Arcadian Artemis. § 4. Fable of Alpheus and Arethusa. The Peloponnesian Artemis. § 5. The Attic Artemis. § 6. Artemis Orthia, or Iphigenia. § 7. Rites of the worship of Artemis Tauria. § 8. The Artemis of Asia Minor. § 9. Her connexion with the Amazons.....p. 371

CHAP. X.

- § 1. On the worship of deities other than Apollo and Artemis in Doric states. Worship of Zeus and Here. § 2. Of Athene. § 3 and 4. Of Demeter. § 5. Of Poseidon. § 6. Of Dionysus. § 7. Of Aphrodite, Hermes, Hephaestus, Ares, and Æsculapius. § 8. Of the Charites, Eros, and the Dioscuri. § 9. General character of the Doric religion.....p. 394

CHAP. XI.

- § 1. Legends respecting Hercules in the earliest settlements of the Dorians. § 2. Servitude of Hercules. § 3. Legends respecting Hercules in the second settlements of the Dorians. § 4. Legends respecting Tlepolemus, Antiphus, and Phidippus. § 5. Legend of Geryoneus. § 6. Legends respecting Hercules in the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ. § 7, 8, and 9. Boeotian legends respecting Hercules. § 10. Attic legends respecting Hercules.....p. 410

CHAP. XII.

- § 1. Peloponnesian mythology of Hercules. Adventures of Hercules: his combats with wild beasts. § 2. His martial exploits. § 3. His establishment of the Olympic games. § 4. Complexity of the mythology of Hercules. § 5. Worship of Hercules carried from Sparta to Tarentum and Croton. § 6. Coan fable of Hercules. § 7. Hercules and Hylas. § 8. Identification of Hercules and Melcart. § 9. Human character of Hercules. § 10. His joviality and love of mirth.....p. 432

INTRODUCTION.

- § 1. Origin of the Dorians in the North of Greece. § 2. Northern boundary of Greece. § 3. The Macedonians. § 4. The Thesalians. § 5. Diffusion of the Illyrians in Western Greece. § 6. The Phrygians. § 7. The Thracians. § 8. The Hellenes, Achæans, Minyans, Ionians, and Dorians. § 9. The Hylleans. § 10. Relation of the above nations to the Pelasgians. § 11. Difference between the Pelasgic and Hellenic religions. § 12. Early language of Greece, and its chief dialects.

1. THE Dorians derived their origin from those districts in which the Grecian nation bordered towards the north upon numerous and dissimilar races of barbarians. As to the tribes which dwelt beyond these boundaries we are indeed wholly destitute of information; nor is there the slightest trace of any memorial or tradition that the Greeks originally came from those quarters. On these frontiers, however, the events took place which effected an entire alteration in the internal condition of the whole Grecian people, and here were given many of those impulses, of which the effects were so long and generally experienced. The prevailing character of the events in question, was a perpetual pressing forward of the barbarous races, particularly of the Illyrians, into more southern districts; yet Greece, although harassed, confined, nay even compelled to abandon part of her territory, never attempted to make a united resistance to their encroachments. The cause of this negligence probably was, that all her views being turned to the south, no attention whatever was paid to the above quarters.

2. To begin then by laying down a boundary line (which may be afterwards modified for the sake of greater accuracy), we shall suppose this to be the mountain ridge, which stretches from Olympus to the west as far as the Acroceraunian mountains (comprehending the Cambunian ridge and mount Lacmon), and in the middle comes in contact with the Pindus chain, which stretches in a direction from north to south. The western part of this chain separates the furthest Grecian tribes from the great Illyrian nation, which extended back as far as the Celts in the south of Germany. Every clue respecting the connexion, peculiarities, and original language of this people must be interesting, and the dialects of the Albanians, especially of those who inhabit the mountains where the original customs and language have been preserved in greater purity, will afford materials for inquiry.^a For our present purpose it will be sufficient to state, that they formed the northern boundary of the Grecian nation, from which they were distinguished both by their language and customs.

3. In the fashion of wearing the mantle and dressing the hair,^b and also in their dialect, the MACEDONIANS bore a great resemblance to the Illyrians; whence it is evident that the Macedonians belonged to the Illyrian nation.^c Notwithstanding which, there can be no doubt that the Greeks were aboriginal^d in-

^a See particularly Pouqueville's list of Albanian words. Compare Thunmann's *Geschichte der Europäischen Völker*, p. 250. Concerning the Illyrians, see App. 1, § 27, 28.

^b Strabo VII. p. 327 A.

^c Illyrian words in use among the Macedonians: *σανάδαι* (Si-

leni) in Macedonian, *δενάδαι* in Illyrian; *δράμης*, *bread*, in Macedonian, *δράμικες* among the Athamanes. *Orchomenos*, p. 254. Compare Hesychius in *βαράρα*. See the copious collection in Sturz de *Dialecto Macedonica*.

^d As this expression is often

SECT. 3. ON THE NORTH OF GREECE. 3

habitants of this district. The plains of Emathia, the most beautiful district of the country, were occupied by the Pelasgians,^e who, according to Herodotus, also possessed Creston above Chalcidice, to which place they had come from Thessaliotis.^f Hence the Macedonian dialect was full of Greek radical words. And that these had not been introduced by the royal family (which was Hellenic by descent or adoption of manners) is evident from the fact, that many signs of the most simple ideas (which no language ever borrows from another) were the same in both, as well as from the circumstance that these words do not appear in their Greek form, but have been modified according to a native dialect.^g In the Macedonian dialect there occur grammatical forms which are commonly called Æolic,^h together with many Arcadianⁱ and Thessalian^k words: and what perhaps is still more decisive, several words, which, though not to be found in the Greek, have been preserved in the Latin language.^l There does not appear to be any peculiar affinity with the

used in the following pages, I take this opportunity of stating, that by an *aboriginal people*, I mean one which, as far as our knowledge extends, first dwelt in a country, *before* which we know of no other inhabitants of that country.

^e Justin, VII. 1. Compare Esch. Suppl. 261.

^f Herod. I. 57. See *Orchomenos*, p. 444.

^g Compare, for example, *δαίνειν* to kill, *θάνατος* death, with *θανεῖν*, *θάνατος*; *ἐέλδω* (ἐέλδωρ in Homer) with *ἐδέλω*; *ἀδραία* for *αἰδρία*, in which *δ* loses its aspiration, as *φ* does in *κεφαλή* (so in German *haubet* for *haupt*), *ἀερούτις* for *ὄφρυς*

(*brow*), *Βίλιππος*, *Βερενίκη*, *βαλακρός*, &c. The aspirate is also frequently lost; *ἐνδομενία* or *ἐνδυμενία*, *furniture* (in Polybius), with a change of *v* and *o*.

^h E. g. the nominatives *ἵπποτα*, &c., which are also called Æolico-Bæotic, Doric, and Thessalian. Sturz *ut sup.* p. 28.

ⁱ E. g. *ζέρεθρα* for *βάραθρα*.

^k E. g. *ταγῶν ἀγὰ*, the *leading of the Tagus*, as in Thessaly; *μαρτίνα*, *dainties*, a Thessalian, Macedonian, and also Spartan word.

^l E. g. *βίρροξ*, *hirsutus*, *hirtus*; *γάρκαν*, *virgam*; *ἱλέξ*, *ilex*. The want of aspirates also forms a point of comparison.

Doric dialect: hence we do not give much credit to the otherwise unsupported assertion of Herodotus, of an original identity of the Doric and Macedonian (Macedonian) nations. In other authors Macedon is called the son of Lycaon, from whom the Arcadians were said to be descended;^m or Macedon is the brother of Magnes, or a son of Æolus, according to Hesiod and Hellanicus,ⁿ which are merely various attempts to form a genealogical connexion between this semi-barbarian race, and the rest of the Greek nation.^o

4. The THESSALIANS, as well as the Macedonians, were, as it appears, an Illyrian race, who subdued a native Greek population; but in this case the body of the interlopers was smaller, while the numbers and civilization of the aboriginal inhabitants were considerable. Hence the Thessalians resembled the Greeks more than any of the northern races with which they were connected: hence their language in particular was almost purely Grecian, and indeed bore perhaps a greater affinity to the language of the ancient epic poets than any other dialect.^p But the chief peculiarities of this nation with which we are acquainted were not of a Grecian character. Of this their national dress,^q which consisted in part of the flat and broad-brimmed hat (*καυσία*) and the chlamys (which last was common to both nations, but was unknown to the Greeks of Homer's time, and indeed

^m Apollodorus, III. 8, 1.

ⁿ Ap. Constant. Porph. de Themat. II. 2, p. 1453. Sturz Hellan. Fragm. p. 79. The passage of Hesiod is probably from the *Ἡοῖαι*, and there is no reason for supposing it spurious. The second verse should be read, *ὡς δὲ Μάγνητα Μάκεδόν 9' ἱπποχάρμην*.

^o Concerning the Macedonians, see Appendix I.

^p I allude here particularly to the ending of the genitive case of the second declension in *οιο*, which the grammarians quote as Thessalian.

^q See Appendix I. § 28. The ancient Macedonian coins re-

long afterwards, until adopted as the costume of the equestrian order at Athens), is a sufficient example. The Thessalians, moreover, were beyond a doubt the first to introduce into Greece the use of cavalry. More important distinctions however than that first alleged are perhaps to be found in their impetuous and passionate character, and the low state of their intelligence. The taste for the arts shown by the wealthy house of the Scopadæ proves no more that such was the disposition of the whole people, than the existence of the same qualities in Archelaus argues their prevalence in Macedonia. This is sufficient to distinguish them from the race of the Greeks, so highly endowed by nature. We are therefore induced to conjecture that this nation, which a short time before the expedition of the Heraclidæ, migrated from Thesprotia, and indeed from the territory of Ephyra (Cichyrus) into the plain of the Peneus, had originally come from Illyria. On the other hand indeed, many points of similarity in the customs of the Thessalians and Dorians might be brought forward. Thus for example, the love for the male sex (that usage peculiar to the Dorians) was also common among the Illyrians, and the objects of affection were, as at Sparta, called *αἵται*; the women also, as amongst the Dorians, were addressed by the title of *ladies* (*δέσποιναι*), a title uncommon in Greece, and expressive of the estimation in which they were held.^r A great freedom in the manners of the female sex, was

present precisely the same dress as the Thessalian.

^r Compare *Θετταλικά πτερὰ* in several grammarians, with Didymus in Ammonius in *χλαμύς*. More will be found on this sub-

ject in book IV. c. 2, § 4.

^s Compare Theocritus XII. 14, with Alcman quoted in the Scholia, and b. IV. c. 4, § 6.

^t Hesychius in *δέσποινας*. See book IV. c. 4, § 4.

nevertheless customary among the Illyrians, who in this respect bore a nearer resemblance to the northern nations.^u Upon the whole, however, these migrations from the north had the effect of disseminating among the Greeks manners and institutions which were entirely unknown to their ancestors, as represented by Homer.

5. We will now proceed to inquire what was the extent of territory gained by the Illyrians in the west of Greece. Great part of Epirus had in early times been inhabited by Pelasgians,^x to which race the inhabitants of Dodona are likewise affirmed by the best authorities to have belonged, as well as the whole nation of Thesprotians;^y also the Chaonians at the foot of the Acroceraunian mountains,^z and the Chones, CEnotrians, and Peucetians on the opposite coast of Italy, are said to have been of this race.^a The ancient buildings, institutions, and religious worship of the Epirots, are also manifestly of Pelasgic origin. We suppose always that the Pelasgians were Greeks, and spoke the Grecian language: an opinion in support of which we will on this occasion only adduce a few arguments. It must then be borne in mind, that all the races whose migrations took place at a late period, such as the Achæans, Ionians, Dorians, were not (the last in particular) sufficiently powerful or numerous to effect a complete change in the customs

^u According to Ælian, V. H. III. 15, the women of Illyria were present at banquets and wine-parties; Herod. V. 18, says the contrary of the Macedonians.

^x Strabo, V. p. 221.

^y See particularly Stephan. Byzant. in *Ἐφύρα*.

^z Alexander Ephesius ap. Stephan. Byz. in *Χαονία*.

^a Niebuhr's Roman History, vol. i. p. 46, ed. 2, English tr. Hence many names were the same in both countries; as, *e.g.*, Pandosia (Justin, XII. 2), Acheron, Acherontia, &c.

of a barbarous population;^b that many districts, Arcadia and Perrhæbia, for instance, remained entirely Pelasgic, without being inhabited by any nation not of Grecian origin; that the most ancient names, either of Grecian places or mentioned in their traditions, belonged indeed to a different era of the dialect, but not to another language; that finally, the great similarity between the Latin and Greek can only be explained by supposing the Pelasgic language to have formed the connecting link. Now the nations of Epirus were almost reduced to a complete state of barbarism by the operation of causes, which could only have had their origin in Illyria;^c and in the historic age, the Ambracian bay was the boundary of Greece. In later times, more than half of Ætolia ceased to be Grecian, and without doubt adopted the manners and language of the Illyrians;^d from which point the Athamanes, an Epirot and Illyrian nation, pressed into the south of Thessaly.^e Migrations and predatory expeditions, such as the Encheleans had undertaken in the fabulous times, continued without intermission to repress and keep down the genuine population of Greece.

^b Herodotus also says, that the Ionians and Æolians had formerly been Pelasgians, having, as it were, swallowed up that nation; he must however assume that they changed their language (*μετέμαθον τὴν γλῶσσαν*), as the language of the Pelasgi who dwelt near Creston and Placia (which was probably nothing more than an ancient dialect) appeared to him barbarous. Æschylus (Suppl. 911) opposes them, as genuine Greeks, to the *κάρβαροι*, or barbarians.

^c Thus, *e.g.*, the Amphilo-chians and Chaonians, according to Thucyd. II. 68, 80. The following ancient Greek forms occur in the Epirot dialect: *γδοῦπος* for *δοῦπος* (Maittaire, p. 141), *γνώσκω*, *nosco*, Orion p. 42, 17. *Ἀσπετος* Achilles, Plut. Pyrrh. 1. (*αἰπομαι*).—The account in Strabo VII. p. 327, of two languages being spoken in some districts, doubtless refers to the coexistence of Grecian and Illyrian dialects.

^d Polyb. XVII. 5, 8.

^e *Orchomenos*, p. 253.

6. The Illyrians were in these ancient times also bounded on the east by the Phrygians and Thracians, as well as by the Pelasgians. The PHRYGIANS were at this time the immediate neighbours of the Macedonians in Lebæa, by whom they were called Brygians (Βρύγες, Βρύγοι, Βρίγες);¹ they dwelt at the foot of the snowy Bermius, where the fabulous rose-gardens of king Midas were situated, while walking in which the wise Silenus was said to have been taken prisoner. They also fought from this place (as the Telegonia of Eugammon related)² with the Thesprotians of Epirus. At no great distance from hence were the Mygdonians, the people nearest related to the Phrygians. According to Xanthus, this nation did not migrate to Asia until after the Trojan war.³ But, in the first place, the Cretan traditions begin with religious rites and fables, which appear from the most ancient testimonies to have been derived from Phrygians of Asia;⁴ and, secondly, the Armenians, who were beyond a doubt of a kindred race to the Phrygians,⁵ were considered as an aboriginal nation in their own territory.⁶ It will therefore be sufficient to recognise the same race of

¹ According to Hesychius, Βρέκς (Βρεκύντιος) is the same word as Βρύξ. *Bruges* was also used by Ennius, and, as it appears, by Marcus Brutus (Plutarch, Brut. 45).

² See the Chrestomathia of Proclus. *Briges*, or *Phryges*, in the region of Dyrrachium, Appian, Bell. Civ. II., 39.

³ Creuzer Fragment. Histor. p. 171. Strabo XIV. p. 680. Compare Conon in Photius I.

⁴ Concerning this point, see Hoeck's History of Crete, vol. I. p. 109, sqq.

⁵ According to the opinion of their colonists, Herod. VII. 73. Eudoxus ap. Steph. in Ἀρμενία. Compare Heeren *De Linguarum Asiaticarum in Persarum Imperio Cognatione*, Comment. Gotting. vol. XIII.

⁶ The Armenians frequently occur in the ancient traditional history of the oriental kingdoms; e.g., in Diod. II. 1. as conquered by Ninus. They are likewise represented as the original inhabitants in the native legends collected by Moses of Chorene.

men in Armenia, Asia Minor, and at the foot of mount Bermius, without supposing that all the Armenians and Phrygians emigrated from the latter settlement on the Macedonian coast. The intermediate space between Illyria and Asia, a district across which numerous nations migrated in ancient times, was peopled irregularly from so many sides, that the national uniformity which seems to have once existed in those parts was speedily deranged. The most important documents respecting the connexion between the Phrygian and other nations are the traces that remain of its dialect. It was well known in Plato's time that many primitive words of the Grecian language were to be recognised with a slight alteration in the Phrygian, such as πῦρ, ὕδωρ, κύων;^m and the great similarity of grammatical structure which the Armenian now displays with the Greek, must be referred to this original connexion.ⁿ The Phrygians

^m Plato, Cratyl. p. 410 A. It is remarkable that these words are also in the German language. Πῦρ (see Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik, vol. I. p. 584, 2d ed.) in ancient High German was *viuri*, in Low German *für*. Κύων, *canis*, *hund* (*d* added as in *μῆν, μᾶν*—Phrygian for *moon*—and *mahnd, mond*). Ὑδωρ, in High German *wazar*, in Low German *water*; the digamma is present in the genuine Phrygian form βέδν, which, on account of ancient vicinity, was also a Macedonian and Orphic word (see Neanth. Cyzicen. ap. Clem. Alexand. Strom. V. p. 673. Jablonsky de Lingua Phrygia, p. 76), and is sometimes translated *water*, and sometimes *air*.

Lastly, the Phrygian inscription in Walpole's Memoirs, especially the words ΜΙΔΑΙ ΛΑ-FAITAEI FANAKTEI, prove that it had a great resemblance, both in radical forms and inflexion, with the Greek.

ⁿ Thus the verb *sum* keeps in the Armenian or Haicanian the same fundamental form which it has in all the languages allied to the Greek (*yem, yes, e—sum, es, est*). And it is remarkable, that the three Phrygian Greek words noticed in the text have been likewise preserved in the Haicanian: πῦρ is *hur* (as παῖρ *hair*, πέντε *hink*); ὕδωρ, *tschur* (as ὕδρος *tscherm*); κύων is *shun*. See Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, p. 99.

in Asia must, however, have been intermixed with Syrians, who not only established themselves on the right bank of the Halys, but on the left also in Lycania,^o and as far as Lycia,^p and accordingly adopted much of the Syrian language and religion.^q Their enthusiastic and frantic ceremonies had doubtless always formed part of their religion: these they had in common with their immediate neighbours the Thracians: but the ancient Greeks appear to have been almost entirely unacquainted with such rites.

7. The THRACIANS, who settled in Pieria at the foot of mount Olympus, and from thence came down to mount Helicon, as being the originators of the worship of Dionysus and the Muses, and the fathers of Grecian poetry,^r are a nation of the highest importance in the history of civilization. We cannot but suppose that they spoke a dialect very similar to the Greek, since otherwise they could not have had any considerable influence upon the latter people. They were in all probability derived originally from the country called Thrace in later times, where the Bessians, a tribe of the nation of the Satræ,^s at the foot of Mount Pangæum, presided over the oracle of Dionysus. Whether the whole of the populous races of Edones, Odomantians, Odrysians, Treres, &c. are to be considered as identical with the Thracians in

^o See Jablonsky de Lingua Lycaon. Opusc. vol. III. p. 119.

^p That is, if the epic poet Chærilus spoke of Lyctian Solymi in the well-known passage preserved in Josephus cont. Apion. vol. II. p. 454, ed. Haverc. &c. See Næke's Chærilus, p. 130, sq.

^q E. g. ἀδανός, an androgy-

nous deity (Hesych. in v.), from *Dagon*; the name *Adon* (Athen. XIV. p. 624); βαλλήν, *king*, (Hesych. in v. Eustath. ad Od. τ'. p. 680. Bas.) from *Baal*, &c. See Blomf. ad Æsch. Pers. 663.

^r See *Orchomenos*, p. 379—390.

^s Herod. VII. 111.

Pieria, or whether it is not more probable that these barbarous nations^t received from the Greeks their general name of Thracians, with which they had been familiar from early times, are questions which I shall not attempt to determine. Into these nations, however, a large number of Pæonians subsequently penetrated, who had passed over at the time of a very ancient migration of the Teucrians, together with the Mysians.^u To this Pæonian race the Pelagonians, on the banks of the Axios, belonged; who also advanced into Thessaly, as will be shown hereafter. Of the Teucrians, however, we know nothing, excepting that in concert with (Pelasgic) Dardanians they founded the city of Troy,—where the language in use was probably allied to the Grecian, and distinct from the Phrygian.^v

8. Now it is within the mountainous barriers above described that we must look for the origin of the nations which in the heroic mythology are always represented as possessing dominion and power, and are always contrasted with an aboriginal population. These, in my opinion, were northern branches of the Grecian nation, which had overrun and subdued the Greeks who dwelt further south. The most ancient abode of the HELLENES Proper (who in mythology are merely a small nation in Phthia^w) was situated,

^t All their words with which we are acquainted are very unlike the Greek; e. g. the word βρία and βρέα for *city*, which frequently occurs, ζίλα *wine*, πινύγες *treasure*, Schol. Apollon. Rhod. I. 933, &c.

^u Herod. V. 13. VII. 20, 75. Compare Hellanicus *ut sup.*; where read, ἐφ' οὗ νῦν Μακεδό-

νες καλοῦνται μόνοι μετὰ Μυσῶν τότε οἰκοῦντες. This at the same time probably refers to the tradition, that the Mysians (as well as the Thynians and others) came from Thrace to Asia, according to Strabo, and Pliny H. N. V. 32, 41. VII. 57.

^v Homer, Hymn. Ven. 113.

^w Æginetica, pp. 12, 155.

according to Aristotle, in Epirus, near Dodona, to whose god Achilles⁷ prays, as being the ancient protector of his family. In all probability the ACHÆANS, the ruling nation both of Thessaly and of Peloponnesus, in the mythical times, were of the same race and origin as the Hellenes. The MINYANS, Phlegyans, Lapithæ, and Æolians of Corinth and Salmone, came originally from the districts above Pieria, on the frontiers of Macedonia, where the very ancient Orchomenus, Minya, and Salmonia or Halmopia were situated.^a Nor is there less obscurity with regard to the northern settlements of the IONIANS; they appear, as it were, to have fallen from heaven into Attica and Ægialea: they were not, however, by any means identical with the aboriginal inhabitants of these districts, and had, perhaps, detached themselves from some northern, probably Achæan, race.^a Lastly, the DORIANS are mentioned in ancient legends and poems as established in one extremity of the great mountain-chain of Upper Greece, viz. at the foot of Olympus; there are, however, reasons for supposing, that at an earlier period they had dwelt at its other northern extremity, at the furthest limit of the Grecian nation.

Compare also Phavorinus in Ἀχαιοὺς ἀρξέωσιν. In the later times they were probably still in the territory of the Molossians, who were considered as Greeks, Herod. VI. 127.

⁷ Il. XVI. 233.

^a See *Orchomenos*, pp. 139, 248, sqq. Buttmann, indeed, in his *Memoir on the Minyæ* (Berlin Transactions for 1820, p. 13), denies the existence of these places; but several of the passages which I have quoted are decisive.

^a According to the genealogy from the Ἡοῖαι—Dorus, Xuthus (from whom Achæus and Ion), and Æolus; see Appendix II. The genealogy in Euripides, Ion 1608, viz. Xuthus, father of Ion, Dorus, and Achæus, is distorted to suit the national feelings of the Athenians. The passage from the Ἡοῖαι, however, although in a poetical garb, is more credible than the testimony of Herodotus, who considers the Ionians as *aborigines*.

9. We now turn our attention to the singular nation of the HYLLEANS (Ὑλλεῖς, Ὑλλοί), which is supposed to have dwelt in Illyria, but is in many respects connected in a remarkable manner with the Dorians. The real place of its abode can hardly be laid down; as the Hylleans are never mentioned in any historical narrative, but always in mythical legends; and they appear to have been known to the geographers only from mythological writers. Yet they are generally placed in the islands of Melita and Black-Corcyra, to the south of Liburnia.^b Now the name of the Hylleans agrees strikingly with that of the first and most noble tribe of the Dorians. Besides which, it is stated, that, though dwelling among Illyrian races, these Hylleans were nevertheless genuine *Greeks*. Moreover they, as well as the Doric Hylleans, were supposed to have sprung from Hyllus, a son of Hercules, whom that hero begot upon Melite, the daughter of Ægæus:^c here the name Ægæus refers to a river in Corcyra, Melite to the island just mentioned. Apollo was the chief god of the Dorians; and so

^b Concerning what follows, others. Panyasis appears from the Scholiast to Apollonius Rhod. IV. 1149, to have mentioned two Hylluses, viz. the son of Melite and the son of Deianira. Compare Schol. Soph. Trachin. 53. Vales. ad Harpocrat. p. 126. In the Scholiast to Pindar Pyth. I. 120, Ὑλλος, ὃς ἐβασίλευσε τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκησάντων, where Hemsterhuis reads Οἰχαλίαν, Raoul-Rochette (*Histoire de l'Etablissement des Colonies Grecques*, tom. II. p. 280) proposes, not without some probability, Ἰλλυρίαν.

^c Apollon. Rh. IV. 538, and

likewise these Hylleans were said to have concealed under the earth, as the sign of inviolable sanctity, that instrument of such importance in the religion of Apollo, a tripod.^d The country of the Hylleans is described as a large peninsula, and compared to Peloponnesus: it is said to have contained fifteen cities, which, however, had not a more real existence than the peninsula as large as Peloponnesus on the Illyrian coast. How all these statements are to be understood is hard to say. It appears, however, that they can only be reconciled as follows: the Doric Hylleans had a tradition, that they came originally from these northern districts, which then bordered on the Illyrians, and were afterwards occupied by that people; and there still remained in those parts some members of their tribe, some other Hylleans. This notion of Greek Hylleans in the very north of Greece, who also were descended from Hercules, and also worshipped Apollo, was taken up and embellished by the poets; although it is not likely that any one had really ever seen these Hylleans and visited their country. Like the Hyperboreans, they existed merely in tradition and imagination. It is possible also that the Corcyraeans, in whose island there was an "*Hyllæan*" harbour,^e may have contributed to the formation of these legends, as is shown by some circumstances pointed out above; but it cannot be supposed that the whole tradition arose from Corcyraean colonies.

10. Here we might conclude our remarks on this subject, did not the following important question deserve some consideration. What relation can we suppose to have existed between the races which migrated into those northern districts, and the native tribes, and

^d Apollon. Rh. IV. 528.

^e Thucyd. III. 81.

what between the different races of Greece itself? All inquiries on this subject lead us back to the Pelasgians, who although not found in every part of ancient Greece (for tradition makes so wide a distinction between them and many other nations, that no confusion ever takes place),^f yet occur almost universally wherever early civilization, ancient settlements, and worships of peculiar sanctity and importance existed. And in fact there is no doubt that most of the ancient religions of Greece owed their origin to this race. The Zeus and Dione of Dodona; Zeus and Heré of Argos; Hephaestus and Athené of Athens; Demeter and Cora of Eleusis; Hermes and Artemis of Arcadia, together with Cadmus and the Cabiri of Thebes, cannot properly be referred to any other origin. We must therefore attribute to that nation an excessive readiness in creating and metamorphosing objects of religious worship, so that the same fundamental conceptions were variously developed in different places; a variety which was chiefly caused by the arbitrary neglect of, or adherence to, particular parts of the same legend. In many places also we may recognise the sameness of character which pervaded the different worships of the above gods; everywhere we see manifested in symbols, names, rites, and legends, a uniformity of ideas and feelings. The religions introduced from Phrygia and Thrace, such as that of the Cretan Zeus and Dionysus or Bacchus, may be easily distinguished by their more enthusiastic character from the native Pelasgic worship.

^f Especially the connected chain of Ætolians, Epeans, Locrians (concerning whose affinity see Boeckh ad Pind. Olymp. IX. 61. p. 191), and Lelegians (Hesiod ap. Strab. VII. p. 322); and if these, as some say, are the same as the Carian nation, to which the Lydians and a part of the Mysians belonged, they would seem to compose a very numerous race.

The Phœnician and Egyptian religions lay at a great distance from the early Greeks, were almost unknown even where they existed in the immediate neighbourhood, were almost unintelligible when the Greeks attempted to learn them, and repugnant to their nature when understood. On the whole, the Pelasgic worship appears to form part of a simple elementary religion, which easily represented the various forms produced by the changes of nature in different climates and seasons, and which abounded in expressive signs for all the shades of feeling which these phenomena awakened.

11. On the other hand, the religion of the northern races (who as being of Hellenic descent are put in contrast with the Pelasgians) had in early times taken a more moral turn, to which their political relations had doubtless contributed. The heroic life (which is no fiction of the poets), the fondness for vigorous and active exertion, the disinclination to the harmless occupations of husbandry, which is so remarkably seen in the conquering race of the Hellenes, necessarily awakened and cherished an entirely different train of religious feeling. Hence the Zeus Hellanius of Æacus, the Zeus Laphystius of Athamas, and, finally, the Doric Zeus, whose son is Apollo, the prophet and warrior,⁸ are rather representations of the moral order and harmony of the universe, after the ancient method, than of the creative powers of nature. I do not however deny, that there was a time when these different views had not as yet taken a separate direction. Thus it may be shown, that the Apollo Lyceus of the Dorians conveyed nearly the same notions as the Zeus Lycæus of the Arcadians, although the worship of either deity

⁸ See book II. ch. 7.

was developed independently of that of the other. Thus also certain ancient Arcadian and Doric customs had, in their main features, a considerable affinity. The points of resemblance in these different worships can be only perceived by comparison: tradition presents, at the very first outset, an innumerable collection of discordant forms of worship belonging to the several races, but without explaining to us how they came to be thus separated. For these different rites were not united into a whole until they had been first divided; and both by the connexion of worships and by the influence of poetry new combinations were introduced, which differed essentially from those of an earlier date.

12. The language of the ancient Grecian race (which, together with its religion, forms the most ancient record of its history) must, if we may judge from the varieties of dialect and from a comparison with the Latin language, have been very perfect in its structure, and rich and expressive in its flexions and formations; though much of this was polished off by the Greeks of later ages: in early times, distinctness and precision in marking the primitive words and the inflections being more attended to than facility of utterance. Wherever the ancient forms had been preserved, they sounded foreign and uncouth to more modern ears; and the language of later times was greatly softened, in comparison with the Latin. But the peculiarities of the pure Doric dialect are (wherever they were not owing to a faithful preservation of archaic forms) actual deviations from the original dialect, and consequently they do not occur in Latin; they bear, if I may be allowed the expression, a *northern* character. The use of the article, which did not exist in the Latin language or in that of epic poetry, can be ascribed to no other

cause than to immigrations of new tribes, and especially to that of the Dorians. Its introduction must, as in the Romance languages, be almost considered as the sign of a great revolution. The peculiarities of the Doric dialect must have existed before the period of the migrations; since thus only can it be explained how peculiar forms of the Doric dialect were common to Crete, Argos, and Sparta: the same is also true of the dialects which are generally considered as subdivisions of the Æolic; the only reason for the resemblance of the language of Lesbos to that of Boeotia being, that Boeotians migrated at that period to Lesbos. The peculiarities of the Ionic dialect may, on the other hand, be viewed in great part as deviations caused by the genial climate of Asia;^h for the language of the Attic race, to which the Ionians were most nearly related, could hardly have differed so widely from that of the colonies of Athens, if the latter had not been greatly changed.ⁱ

^h The ancients frequently say, that the Ionians in Asia ἐλυμήναντο τῆς διαλέκτου τὸ πάτριον. Photius in v. φαρμακός.

ⁱ Concerning the Doric dialect, see Appendix VI.

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BOOK I

HISTORY OF THE DORIC RACE, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

CHAP. I.

§ 1. Earliest Settlement of the Dorians in Thessaly. § 2. Description of the Vale of Tempe. § 3. Of the Passes of Olympus. § 4. And of Hestiaeotis. § 5. The Perrhaebians. § 6. The Lapithæ. § 7. Limits of the Territory in Thessaly occupied by the Dorians. § 8. Contents of the Epic Poem Ægimius. § 9. Doric Migration from Thessaly to Crete. § 10. Relation of the Dorians to the Macedonians.

1. "FROM early times the Dorians and Ionians were the chief races of the Grecian nation; the latter of Pelasgic, the former of Hellenic origin; the latter an aboriginal people, the former a people much addicted to wandering. For the former, when under the dominion of Deucalion, dwelt in Phthiotis; and in the time of Dorus, the son of Hellen, they inhabited the country at the foot of Ossa and Olympus, which was called Hestiaeotis. Afterwards, however, being driven from Hestiaeotis by the Cadmeans, they dwelt under mount Pindus, and were called the Macedonian nation. From thence they again migrated to Dryopis; and having passed from Dryopis into Peloponnesus, they were called the Doric race."^a

^a Herod. I. 56; concerning which passage see Salmasius, de Lingua Hellenica, p. 276, and Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. XXV. p. 11-

28. Compare VIII. 43. Ἐόντες Δωρικὸν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες.

This connected account cannot be considered as derived immediately from ancient tradition; but can only be viewed as an attempt of the father of history to arrange and reconcile various legends. Nor indeed is it difficult to discover and examine the steps of the argument which led him to this conclusion. It is clear that he considers the genealogy of Hellen,^b viz. that he was the son of Deucalion and father of Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus, as an historical fact; although it is at least more recent than the poems of Homer, where the name of Hellenes does not include these races, but is the appellation of a single nation in Phthiotis: and that his object is to establish the position, that the Dorians were the genuine Hellenes. Now since Deucalion, the father of Hellen and grandfather of Dorus, was supposed to have dwelt in Phthiotis,^c Herodotus represents the Dorians as also coming from Phthiotis; although the people meant in these legends by the names of Deucalion and Hellen were the real ancient Hellenes, the Myrmidons,^d who were afterwards under the dominion of the Æacidæ,^e and are entirely distinct from the Dorians. Dorus was next represented as succeeding Hellen as king of the same people; and then, since the name of Dorus was

^b See, on the subject of this genealogy, Appendix II.

^c Apollod. I. 7, 2.

^d Thus Pindar, Olymp. VIII. 30, calls the Myrmidons Δωριεὺς λαός, in order, as I conceive, to oppose them as genuine Greeks to nations of a different origin.

^e From the circumstance that, in Homer, Achilles the Æacides is represented as chief of the Hellenes, and that the Æacidæ were also ancient princes

of Ægina, the author has in a former work (*Æginetica*, p. 18) explained the name of the temple of Zeus in Ægina, Ἐλλάδιον, in later times called Πανελλήνιον. For this temple is assuredly more ancient than the time when all the Greeks were called Hellenes; and it must therefore be considered as a sanctuary of the original Hellenes, who also dwelt in Phthia, as an ancient national temple of the Myrmidons.

in these fabulous accounts connected with Hestiaotis, he infers that the Dorians went thither from Phthiotis. But the modern mythologist must of course abandon this whole deduction as unfounded; and he can only adopt the datum from which the historian started; namely, that, according to ancient tradition, "Dorus dwelt at the foot of Olympus and Ossa." Here then the real fact presents itself to us. The chain of Olympus, the divider of nations, whose lofty summit is still called by the inhabitants the *celestial mansion*, is the place in which the Dorians first appear in the history of Greece.

2. The mountain-valley, which in later times bore the name of Thessaly, was bounded to the west by Pindus, to the south by Othrys, to the east by Pelion and Ossa, and to the north by Olympus, under which name the ancient writers, for example Herodotus, also include the chain which in after-times (probably from an Illyrian word)^f was called the Cambunian mount. The course of the Peneus is so situated as to divide the open plain to the south, the ancient Pelasgic Argos, from the mountainous district to the north; towards the north-east it breaks through the mountain-ridge, dividing Ossa from Olympus; here too the river creeps under the loftier heights of mount Olympus;^g so that the path passes along the side of the more rugged and precipitous Ossa. This ravine was known by the ancient generic name of *Tempea* or *Tempe* (the *cut*, from τέμνω), and has been often poetically described, but seldom sufficiently considered as bearing upon the history of Greece.^h

^f Appendix I. last note.

^g The height of mount Olympus, according to Bernouille, is 1017 toises, or 6501 English

feet; of Ossa, according to Dodwell, about 5000 feet.

^h A more accurate description of this valley than those of

Before entering the pass, the traveller crosses a small round valley, agreeably situated; at the end of which on the left hand, where the mountains approach one another on both sides, was the ancient fortress of Gonnus (or Gonni), distant 160 stadia from Larissa, the chief city of the plain.¹ From this point the mountains close upon one another more rapidly, until they rise on both sides of the glen in two rocky parapets, forming a gully, where in many places a path has been hewn along the river. About the middle of this path there stands now, upon a bold projection of Ossa, a fortress of Roman construction called Horæo-Castro, covering also a cross glen of that mountain: it was there probably that the strong-hold Gonnocondylum stood; which appears to have taken its name from the "windings" of the valley.^k Not far from this spot is the narrowest part of the ravine, hardly 100 feet in width: which is stated in an inscription to have been fortified by L. Cassius Longinus, the proconsul and partisan of J. Cæsar; but, without the aid of fortification, a few armed men would probably have been able to stop the progress of a force many times their number. The region has nothing beautiful or agreeable in its appearance, but presents rather a look of savage wildness: the perpendicular masses of rock of the same kind of stone appear, as it were, to have been

Ælian and Barthélemy is given by Bartholdy, *Bruchstücke zur Kenntniss Griechenlands*, p. 112; Clarke, *Travels*, part II. sect. iii. p. 273; Hawkins, in *Walpole's Memoirs relating to European Turkey*, p. 528; Holland, *Albania*, p. 291; Dodwell, *Travels*, vol. I. p. 103; and Pouqueville, tom. III. c. 73. Among the ancients, Theopom-

pus, in his *Φιλιππικά*, gave an accurate description of Tempe. See Theo. Sophist. *Progymn.* II. p. 19; Frommel, in *Creuzer's Meletemata*, III. p. 141, 6.

¹ XX. m. p. in *ipsis faucibus saltus*, Livy from Polyb. XVIII. 10, 2, on the side of Olympus. Meletius mentions here a place called Goniga.

^k Liv. XXXIX. 25.

rent asunder, and are without any covering of trees or grass; the blackness of the shadows in the deep hollow, and the dull echoes, increase the gloominess of the impression: beneath bubble the silver waters of the Peneus (*ἀργυροδίνης*).¹ Not far from this narrow passage the defile opens towards the sea, to which the Peneus flows through marshes; and from hence may be seen the smiling country of Pieria, on the eastern side of Olympus, particularly the plains of Phila, Heracleum, and Leibethrum, which lead onwards to the southern parts of Macedonia.

3. This is the only road between Thessaly and the northern districts, which passes in its whole length along a valley; all the others are mountain-passes. Such was the other road to Macedonia, which crossed mount Olympus (*ἑσβολὴ Ὀλυμπικῇ*).^m This road, too, begins at the strongly-fortified city of Gonnus, the key of the country towards the north; and it then goes along the southern side of Olympus, till it reaches the cities of Azorum and Doliche. Between these two towns is a place where three ways met.ⁿ The chief road passes in a northerly direction over the summit of the Cambunian chain to the Macedonian highlands; and it was here that Xerxes set fire to the woods in order to open a passage for his army, which the Greeks had expected along the more practicable way through Pieria and the valley of Tempe; and it was often in the Roman wars traversed by large armies.^o From the south of Olympus two difficult mountain roads led over the heights of Olympus, connecting

¹ Il. B. 753.

^m Herod. VII. 128, 173.

ⁿ Liv. XLIV. 6. Polyb. XXVIII. 11. 1. Ἀζορίου μεταξὺ καὶ Δολιχῆς.

^o See, besides Herodotus, Liv. XLIV. 2, and Plutarch. Æmil. 9.

Northern Thessaly with Pieria. The one avoided the valley of Tempe, as it passed by the fortress of Lapatius to the north of that defile,^p then along the small lake of Ascurias, whence there was a view of the town of Dium on the sea-coast, at the distance of 96 stadia; after which it descended into the plains of Pieria. We should, however, more particularly notice the other road, taking a more northern direction, and passing over the lofty sides of Olympus, where formerly there stood the castle of Petra, and the temple of the Pythian Apollo, commonly called Pythium, together with a village of the same name,^q the height of which Xenagoras, by a geometrical measurement, ascertained to be 6096 Grecian feet.^r From this point there was a mountain-pass leading down to the coast to Heracleum and Phila in Pieria, and another way led along the ridge of Olympus by difficult and dangerous passages, as far as Upper Macedonia.^s

These mountain-passes and defiles have not been explored by any modern traveller; but it was important for our subject to discover their position from the writings of the ancients. Not only did Perseus and Æmilius Paulus here contend for the fate of Mace-

^p Concerning the situation of this place see Liv. XLIV. 2 and 6.

^q Πύθιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν, τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὴν Πέτραν Plutarch. Æmil. 15. *Pythoum* (Πυθῶν) *et Petra* Liv. XLIV. 2, 32, 35. XLII. 53. That there was only one Pythium in this district is evident from an accurate examination of the marches. Mannert (vol. VII. p. 520, 563) has placed Pythium on the pass through the Cambunian moun-

tains (above the modern Aleson and Sarviza), of which it lay far to the right. His opinion is contradicted by Liv. XLIV. 2. and Plutarch, *ubi sup.* Compare Stephanus in Πύθιον, Πυθιεῖς οἱ τὸ Πύθιον οἰκοῦντες, ἐν ᾧ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστι, and in Βάλλα.

^r 960 toises. See above.

^s See Plutarch *ubi sup.* Liv. *ubi sup.* and XLIV. 7. comp. Polyb. XXVIII. 11.

donia, but it was in this region that the Greek nations of the heroic age disputed the possession of the fertile Thessaly. There was once a time when through these passes the nations pressed down, to whose lot the finest parts of Greece were once to fall; here every step was gained with labour, while the sons of the mountain inured themselves to hardships in their incessant wars. Of the numerous citadels which in these districts cover every important point, the greater number were probably built at a very early period. Thus there were three fortresses^t to defend the pass of Olympus, or the road from Gonnus to Azorum and Doliche, which two places, together with Pythium on the mountain, were comprehended under the name of the Pelagonian Tripolis.^u

4. The highlands which border on Macedonia are so rarely mentioned in Grecian history, that we find in them few names of places, while in the valley of the Peneus there were always some traditional and historical memorials extant. For although the northern mountains were not destitute of fountains, grassy slopes, and fertile pastures, still the nations continually pressed downward to the fertile lands of the valley. In this plain Gonnus and Elatea are succeeded by Mopsium upon the right, and Gyrton and Phalanna on the left of the stream; and soon afterwards Larissa stood in the midst of the open country,^v which had been once deposited from the stagnant waters of the Peneus, and being constantly irrigated, always produced a

^t Liv. XXXI. 41. XXXVI. have not the Greek original of 10, 13. XLII. 67. XLIV. 2. the passage in Livy concerning the Tripolis, XLII. 53.

^u Ptolemy includes it in Pelagiotis. Unfortunately we have not the Greek original of the passage in Livy concerning the Tripolis, XLII. 53.

^v *Orchomenos*, p. 126.

plentiful crop. To the west of Larissa, in a narrower part of the valley, where the hills approach the river more from the north side, there stood, 40 stadia from Larissa, the town of Argura,⁷ and at the same distance again the fort of Atrax; on the northern bank of the river were the celebrated city of Pelinna⁸ and the castle of Pharcedon;⁹ higher up on the left bank, where the mountains on the north begin to recede and form another plain, was the ancient city of Tricca.¹⁰ Between Tricca and Pelinna stood, as it appears, the city of Œchalia, so celebrated in mythology; the ruins of which have been perhaps discovered by a traveller in some ancient walls of massive structure,¹¹ of which Pouqueville saw many in this district. If now we follow the Peneus, which runs from the north-west, higher up the stream than Tricca, we come to the mountain district of Hestiaeotis. At about three and a half hours from Tricca¹² is now situated the convent Meteora, whose name alludes to its singular situation upon lofty columns of rock:¹³ from which place there were two ways, one leading higher up the Peneus in a

⁷ Liv. XXXII. 15. Strabo IX. p. 438, 440.

⁸ Concerning Pelinna, see, besides Cellarius, Spanheim de Usu Numm. IX. p. 902. Salmasius ad Solin. p. 687. Wesseling ad Diodor. XVIII. 11. and Boeckh Comment. ad Pind. Pyth. X. p. 335.

⁹ Besides Strabo, see Diodorus XVIII. 56. In Polyænus IV. 2, 18, should be written, Φίλιππος ἐπολιόρκει Φαρκεδόνα πάλιν Θεσσαλικήν.

¹⁰ Concerning Tricca (Tricala 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ leagues from Larissa, ac-

ording to Pouqueville) see Mannert, p. 569, and also Eustathius, vol. II. p. 250. ed. Basil. Tzetzes Chil. IX. 28.

¹¹ See Il. B. 370, with the Scholia, and Eustathius. Pelinnus, a son of Œchalius, Steph. Byzant. in Πέλινα.

¹² Thus Pouqueville: according to Holland twelve miles, according to Vaudoncourt four hours.

¹³ See Meletius, Pouqueville, Holland, Cockerell in Hughes' Travels, vol. I. p. 504.

westerly direction to Epirus, and the other passing through Stymphæa to Elimiotis in Macedonia.¹⁴ This was about the situation of the ancient fortress of Gomphi, which was near Pindus, and not very far from the sources of the Peneus.¹⁵ It is, indeed, probable that the name Γόμφοι expresses the *wedge-shaped* form of these rocks. According to Strabo, Gomphi (in the north-west), Tricca (in the south-west), Pelinna (in the north-east), and the more recent city of Metropolis (in the south-east), formed a square of fortresses, in the middle of which was the ancient Ithome; which Homer, from the steepness of the rock on which it stood, calls the *precipitous* (κλωμακίεσσα or κλιμακίεσσα).¹⁶ From Meteora the Peneus may be followed in a northerly direction to its origin from two small streams; whence there was a path which wound over the high chain of Pindus, and thus reached the country of Epirus. This was in ancient times the road which connected the two countries, and there still remain on it several Cyclopian walls, the strongholds of former ages.

5. There had dwelt in the valley of the Peneus from the earliest times a Pelasgic nation, which offered up thanks to the gods for the possession of so fruitful a territory at the festival of Peloria.¹⁷ Their habits were

¹⁴ The latter according to Arrian I. 7; the former according to Liv. XXXI. 41. XXXII. 15. XXXVIII. 2. Compare Cæsar B. C. III. 80.

¹⁵ Tempe was about 500 stadia from Gomphi, Plin. H. N. IV. 8. which distance should be thus divided: the length of Tempe 40 stadia, then to Larissa 160, to Tricca about 240, and to Gomphi 60.

¹⁶ Strabo IX. p. 437. Il. B. 729. Pausan. IV. 9, 1. Meteora cannot be Ithome; more probably the ruins of Kastraki. But the passage concerning Curalius and the temple of the Itonian Minerva, is a confusion of the geographer. Otherwise de la Porte du Theil Eclaircissemens sur Strabon I. 76, p. 248.

¹⁷ Athen. XIV. p. 639, 640.

doubtless adapted to the nature of the country, which has still the same effect on the modern inhabitants; those who dwell near the river being of a soft and peaceable disposition, while the mountaineers are of a stronger and freer turn of mind.^k Larissa was the ancient capital of this nation.^l But at a very early time the primitive inhabitants were either expelled or reduced to subjection, by more northern tribes.^m Those who had retired into the mountains became the *PERRHÆBIAN* nation, and always retained a certain degree of independence. In the Homeric catalogue the Perrhæbians are mentioned as dwelling on the hill Cyphus under Olympus, and on the banks of the Titaresius, which, flowing along the western edge of Olympus, is distinguished by its clear and therefore dark-coloured stream, from the muddy and white waters of the Peneus.ⁿ At the present day the inhabitants of its banks are remarkable for their healthy complexion, while the Peneus is surrounded by a sickly population.^o The ancients however were reminded by the Titaresius of the Styx and of the infernal regions, not from any natural circumstance, but because both among these Perrhæbians and the Hellopian Pelasgians the name and worship of Dodona had been established.^p Accordingly there seems to have been in both places a *Ψυχοπομπεῖον*, or oracle of the dead. The prince of

^k Pouqueville, p. 37.

^l *Orchomenos*, p. 126. Here also Acrisius of Argos dwelt. That it is this Larissa is plain from Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 40, compare Hellanicus fragm. 116. Pausan. II. 16. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 836.

^m Strabo, IX. p. 439.

ⁿ According to modern tra-

vellers. The ancients frequently misinterpreted Homer. In later times Eurotas, or Europus, as in the Excerpta of Strabo, i.e. the dark-coloured.

^o Pouqueville.

^p Thus the writers in Strabo VII. p. 328. Steph. Byzant. in *Δωδώνη*. See book II. ch. 11, § 3.

these Perrhæbians was called Guneus. So much may be gathered from the passage in Homer. Afterwards, in historical times, we find the Perrhæbians having extended their limits to the Cambunian mountains, the pass of Tempe, and the Peneus; and reaching to the west beyond the chain of Pindus.^q Gonnus and Atrax were likewise Perrhæbian towns.^r The Perrhæbians maintained themselves in the mountains, even when the Thessalians had seized upon the plain, not indeed as an independent, but still as a separate, and, until the Macedonian supremacy, as an Amphictyonic nation.

6. The plain on either side of the Peneus was however occupied by the *LAPITHÆ*, a race which derived its origin from Almopia in Macedonia, and was at least very nearly connected with the Minyans and Æolians of Ephyra.^s If it be allowed to speak of this heroic race, of superhuman strength and courage, in the same terms as of a real nation, we should say that the towns Elatea, Gyrtion, Mopsium, Larissa, Atrax, Æechalia, Ithome, and Tricca, were under their dominion. Our reason is, that the Lapithæ, Elatus, Cæneus, Mopsus, Coronus, Eurytus and Hippodameia, were considered by popular tradition as inhabitants of the above towns; a belief indicated by the names of several of these heroes. The two last of these towns were the native places of the Asclepiadæ, whom the genealogical and other legends always represent as connected with the Lapithæ. In Homer the inhabitants of Tricca, Ithome, and Æechalia are represented as following the sons of Æsculapius; those of Argissa, Gyrtion, Orthe, Elone, and Oloosson are headed by the descendants of

^q Hieronymus, ap. Strab. IX. p. 443.

^r Steph. Byzant. in *Γόννος* Liv. XXXII. 15.

^s *Orchomenos*, pp. 248 sqq.

the Lapithæ. Now from the researches mentioned by Strabo, it would seem that Orthe was the fortress of Phalanna, Argissa the town Argura, both on the river Peneus; Elone was a small town on mount Olympus, as also Oloosson;^a and it appears that the Homeric catalogue agrees well enough with the other traditions, and supposes the Lapithæ to have occupied the valley of the Peneus, with some parts of the mountainous country to the north.

7. Thus much it was necessary to premise, in order to give a faithful description of the spot in which the Dorians first make their appearance in the traditions of Greece. They bordered on the Lapithæ, but inhabited the mountain district of Hestiaeotis, according to Herodotus,^b instead of the champaign country, like the latter race. Yet the same passage of that author implies that Tempe was within the territory of Hestiaeotis, and belonged at that time to the Dorians; we shall see hereafter how much this account is confirmed by the altar of the Pythian Apollo in this valley.^c It will moreover be rendered probable that the Pythium above mentioned was situated on the mountain heights. Hence we may well suppose the whole Tripolis to have at one time belonged to the Dorians; since even Azorium was not always inhabited by Illyrian Pelagones, but had

^a If Oloosson is the modern *Allassona* on the road from Larissa to Macedonia, according to the opinion of the bishop of Thessalonica on Il. B. p. 333. ed. Rom. *δοκεῖ δὲ φυλάσσειν καὶ νῦν τὴν ἐλῆσιν παραφθειρομένην βαρβαρικῶς, ἵσως γὰρ αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ἄρτι λεγομένη Ἑλασσών.*

^b See above, § 1. Andron ap. Strab. X. p. 475 E. *τῆς Δωριδὸς πρότερον, νῦν δὲ Ἑσθιαϊώτιδος*

λεγομένης. The Dorians also dwelt in Hestiaeotis to the west of Pindus, according to Charax ap. Steph. Byzant. in *Δώριον*. According to Schol. Pind. Pyth. I. 124, and Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 385 (as emended by Hemsterhuis, p. 115), they dwelt in Perrhæbia; and Perrhæbia nearly coincides with Hestiaeotis.

^c See book II. ch. 1, § 2.

once been held by the Hellenes.^d It is also probable that Cyphus, a town said to have belonged to the Perrhæbians, was under the dominion of the Dorians; since this race possessed in their second settlement a town called Acyphas.^e It is remarkable that no direct and positive account of any Doric town in this district has been preserved, a circumstance to be attributed to the loss of the epic poem of Ægimius.

8. This poem, written in the Hesiodic tone (although the author probably lived about the 30th Olympiad, 660 B.C. in the last period of epic poetry),^f celebrated the most ancient exploits of the Doric race. Thus it sung how Ægimius, the Doric prince, whilst engaged in a difficult and dangerous war with the Lapithæ, called to his assistance the wandering Hercules, and by the promise of a third part of the territory obtained his alliance; by which means the enemies were beaten, their prince slain, and the disputed territory conquered.^g The name of the poem

^d There was a hero named Azorus, Hesychius in *Ἀζωρος*.

^e Hemsterhuis incorrectly considers them as identical, *ubi sup.* p. 116.

^f Athen. XI. p. 503 D. *καὶ ὁ τὸν Αἰγίμιον ποιήσας, εἴθ' Ἡσίοδος ἐστὶν ἡ Κέρκωψ ὁ Μιλήσιος.* The confusion of the names of Hesiod and Cercops may, as it appears to me, be accounted for as follows. A verse concerning the desertion of Ariadne by Theseus for the sake of Ægle, is ascribed by Plutarch (vit. Thes. 20) to Hesiod, and by Athenæus (XIII. p. 557 A.) to Cercops; it is evidently from the Ægimius which was attributed to both these names. This verse was expunged from the

poem by Pisistratus, as we learn from Hereas, quoted by Plutarch. The Ægimius therefore was at that time arranged and set down in writing, together with other epic poems. Consequently Cercops, an Orphic Pythagorean, who lived about the time of Pisistratus, cannot have been the author of it, though he might have been the *διασκευαστής* who arranged it in the same manner that Onomacritus did the other poems. Now it might easily happen, especially if his interpolations could be now and then discerned, that the *whole* poem should be attributed to him.

^g Wesseling. ad Diod. IV. 37, p. 282.

is a sufficient proof that such would have been its contents.^c Probably the heroes of Iolcus and the Phthiotans were also introduced as allies of the Lapithæ, and at least the adventures of Phrixus and Achilles.^d The scene of the second book was Eubœa, the name of which island was there derived from the cow Io; the attack of Hercules upon the Eubœan town of Œchalia also formed, as I conjecture, part of the subject. Ægimius was, however, supposed to reign in Hestixotis, merely because the Dorians bordered in this direction upon the Lapithæ; he was easily carried over to the second settlements of the race under mount Œta.^e This hero is in general the mythical progenitor and hero of the Doric nation; hence Pindar called the customs and laws of that people "the ordinances of Ægimius."^f Nevertheless only two tribes of the Dorians are stated to be descended from him, viz. the Dymanes and Pamphylians; the third and most distinguished, viz. the Hylleans, was supposed to be descended from Hyllus the son of Hercules, and adopted

^c See Valckenaer ad Eurip. Phœn. p. 735.

^d Schol. Apoll. Rhod. III. 584. IV. 816. The character of the ancient epic poetry, which never admitted of history arranged in a chronological order, cannot allow us to suppose that the Ægimius contained an account of the expedition of the Dorians, and of their colonies, down to the founding of Cyrene.

^e This is the meaning of the passage in Steph. Byzant. Ἀβαντίς.—ὡς Ἡσίοδος ἐν Αἰγυμίου δευτέρῳ περὶ Ἰούς.

—Νήσω δ' ἐν Ἀβαντίδι δῖη, τὴν πρὶν Ἀβαντίδα κίχλησκον Διοὶ αἰὲν ἰόντες.

τὴν πρὶν Ἀβαντίδα κίχλησκον Διοὶ αἰὲν ἰόντες.

These are followed by the four verses concerning Argos and Io quoted by Schol. Eurip. Phœn. 1151. Apollodorus II. 1, 3, alludes to this passage. Also what he mentions from this poem in II. 1, 5, belongs to the Eubœan fables. Apollodorus, in both passages, quotes the Ægimius under the name of Cercops. Compare Fabric. Bibliothec. vol. I. p. 592. ed. Harles.

^f See Ephorus ap. Steph. Byzant. in Δυμῶνες (p. 96. ed. Marx.), followed by Strabo IX. p. 427.

^g Book III. ch. 1, § 7.

by Ægimius. And as the land in the Doric states was equally divided between these three tribes, Hercules was fabled to have received for his descendants a third part of the territory, which belonged of right to the Hylleans. This triple division of the land was expressly mentioned by the epic poet, who used the word *τριχάϊκες* to express that the Dorians had obtained and shared among themselves, at a distance from their native country (chiefly in Peloponnesus),^h a territory apportioned into three parts. An examination of the opinion, that the first race was distinguished from the other two as of different origin, will be found in a following chapter.ⁱ

We must also refer our reader to the investigation

^h Etymol. Magn. Τριχάϊκες.—Ἡσίοδος διὰ τὸ τριχῇ αὐτοὺς οἰκῆσαι, οἷον Πάντες γὰρ τριχάϊκες καλέοντο Οὐνεκα τρισσὴν γαίαν ἕκας πάτρης ἐδάσαντο. Τρία γὰρ Ἑλληνικὰ ἔθνη τῇ Κρήτῃ ἐπέκησαν, Πελασγοί, Ἀχαιοί, Δωριεῖς. The last words must be considered as a mere ignorant addition; for the Dorians did not divide *their* territory into three parts, because two other Greek races went to Crete. It is, indeed, evident that a threefold division of the land conquered by the Dorians is here spoken of, which, as is plain from the fables concerning Ægimius and Hercules, took place according to the three tribes. According to the present reading, this division took place at a distance from the native country of the Dorians. There might seem some difficulty in this, since Hercules is said to have given Ægimius the third part of the territory as a *παρκαταθήκη* in

Hestixotis, the most ancient habitation of the Dorians (Diod. IV. 37. compare Apollodorus II. 7, 3). Hence *πάτρης* for *πάτρης* might be read in this sense: "The Dorians divided their territory into three parts for the families (of which the φυλαὶ or tribes consisted)," so that they then dwelt separately from one another (similarly Pindar Olym. p. VII. 74). This alteration, however, appears to be unnecessary; and the old reading is defended by the following explanation, viz., that according to the ancient fable Hyllus and his descendants did not *dwelt* either near mount Œta, or in Hestixotis together with the Dorians, but that they first received in the Peloponnesse the third part of the territory, whither they came as colonists at a distance from their more ancient abodes (*ἕκας πάτρης*).

ⁱ Below, ch. 3, § 1.

of the worship of Apollo, and the mythology of Hercules, in the second book, since from these alone can be collected the internal history of the Doric race during its earliest period.

9. One event which, even if it had not been noticed by tradition, would still have been felt and recognised from the effects it produced, is the migration of the Dorians from the district of Olympus to Crete. It is, indeed, a wonderful migration, being from one end of the Grecian world to the other, and it presents a striking anomaly in the history of the ancient colonies. We must suppose that the Dorians, whilst in their first settlements, excluded from the plain, and pressed by want, or restless from inactivity, constructed piratical canoes, manned these frail and narrow barks with soldiers, who themselves worked at the oars, and thus being changed from mountaineers into seamen—the Normans of Greece—set sail for the distant island of Crete. The earliest trace of the migration in question is found in the *Odyssey*, in which poem it is mentioned that the *thrice-divided* Dorians formed a part of the population of Crete.^k Andron states, even with geographical accuracy, that these Dorians came to Crete from Hestiaeotis, at that time called Doris, under Tectaphus, the son of Dorus, together with Achæans and some Pelasgians who had remained in Thessaly.^l According to Dicæarchus, the Dorians migrated to Crete from Pelasgiotis;^m by which is

^k Hom. Od. XIX. 174.

^l Ap. Strab. X. p. 475 D. and Stephan. Byzant. in Δώριον. Diodorus IV. 60. V. 80, gives nearly the same account, on the authority of Cretan historians, whom he mentions in V. 80.

^m This may be collected from the passage of Dicæarchus (which, indeed, is much mutilated) cited in Steph. Byz. in Δώριον. It is given most faithfully in Montfaucon's *Biblioth. Coislin.* p. 286, 59.

meant the same district as that called by Andron Hestiaeotis, since Pelasgiotis and Hestiaeotis bordered on each other in the vicinity of Tempe. Again, Diodorus affirms that Asterius king of Crete, the adopted father of Minos, the legislator, was the son of Tectamus (Teutamus).ⁿ The essential parts of these statements are rendered certain by two proofs: the first of these is, that the worship of Apollo was practised in Crete with precisely the same ceremonies as at Tempe, and connected with many of the same traditions; the second is, the very remote period at which the principles of the Doric constitution were systematized and established in Crete, so that they afterwards became a model and standard for other states of that race. This gives us the fullest right to consider Minos of Cnosus as a Dorian.^o We may assert, with still more reason, that the name of Minos indicates a period in which the Doric invaders united a part of the island into one state, and, by extending their power over the Cyclades and many maritime districts, obtained, according to the expression of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Aristotle, the dominion of the sea. To discredit this Doric migration would be to reject the simple explanation of many facts recorded in later history. At the same time, however, we do not mean to throw any doubt upon the later migrations from Peloponnesus, when it had already fallen under the power of the Dorians.^o We only assert that

ⁿ Τεύταμος appears to be the correct name, the same as that of an ancient prince of Larissa, on which the ancient Dorians bordered. The princes of the allied nations were doubtless confounded in tradition. See the author's *Etrusker*, vol. I. p. 94.

^o The settlements which here come into consideration are, 1, the immigration, after the death of Minos (in the third generation before the siege of Troy), of various races, chiefly Hellenes, according to Herod. VII. 170; this is a mere tradition of

these took place at too late a period to account for many unquestionable facts. The portion of Crete first occupied by the Dorians was, according to Staphylus, the eastern coast;^p or, to speak more accurately, the eastern side of the north coast. Here stood the Minoan town of Cnosus, with its harbour Heracleum and colony Apollonia. From this point the dominion, customs, and worship of the Dorians were at a very early period extended over the districts inhabited by the Eteocretans, Pelasgians, and Cydonians; and, with the help of later migrations, pervaded the whole island.^q And although the different dialects could still be distinguished at the time of Homer,^r yet in later times the Doric appears to have been universally adopted.^s

10. We now return to the passage of Herodotus, of which a part has been already quoted; "When however the Dorians were driven out by the Cadmeans, they dwelt under Mount Pindus, and were called the Macedonian nation." In this passage the author alludes to the legend, that the Cadmeans, being expelled from Thebes by the Argives, fled to the Encheleans of Illyria, where they bordered upon Homolè, a Magnesian mountain near the valley of Tempe. In this settlement they would certainly be in the neighbourhood

the towns of Polichna and Præsus, and not a very credible one. 2. The colony of Althæmenes after the expedition of the Heraclidæ from Argos and Megara, and in connexion with Rhodes. 3. Dorians from Peloponnesus, Lyctus, Lampe, and other places settled from Sparta; Pharæ a colony of the Messenians; Gortyna of Amyclæans (Minyans); Phæstus colonized from Sicily; other towns from Argos (Scylax, p. 18, Diod. V.

80). 4. Æginetans in Cydonia.

^p Strabo X. p. 475 C.

^q The Cretan cities were generally considered as Doric; Menander de Encom. XXXII. 1, p. 81, ed. Heeren. and others.

^r Od. XIX. 175. ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη.

^s On this migration of the Dorians from their early settlements in the north of Greece to Crete, see Appendix III.

of the Dorians. But we should bear in mind how perplexed is the fable which we have before us.^t The predatory excursion of the Encheleans to Phocis and Bœotia appears to admit of no doubt, as it was noticed by a Delphian oracle of tolerable antiquity, and by the tradition of the Thebans. The same horde may in its passage have also disturbed the Dorians in their settlements; but it is no less wonderful, that fugitive Thebans should have voluntarily taken refuge with the Encheleans in Illyria, than that this latter nation should have driven the Dorians from their settlements. It may be true that some northern hordes expelled the Dorians from mount Olympus, since at a later period we find the Pæonian (Teucrian) race of the Pelagones, who had descended from the Axius,^u and made themselves masters of the Tripolis, Azorum, Doliche, and Pythium, in possession of their ancient settlements.

As to the statement of Herodotus, that the Macedonians, or ancient Macedonians (who in his lifetime inhabited the territory between the rivers Haliacmon and Lydias, from the mountains to the coast),^v were derived from the Dorians when dwelling under mount Pindus, he probably followed some accounts of the Macedonians, who, not satisfied with establishing the

^t *Orchomenos*, pp. 233, 234. According to Andron (Strabo X. p. 475) they came directly from Hestiazotis under mount Parnassus. According to Diodorus IV. 67, the Cadmeans drove out the Dorians, who then returned to Doris (Erineus, Cytinium, Boeum). Lycophron v. 1388, might be quoted in confirmation of Herodotus, since he calls the Dorians Λακμόνιοι (Λάκμων ὄρος Περραιβίας ἐνθα ῥέκουν Δωριεῖς), Lacmon being

the name of the ridge of Pindus and the Cambunian mountains. But Lycophron only alludes to their settlements in Hestiazotis.

^u Il. II. 849, XXI. 159. It is to this that Herodotus alludes, when he says that the Teucrians, to which race he refers the Pæonians, had penetrated as far as the Peneus (see the Introduction, and Appendix, I. §. 4).

^v See Appendix I. § 17.

Doric origin of their royal family, wished to claim the same honour for the whole nation: but there does not appear to be any historical foundation for this statement. For the Macedonians, as was above remarked, were indeed for the most part Greeks, but neither their language or customs authorize us to consider them as Dorians.^y

CHAP. II.

§ 1. Migration of the Dorians from Thessaly to the Valley of Æta and Parnassus. § 2. District of Æta. § 3. Limits of Doris. § 4. The Dryopians. § 5. The Malians. § 6. The Ænians.

1. "From thence," Herodotus proceeds to relate, "the race of the Dorians migrated to Dryopis, afterwards called Doris, or the Doric Tetrapolis." Here also it will be necessary to give some illustration of the geography of the country; beginning at Thermopylæ (the point at which mount Æta comes in contact with the sea) to the broken ridge where it is swallowed up in Parnassus, and both ranges are lost in the mountains of Pindus, and where this latter, the grand chain of Greece, is separated and branches off in different directions.

Following the plain of Phocis, which lies between mounts Æta and Parnassus, and is watered by the Cephissus, we presently find the mountains approaching each other from both sides, and contracting the valley of the river. The last towns of Phocis in this direction are, Amphicæa, Tithronium and Drymæa, still to be

^y Introduction, § 3; Appendix I. § 25.

recognised in ruins, and places bearing the name of *Palæocastro*.^a Proceeding thence westward to the higher country, we soon arrive at the sources of the river Cephissus, which cannot be mistaken, since it immediately forms a stream of considerable size. The Cephissus indeed rises not in Æta but in Parnassus, and runs first to the north-east, in order to make a bend afterwards to the south-east.^b The situation is particularly indicated by the ancient citadel of a town, situated close to the source, upon a steep projection of Parnassus; this place must be recognised as Lilæa. The scenery around is of a grand and bold description. Twenty stadia from hence was situated Charadra, where a mountain-torrent joined the Cephissus. But the river Pindus, which falls into the Cephissus not far from Lilæa, comes down from a much greater elevation. These valleys, lying to the north-west of Lilæa,^c constitute the proper district of Doris, little described in detail by the ancients, and never till a short time since visited by modern travellers. The steep citadel, about an hour and a half's distance from Lilæa, situated upon a projection of Parnassus near the village of Mariolatis, is perhaps Bœum. The ancient walls in the valley towards the west near Stagni must be set

^a Amphicæa near Dadja. See Leake in Walpole's Travels, p. 509. Clarke, p. 227. Gell, Itinerary, p. 210.

^b I here chiefly follow Dodwell, vol. II. p. 133, and Gell: compare *Orchomenos*, p. 41. Pouqueville is completely in error. According to him the Cephissus rises 11½ hours N.E. of Artotina, which he supposes to be Erineus, and flows from the north into the Pindus, which

river (he says) runs into the Gulph of Corinth, contrary to all accounts of ancient writers.

^c The old maps are all incorrect; see now Gell's map to his Itinerary. According to Strabo the Tetrapolis lay chiefly to the east of Parnassus, but it extended also round to the west, IX. p. 417. The river Pindus is now, according to Dodwell, the *Aniani*.

down as the fortress of Cytinium.^d Erineus should probably be sought for in the defiles of Œta, nearer the sources of the stream just mentioned.^e Near Œta was situated Acyphas,^f probably the same as the city of Pindus^g above Erineus, and of the same name as the river; both which names the Dorians had brought with them from their early settlements. This corner of land, placed under the chief mountain-chain of Greece, and hanging over the plains which extend from thence, was bounded by the upper districts of Ætolia, by the territory of the Ozolian Locrians, Phocis, and southern Thessaly.^h From Cytinium a mountain-path led along the side of Parnassus to the country of the Locrians:ⁱ this also has been explored by modern travellers. This pass made the small stronghold of Cytinium so important as a military post, that Philip of Macedon, when he invaded Northern Greece before the battle of Chæronea, immediately occupied Elatea and Cytinium^k, evidently as a key to the

^d See p. 40, note i.

^e See Strabo IX. p. 427. X. p. 476 A. Strabo distinguishes Erineus in Phthiotis from this town, IX. p. 434. Etymol. Mag. p. 373, 56, ὁ Ἐρινεὺς is the correct form. Mela however, and the scholiasts to Pindar and Aristophanes quoted below, call it *Erineum*.

^f Strabo IX. p. 427 B. p. 434. Steph. Byz. Ἀκύφας μία τῆς Δωρικῆς τετραπόλεως.—Ὁ Ἀκύφας, Gen. Ἀκύφα, *Dorice*, see Bekker's *Anecdota*, vol. III. p. 1313.

^g Scymnus Chius v. 591. Δωριεῖς Ἐρινεὸν, Βοῖδον, Κυτίμιον ἀρχαιοτάτας ἔχουσι, Πίνδον τ' ἐχομένην. Comp. Conon. hist.

27. In answer to those who deny that Pindus was situated in this Tetrapolis, it is sufficient to quote Herod. VIII. 43. Comp. du Theil *Eclairc.* sur Strabon IX. tom. III. p. 118. Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 252, IV. p. 392.

^h Strabo IX. p. 427 C. arranges them in this manner: Ætolians, Locri Hesperii, Dorians, Ænians, Locri Epicnemidii; compare pp. 425, 430 B. ⁱ Thucyd. III. 95, 102. It is the Kakiscala between Stagni and Salona. Dodwell, vol. I. p. 149, and Gell, p. 206.

^k See Philochorus ap. Dionys. ad Ammæum c. 11. Philoch. Fragm. ed. Siebelis p. 76.

western districts. From Delphi another mountain-path (which was reckoned by an ancient traveller at 180 stadia¹) crossed over in the direction of Lilæa. The modern road to the north, from the valley of Pindus, likewise goes along a mountain-pass through the defiles and ravines of Œta, to the opposite side of the valley of the Spercheus, now called Hellada.^m If this was passable in ancient times, it formed the communication between Doris and the country of the Malians.

2. Mount Œta stretches in a westerly direction for the length of 200 stadia towards the Malian bay, which it reaches at Thermopylæ. It separates Doris, Phocis, and the Epicnemidian Locrians from the valley of the Spercheus. The passes connected with it are, first, the one just mentioned: secondly, another from Phocis to the rocky glen of Trachinia:ⁿ and, lastly, that of Thermopylæ, together with the upper path, made famous by the battle with the Persians. The pass of Thermopylæ is formed on one side by the steep declivity of the mountain, and on the other by a deep and impassable salt-marsh: these in the narrowest part are only 60 paces distant from each other:^o in the middle arise the hot sulphurous springs, which gave the name to the defile. At no great distance from these lies the little plain of Anthela, breaking into two narrow parts of the pass. At the northern entrance of the passage there are still the ruins of a wall, which has perhaps

¹ Pausan. X. 33, 2.

^m This road through Camara, Palæochori, and Neuropoli, is described by Dodwell, vol. II. p. 126. Gell, p. 241.

ⁿ Holland went over this road near Eleutherochori, p. 383, comp. Dodwell, p. 74. It is

also the way alluded to by Procopius de Ædif. IV. 2.

^o Liv. XXXVI. 15. For a description of Thermopylæ see *Orchomenos*, p. 486. Clarke, ch. 8, p. 240. Holland, ch. 18, p. 375. Gell, *Itinerary*, p. 239.

served as a barrier against the invasions of Thessalian, Persian, and Roman armies. Near this spot the brook Asopus rises from the side of the mountain. At the southern end of the pass was the small town of Alpenus, its whole length being about five miles. From Thermopylæ the paved and raised military road leads northward over the Spercheus to Thessaly, southward by Alpenus, Scarpheia, and Thronium, and from thence to Elatea, and thus to the land of Phocis.

Although the broken and precipitous form of both mountain and valley rendered the chain of Cæta little suited for human habitation, yet there was in ancient times a considerable number of cities reaching in a line from the Doric Tetrapolis, as far as the sea. Amphanæa must have been built upon mount Cæta, but in the direction of Trachinia; so that, with a little latitude of expression, it was considered as in Thessaly.^p Rhoduntia and Teichius were fortified heights on the road over mount Cæta.^q Phricium was situated near Thermopylæ on the Locrian side; from this place some colonists went to the Æolian Cume, and Larissa Phriconis.^r On the other side, upon the slope of the mountain above the valley of the small streams Melas and Dyras, lay Trachis. Heraclea was situated six stadia from the ancient Trachis.^s Not far from hence Ægoneia was probably situated.^t

3. Having now marked out the topography of this district by traces, which, although not as clear as could be wished, are yet perfectly accurate, we will next proceed to inquire concerning the small native tribes which

^p See Stephan. Byz. in Ἀμφανᾶ from Theopompus. Eurip. Herc. Fur. 386.

^q Strabo IX. p. 428. Liv. XXXVI. 16.

^r Steph. Byz. in Φρίκιον, and Hellanicus, ibid.

^s Strabo *ubi sup.*

^t See Lycophron, Hecataeus, Rhianus quoted by Stephanus.

at different periods settled in these parts, and particularly concerning the Dorians themselves. Doris, in the limited meaning of the term, was the valley of the river Pindus. Whenever the Doric *Tetrapolis* is mentioned, the three cities meant are Bœum, Cytinium, and Erineus;^a which last place, as being the most considerable, appears to have been also called Dorium:^b but when writers speak of a *Tetrapolis*, Acyphas (or Pindus) is added as a fourth town.^c This is the country which Dorus the son of Hellen is said to have inhabited, when he brought together his nation on the side of Parnassus;^d a tradition which totally loses sight of the more ancient settlements of the Doric race. It appears, however, that the Dorians, whilst confined within these limits, did not rest content with the possession of this narrow valley, but occupied several places along mount Cæta, of which Amphanæa was one.^e An unknown writer^f named six Doric

^a Thus Andron in Strabo X. p. 476. Thucyd. I. 107.

^b Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 43, 24, τὸν ἡκόντα ἐκ Δωρίου καὶ Κυτίνου. [Dr. Cramer, Description of Ancient Greece, vol. II. p. 103, corrects Δωρικοῦ Κυτίνου in Æschines, after Thucydides, who in III. 95, speaks of Κυτίνιον τὸ Δωρικόν. Transl.]

^c Theopompus ap. Steph. Ἀκύφας. Scymnus Chius *ubi sup.*

^d Strabo VIII. p. 383. Conon. 27. Scymnus. To this also refers the statement in Apollodorus I. 7, 3, that Dorus the son of Hellen τὴν πέραν χώραν Πελοποννήσου ἔλαβεν. Vitruvius IV. 1, however, gives a different account, *Achaia Pelo-*

ponnesoque tota Dorus Hellenis et Orseidis nymphæ (a mountain nymph) filius regnavit.

^e Hecataeus ap. Stephan.

^f In the scholia to Pindar, Pyth. I. 121, in which, however, there is some transposition and confusion. There is nowhere else any mention of a city in Perrhæbia named Pindus. In Pindar *Πινδόθεν* is used generally for the earlier settlements; for Hestiatotis and Doris both touch on the chain of Pindus. See Boeckh. Explic. p. 235. These scholia are probably followed by the scholiast on Aristoph. Plut. 385, and by Tzetzes ad Lycophr. v. 980. comp. v. 741; but without separating the erroneous parts.

towns,—viz., Erineus, Cytinium, Bœum, Lilæum, Carphæa and Dryope: of which, by Lilæum is meant the town of Lilæa, by Carphæa probably Tarphe near Thermopylæ,^c and by Dryope the country which had once belonged to the Dryopians. There was therefore probably a time when the heights near the sources of the Cephissus, and a narrow strip of land along mount Ceta, as far as the sea, were in the possession of the Dorians. Nay this was even partly the case in the Persian war; for even at that time Doris stretched in a narrow tongue of land thirty stadia broad, between the Malians and Phoceans, nearly as far as Thermopylæ:^d Scylax also mentions the Dorians as inhabitants of the sea-coast.^e This district, however, near mount Ceta is that which the Dryopians had formerly inhabited (as may be shown from a passage of Herodotus)^f, before they were entirely dispossessed by the Dorians, their neighbours in the Tetrapolis. Thus, by means of this geographical investigation we have arrived at an historical event. It seems probable that the Dorians, having moved by slow degrees from Hestiaeotis to mount Ceta, first gained possession of the furthest extremity of the mountain-valley, and thence

^c Tarphe was near the Doric Tetrapolis between Ceta and Parnassus. It is mentioned in Iliad II. 533, as a Locrian town; according to Strabo IX. p. 426, it was afterwards called Pharygæ, which Plutarch, Phocion 33, includes in Phocis, and names near it a hill called Acrurion. Tarphe and Carphæa may be considered as different forms of the same name, *t* and *k* being often interchanged. Thus the mythological hero Talaus is sometimes

Calaus. (Schol. Soph. CEd. Col. 1320.)

^d Herod. VIII. 31, comp. Plutarch. Themistocl. 9.

^e P. 24. Λιμοδώριεῖς.

^f Herod. VIII. 31 and 43. εὐόντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν καὶ Μακεδονὸν ἔθνος ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες. According to this passage, therefore, Cytinium and Boeum may both have been inhabited by the Dryopians.

gradually spread towards the coast over the land of the Dryopians. This race indeed generally did not press all at once, but passed slowly into districts which had been seized by some part of them at an earlier period.^g

4. The DRYOPIANS (the fragments of whose history we here introduce) are an aboriginal nation, which may be called Pelasgic, since Aristotle and others assign to them an Arcadian origin.^h Their affinity with the Arcadians is confirmed by the worship paid by them to Demeter Chthonia, to Cora Melibœa, and Hades Clymenus: which bore a great resemblance to those of Phigaleia, Thelpusa, and other towns in Arcadia.ⁱ Their territory bordered upon that of the Malians, so that they extended into the valley of the Spercheus beyond Ceta, and in the other direction as far as Parnassus;^k to the east their settlements reached to Thermopylæ.^l Their expulsion is related

^g According to Strabo IX. p. 434, there was a Dryopian Tetrapolis as well as a Dorian.

^h Ap. Strab. p. 373. The scholia to Apollon. Rhod. I. 1283, furnish a genealogy, viz. Lycaon, Dia, Dryops. Followed by Tzetzes ad Lyc. 480, and Etymol. Mag. p. 288, 32. Pherecydes, however, quoted in the scholia to Apollonius, gives a different account.

ⁱ See book II. ch. 11, § 3.

^k In the neighbourhood of the Malians and Myrmidonians Achæans, Pherecydes ap. Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1823, pp. 93, 107, ed. Sturz. Aristotle ubi sup. At the foot of Mount Parnassus, Aristotle and Pausan. IV. 34, 6. Λυκωπετραις ὄμοροι. The μετοικήσεις from the Spercheus

to Trachis is merely a confusion of the scholiast to Apollonius. Callimachus had only mentioned the migration to Peloponnesus, Schol. Paris. Clavier's remarks (ad Apollod. p. 323) are very inaccurate. Dryops, the son of Spercheus, dwelt at the foot of mount Ceta, according to Antoninus Liberalis, 32.

^l Ibid. 4. Κραγαλεὺς ὁ Δρυόσπος ᾧκει γῆς τῆς Δρυοπίδος παρὰ τὰ λοντρά τὰ Ἡρακλέους. In this strange account Melaneus, the son of Apollo, a king of the Dryopes, is represented as taking Epirus and Ambracia. It is a part of the same history as the migration of the Ænians and Neoptolemus to Molossis, Æginetica, p. 18.

in a manner entirely mythical, being connected with the propagation of the worship of Apollo (which is intimately allied with the migrations of the Dorians), and also with the adventures of Hercules; but when a clue to this method of narration is once discovered, it will be found to be equally, or perhaps more, instructive, and to convey much fuller information than a bare historical narrative. In the present instance, the Pythian Apollo is represented as the god to whom the vanquished Dryopians are sent as slaves, and who despatches them to Peloponnesus;^m and Hercules, in conjunction with the Trachinians, subdues and consecrates them to Apollo, or assigns to them settlements in Argolis, but allots their land to the Dorians or Malians.ⁿ

From this tradition we might perhaps infer that the Dryopians accompanied the Dorians in their migration to Peloponnesus, and settled there with them. But the situation of the places belonging to the Dryopians makes it necessary to seek some other explanation; for the colonies of this race lie scattered over so many coasts and islands, that they can only have been planted by single expeditions over the sea. In Argolis, for instance, they built Hermione, Asine, and Eion (Halieis), upon projecting headlands and

^m Book II. ch. 3, § 3.

ⁿ Aristot. ap. Strab. ubi sup. Apollod. II. 7, 7. Diod. IV. 37. Pausan. IV. 34, 6. Servius ad Æn. IV. 146. Πράξεις Ἡρακλέους, p. 152. Marini Ville Albani. comp. *Æginetica*, p. 33. Heyne Exc. ad Æn. IV. 2, p. 610. Raoul-Rochette, tom. I. p. 434. Herod. VIII. 43, οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Μηλίων ἐκ τῆς

νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρας ἐξαναστάντες. A peculiar application of the tradition in Suidas in Δρύοπες, Κάπρος. The verse of Callimachus preserved in Etymol. Magn. p. 154, 7, should apparently be thus written, Δειλαίοις Ἀσινεύειν ἐπι-τριπτήρας ὁπάσας, the explanation is given by the etymologist himself. See above, p. 45, note ^k.

promontories; in Eubœa, Styra and Carystus belonged to them;^o among the islands they had settlements in Cythnos^p and perhaps Myconos; they had also penetrated as far as Ionia and Cyprus.^q Hence it must be inferred that the Dryopians, harassed or dislodged by their neighbours, dispersed in various directions over the sea. It is, however, *historically* certain that a great part of the Dryopians were consecrated as a subject people to the Pythian Apollo (an usage of ancient times, of which there are many instances), and that for a long time they served as such; for even in the fragmentary history of the destruction of Crissa (Olymp. 47, 590 B.C.), we find *Craugallidæ* mentioned together with the Crissæans,^r which was a name of the Dryopians derived from a fabulous ancestor.^s The condition of the subjects of temples, and consequently of these Craugallidæ, will be treated of at large in another place.^t

5. But the Dorians, though hostile to their neighbours the Dryopians, were on friendly terms with the MALIANS. This people dwelt in the valley of the Spercheus, enclosed on all sides by rocky mountains, and open only in the direction of the sea; they were divided into the inhabitants of the coast, the Sacerdotal, and the Trachinians.^u The second of these classes

^o Herodot. VIII. 46. Diodor. IV. 57. Thucydides VII. 57, however, considers the Styrians as Ionians.

^p Herodot. ubi sup. Diodor. ubi sup. The fabulous war of Amphitryon against Cythnus is probably connected with it.

^q Herodot. VII. 90. Diodor. ubi sup. Asine in Cyprus, Stephan. Byz. Also in Cyzicus,

according to Strabo XIII. p. 586.

^r See *Orchomenos*, p. 496. In Æschines adv. Ctesiph. p. 68, 40, according to Didymus and Xenagoras in Harpocration, Κραυγαλλίδαι should be written.

^s Antonin. Liberal. 4.

^t Book II. ch. 3, § 3.

^u Παράλιοι, Ἱερῆς, Τραχίνιοι Thucyd. III. 92. comp. Dodwell,

in a manner entirely mythical, being connected with the propagation of the worship of Apollo (which is intimately allied with the migrations of the Dorians), and also with the adventures of Hercules; but when a clue to this method of narration is once discovered, it will be found to be equally, or perhaps more, instructive, and to convey much fuller information than a bare historical narrative. In the present instance, the Pythian Apollo is represented as the god to whom the vanquished Dryopians are sent as slaves, and who despatches them to Peloponnesus;^m and Hercules, in conjunction with the Trachinians, subdues and consecrates them to Apollo, or assigns to them settlements in Argolis, but allots their land to the Dorians or Malians.ⁿ

From this tradition we might perhaps infer that the Dryopians accompanied the Dorians in their migration to Peloponnesus, and settled there with them. But the situation of the places belonging to the Dryopians makes it necessary to seek some other explanation; for the colonies of this race lie scattered over so many coasts and islands, that they can only have been planted by single expeditions over the sea. In Argolis, for instance, they built Hermione, Asine, and Eion (Halieis), upon projecting headlands and

^m Book II. ch. 3, § 3.

ⁿ Aristot. ap. Strab. ubi sup. Apollod. II. 7, 7. Diod. IV. 37. Pausan. IV. 34, 6. Servius ad Æn. IV. 146. Πράξεις Ἡρακλέους, p. 152. Marini Ville Albani. comp. *Æginetica*, p. 33. Heyne Exc. ad Æn. IV. 2, p. 610. Raoul-Rochette, tom. I. p. 434. Herod. VIII. 43, οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Μηλίων ἐκ τῆς

νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρας ἐξαναστάντες. A peculiar application of the tradition in Suidas in Δρύοπες, Κάπρος. The verse of Callimachus preserved in Etymol. Magn. p. 154, 7, should apparently be thus written, Δειλαίοις Ἀσινεύουσιν ἐπιτριπτήρας ὀπάσσας, the explanation is given by the etymologist himself. See above, p. 45, note ^k.

promontories; in Eubœa, Styra and Carystus belonged to them;^o among the islands they had settlements in Cythnos^p and perhaps Myconos; they had also penetrated as far as Ionia and Cyprus.^q Hence it must be inferred that the Dryopians, harassed or dislodged by their neighbours, dispersed in various directions over the sea. It is, however, *historically* certain that a great part of the Dryopians were consecrated as a subject people to the Pythian Apollo (an usage of ancient times, of which there are many instances), and that for a long time they served as such; for even in the fragmentary history of the destruction of Crissa (Olymp. 47, 590 B.C.), we find *Craugallidæ* mentioned together with the Crissæans,^r which was a name of the Dryopians derived from a fabulous ancestor.^s The condition of the subjects of temples, and consequently of these Craugallidæ, will be treated of at large in another place.^t

5. But the Dorians, though hostile to their neighbours the Dryopians, were on friendly terms with the MALIANS. This people dwelt in the valley of the Spercheus, enclosed on all sides by rocky mountains, and open only in the direction of the sea; they were divided into the inhabitants of the coast, the Sacerdotal, and the Trachinians.^u The second of these classes

^o Herodot. VIII. 46. Diodor. IV. 57. Thucydides VII. 57, however, considers the Styrians as Ionians.

^p Herodot. ubi sup. Diodor. ubi sup. The fabulous war of Amphitryon against Cythnus is probably connected with it.

^q Herodot. VII. 90. Diodor. ubi sup. Asine in Cyprus, Stephan. Byz. Also in Cyzicus,

according to Strabo XIII. p. 586.

^r See *Orchomenos*, p. 496. In Æschines adv. Ctesiph. p. 68, 40, according to Didymus and Xenagoras in Harpocration, Κραυγαλλίδα should be written.

^s Antonin. Liberal. 4.

^t Book II. ch. 3, § 3.

^u Παράλιοι, Ἱερῆς, Τραχίνιοι Thucyd. III. 92. comp. Dodwell,

probably dwelt near to the Amphictyonic temple at Thermopylæ, the third on the rocky declivities of mount Ceta. These are the people who were in such close alliance with the Dorians, that Diodorus speaks of Trachis as the mother-town of Lacedæmon.² The friendship between Ceyx and Hercules, together with that of his sons, is the mythical expression for this connexion. The Malians were always a warlike people, those persons only who had served as hoplites being admitted to a share in the government.³ Their country was however chiefly famous for its slingers and darters.⁴

6. In after-times there came into these districts a nation which the ancient traditions of the country do not recognise, viz. the Hellenic ÆNIANES or Cætæans; the latter name denoting the region in which that nation was settled, the former their race;^a although I do not assert that the fourteen Cætæan communities^b constituted the entire nation of the Ænians. For they also dwelt on the banks of the Inachus, and about the sources of the Spercheus, near the city of Hypata.^c In early times they had inhabited the inland parts of Thessaly, and about the end of the fabulous period they descended into those settlements, from which in later times they were dislodged by the Illyrian Athamanes.^d Although the Ænians did not disavow a certain dependence on the Delphian oracle, and though they

II. p. 71. I may also remark that Scylax and Diodorus, XVIII. 11. appear to make a distinction between Melians and Malians; but in both places ΛΑΜΙΕΙΣ should be written for Μαλιείς and Μαλείς. Wesseling's opinion concerning the last passage is untenable, since there never was a town of the name of Malea. Diodorus is not quite accurate.
² Diodor. XII. 59.
³ Aristot. Polit. IV. 13.
⁴ Thucyd. IV. 100.
^a See Tittmann's Amphiktyonenbund, p. 41.
^b Strabo IX. p. 434.
^c Æginetica, p. 17.
^d Orchomenos, p. 253.

adopted among their traditions the fables respecting Hercules, anciently prevalent in their new settlements,^e yet on account of their geographical position they lived in opposition and hostility to the Malians and Dorians;^f who, as Strabo states, had been deprived by them of a part of their territory.^g Nay more, it is probable that the emigration of the Dorians which conquered Peloponnesus, was in some way or other connected with the arrival of the Ænians in this region. There was an *ancient enmity* between the Lacedæmonians and the Cætæans.^h It was chiefly on this account that Sparta founded the town of Heraclea in the country of Trachinia; which would doubtless have caused the revival of an important Doric power in this part of Greece, had not the jealousy of the Thessalians and Dolopians, and even of the Malians themselves, been awakened at its first establishment.

Thus much concerning the situation of the Dorians in their settlements near mount Ceta. The subject however is not yet exhausted; for we have still to trace the origin of the great influence which the establishment of the Dorians at Lycorea upon Parnassus had on the religion of Delphi (for that Lycorea was a Doric town will be made probable hereafter), as well as to treat of the Amphictyonic league, in the founding of which a very large share doubtless belonged to the Dorians: but the discussion of both these points must be deferred to the second book.ⁱ

As to the colonies of the Doric cities near mount Parnassus, Bulis on the frontiers of Phocis and Bœ-

^e Book II. ch. 3, § 12. see also Stephan. Byz. in v. Δώριον, after the hiatus.
^f Thucyd. III. 92.
^g Strab. IX. p. 442.
^h Thucyd. VIII. 3. Concerning the founding of Heraclea, Book II. ch. 1. § 8. ch. 3. § 5.

otia, on the Crissæan gulf, was probably founded from thence at the time of the Doric migration.^k

CHAP. III.

§ 1. Migration of the Dorians into Peloponnesus represented as the return of the descendants of Hercules. § 2. Improbability of the common account. § 3. Sources of the common account. § 4. Legends inconsistent with the common account. § 5. Common account. The Heraclidæ fly from Trachis to Attica, and are assisted by the Athenians against Eurystheus. § 6. Expeditions of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus. § 7. Junction of the Heraclidæ with the Dorians. § 8. The Heraclidæ pass into Peloponnesus by Rhium. § 9. Connexion of the Dorians with the Locrians and Ætolians. § 10. Tisamenus and the Peloponnesians defeated by the Dorians. § 11. Partition of Peloponnesus. § 12. Immediate consequences of the immigration of the Dorians.

1. The most important, and the most fertile in consequences, of all the migrations of Grecian races, and which continued even to the latest periods to exert its influence upon the Greek character, was the expedition of the Dorians into Peloponnesus. It is however so completely enveloped in fables, and these were formed at a very early period in so connected a manner, that it is useless to examine it in detail, without first endeavouring to separate the component parts.

The traditionary name of this expedition is "*the Return of the descendants of Hercules*."^a Hercules,

^k *Orchomenos*, p. 238. Compare in general with this chapter, Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 249.

^a ἡ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδος.

Thucydides I. 12, says Δωριεὺς ἐν Ἡρακλείδαις. Isocrates Archidam. p. 119 C. mentions an oracle enjoining them ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίαν ἵεναι χώραν.

the son of Zeus is (even in the *Iliad*), both by birth and destiny, the hereditary prince of Tiryns and Mycenæ, and ruler of the surrounding nations.^b But through some evil chance Eurystheus obtained the precedency, and the son of Zeus was compelled to serve him. Nevertheless he is represented as having bequeathed to his descendants his claims to the dominion of Peloponnesus, which they afterwards made good in conjunction with the Dorians; Hercules having also performed such actions in behalf of this race, that his descendants were always entitled to the possession of one-third of the territory. The heroic life of Hercules was therefore the mythical title, through which the Dorians were made to appear, not as unjustly invading, but merely as reconquering, a country which had belonged to their princes in former times. Hence Hercules is reported to have made war with some degree of propriety, and subdued the principal countries of the Doric race (except his native country Argos), Lacedæmon and the Messenian Pylus, to have established the national festival at Olympia, and even to have laid the foundation of the most distant colonies. To esteem as real these conquests and settlements, these mythical forerunners of real history, is incompatible with a clear view of these matters; and we could scarce seriously ask even the most credulous, how, at a time when sieges were in the highest degree tedious, Hercules could have stormed and taken so many fortresses, surrounded with almost impregnable walls?^c

A severer criticism enjoins us to trace the mythical narrative to its centre, and attempt to ascertain whether the sovereign race of the Dorians did really spring from the early sovereigns of Mycenæ; such

^b XIX. 105.

^c See Pausan. VII. 25. 3.

being not only the epic account, but also the tradition countenanced in Sparta itself. Tyrtæus said, in his poem called the *Eunomia*, "*Zeus himself gave this territory (Laconia) to the race of Hercules; united with whom we (the Dorians) left the stormy Eri-neus, and reached the wide island of Pelops.*"^d And a still more important proof is the reply of king Cleomenes, mentioned by Herodotus, who, when forbidden by the priestess in the Acropolis of Athens to enter the temple, as being a Dorian, answered, "I am no Dorian, but an Achæan," referring to his descent from Hercules.^e From this it would appear that there was amongst the Dorians an Achæan phratry, to which the kings of Argos, Sparta, and Messenia, and the founders and rulers of Corinth, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Ægina, Rhodes, Cos, &c., belonged; and which, in conjunction with the Dorians, only recovered by conquest its hereditary rights.^f

2. It is certainly hazardous at once to reject an extensive and connected system of heroic traditions, for the sake of establishing in its place a conjecture which sacrifices reports recognised by ages prior to historical information, and celebrated by the earliest poets, to a mere theory of historical probability. We

^d Αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίῳ, καλλιστεφάνου
πρὸς Ἡρ.,
Ζεὺς Ἡρακλίδαις τήνδε δίδωκε πόλιν.
Οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπόντες Ἑρινὸν ἠνιμεύοντα,
Ἐρείαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.

τήνδε πόλιν is Laconia. We mean the Dorians: Erineus the Tetropolis. Strabo VIII. p. 362. has not correctly understood and applied these verses. (See below, note to ch. 7. § 10.) Tyrtæus also calls the Dorians generally Ἡρακλῆος γένος—

whence Plutarch. de Nobil. 2. p. 388.

^e Herodot. V. 72. According to VI. 53. he might also have said, "I am an Egyptian."

^f A similar idea is entertained by Plato in his Laws, III. p. 682—viz., that the Dorians were properly Achæans, expelled from their own country after the Trojan war, and afterwards collected and brought back by one Dorieus.

must, however, recollect that mythical legends present in general merely the views and opinions of nations on the origin of their actual condition; these opinions being at the same time more often directed and determined by religious and other notions, especially by a certain feeling of justice, than by real tradition, and therefore they frequently conceal, rather than express, historical truth. The following remarks, partly deduced from inquiries which will follow, may serve to contrast with each other the characteristics of history and mythology.

In the first place, if we consider the narrative in question as a plain historical statement, and consequently suppose the Heraclidæ to have been expatriated Achæans, the same supposition must be extended to the whole tribe of Hylleans. For Hyllus, the representative of the Hylleans, is called the son of Hercules; and it was with reference to that tribe that the third part of the territory was secured to the descendants of Hercules: hence also Pindar calls the Dorians universally the *descendants of Hercules and Ægimius*.^g In this case, then, the Pamphylians and Dymanes would alone remain as Dorians proper. It is, however, by no means probable, that, if the most distinguished part of the Doric people had been of Achæan descent, the difference between the language, religion, and customs of these two races would have been so strongly and precisely marked.

In the second place, everything that is related concerning the exploits of Hercules in the north of

^g Pind. Pyth. V. 70. In Dymas. Compare the fragment of the Isthmians, Ὑλλου στρατὸς Δωριεύς. Pyth. I. 61. he calls them descendants of Pamphylus and the Heraclidæ, not mentioning

Greece refers exclusively to the history of the Dorians; and conversely all the actions of the Doric race in their earlier settlements are mythically represented under the person of Hercules. Now this cannot be accounted for by supposing that there was only a temporary connexion between this hero and the Doric race.

Lastly, if we compare as much of the fables concerning Hercules related below as refers to the Dorians, with those current among the ancient Argives, and if we separate in mind the links by which the epic poets gave them an apparent historical connexion, we shall find no real resemblance between the two. The worship of Apollo, which can in almost every case be shown to have been the real motive which actuated the Dorians, was wholly foreign to the Argives. If then an Achæan tribe did arrive amongst the Dorians, bringing with it the story of Hercules, or a hero so called, this latter people must have applied and developed his mythology in a manner wholly different from those to whom they owed it. And after all, we should be obliged to suppose that long before their irruption into Peloponnesus, these Heraclidæ had been so intermixed with the Dorians, that their traditions were formed entirely according to the disposition of that race, since Hercules in Thessaly is represented as a complete Dorian. Here, however, we are again at variance with the fable, which represents the Heraclidæ as having fled to the Dorians a short time only before their entry into Peloponnesus.

Thus we are continually met with contradictions, and never enabled to obtain a clear view of the question, unless we assent to the proposition that

Hercules, from a very remote period, was both a Dorian and Peloponnesian hero, and particularly the hero of the Hyllean tribe, which in the earliest settlements of the Dorians had probably united itself with two other small nations, the Heraclidæ being the hereditary princes of the Doric race. The story of the Heraclidæ being descended from the Argive Hercules, who performed the commands of Eurystheus, was not invented till after Peloponnesus had been introduced into the tradition.

3. There is hardly any part of the traditional history of Greece whose real sources are so little known to us as the expedition of the Heraclidæ. No one can fail to perceive that it possesses the same mythical character as the Trojan war; and yet we are deprived of that which renders the examination of a mythical narrative so instructive, viz. the traditional lore scattered in such abundance throughout the ancient epic poems. This event, however, early as it was, lay without the range of the epic poetry: and therefore, whenever circumstances connected with it were mentioned, they must have been introduced either accidentally or in reference to some other subject. In no one large class of epic poems was this event treated at length, neither by the cyclic poets, nor the authors of the *Nóστοι*. In the *Ἡοῖαι* attributed to Hesiod, it appears only to have been alluded to in a few short passages.^h Herodotus nevertheless mentions

^h See Pausan. IV. 2. 1. There are two other passages of Hesiod referring to the expedition of the Heraclidæ. Schol. Apollon I. 824.

Θισσάμεινος γένειν Κλαδαίου πυθαλίοιο,
the connexion of which is very

obscure (see Bentley ad Callim. Cer. Calath. 48); and Schol. Pind. Olymp. XI. 79. *c* *cad.* *Vratist.*

Τιμάνδρην Ἐχέμοις βαλίστην ποιήσαντ' ἄποι-
τιν.

From this passage Apollod. III.

poets who related the migration of the Heraclidæ and Dorians into Laconia.¹ Perhaps these belonged to the class who carried on the mythical fables genealogically, as Cinæthon the Laconian, and also Asius, who celebrated the descent of Hercules, and appears, from the character of his poems, to have also commemorated his descendants.^k Or they may have been the *historical poets*, such as Eumelus the Corinthian, although those alluded to by Herodotus cannot have composed a separate poetical history (as the former did of Corinth); since they would doubtless have followed the national tradition of Sparta; and this, with respect to the first princes of the Heraclidæ, differed from the accounts of all the poets with which Herodotus was acquainted, and was not the general tradition of Greece.¹ And doubtless many such local traditions were preserved amongst particular nations, concerning an event which for a long time determined the condition of Peloponnesus. Thus the Tegeatans^m celebrated the combat of Echemus their general with Hyllus. Whether the early historians collected these accounts from oral record, or whether they derived them from the poets above mentioned (although the latter is more in their manner), cannot be determined;

10. 6. Pausan. VIII. 5. 1. draw their materials. This, however, might also occur among the actions of Hercules, particularly at the first Olympian festival, as may be seen from Pindar.

ⁱ VI. 52.

^k Compare Pausan. IV. 2. 1. with V. 17. 4. and Valckenar. Diatrib. Eurip. pp. 58, 59.

¹ Herod. ubi sup. et c. 51. Wesseling misinterprets the first passage; its purport is,

"The Lacedæmonians give a different account from all the poets, who make Eurysthenes and Procles first come to Sparta." Schweighæuser does not see the exact meaning of the second; the sense is, "So far is the national tradition of the Lacedæmonians; in what follows, I relate the common tradition of Greece."
^m Herodot. IX. 26.

for there are only extant two fragments of these writers concerning the Heraclidæ, one of Hecataeus, the other of Pherecydes, which connect immediately with the death of Hercules, and therefore do not prove that these authors wrote any continuous account of the history of this migration. The early tradition received a fuller development in the Attic drama; but it was unavoidably represented in a very partial view. The Heraclidæ of Æschylus, and the Iolaus of Sophocles might, like the Heraclidæ of Euripides, have had on the whole the tendency to celebrate those merits which the Athenians are made to commend in Herodotus,ⁿ even before the battle of Plataea, viz., their good offices towards the Heraclidæ, at the time when they took refuge in Attica. The last-named tragedian, in his Temenidæ, Archelaus, and Cresphontes, went further into the history of the Doric states, and descended lower into the historical period, than any poet before his time; his reason having, perhaps, been, the exhaustion of the legitimate mythical materials.^o Now these Attic tragedians manifestly took for their basis the narrative given by Apollodorus, himself an Athenian, as may be shown by some particular circumstances. Perhaps Ephorus rested more upon the earlier poets and historians, as far as we are acquainted with their statements; but his narrative, even if it were extant, could, no more than those of the former, be considered as proceeding from a critical examination; since, in the first place, from a total misapprehension of the character of tradition, he forced everything into history, and then endeavoured to restore the deficiencies of

ⁿ IX. 26.

^o In general the tragic poets successively descend, according

to their age, to a later date of mythological history.

oral narrative by probable reasoning; of the fallaciousness of which method we will bring forward some proofs.

4. After what has been said, we will forbear to apologize for merely offering a few remarks on the origin and meaning of the traditions which concern the Doric migration, instead of endeavouring to give a history of that event. And, indeed, we might bring forward some most marvellous legends, but on that very account the better fitted to convince every one what is the nature of the ground on which we stand.

In the *Ἡοΐαι* attributed to Hesiod, it was stated that Polycaon the son of Butes, whose name represents the ancient (i.e. Lelegean) population of Messene, married Euæchme (*Εὐαίχμη*, viz. *celebrated for the spear*) the daughter of Hyllus, and grand-daughter of Hercules. In this simple and unpretending manner the early tradition conveyed the idea that the Hylleans and Dorians had, by the power of the spear, made themselves masters of Messene, and united themselves with the original inhabitants.^p

In the Laconian village of Abia, there was a temple of Hercules, which was said to have been built by Abia the nurse of Glenus, the brother of Hyllus.^q It was, therefore, supposed that Hyllus and Glenus themselves came to Laconia. Pausanias endeavours to

^p Pausan. IV. 2. 1.

^q I take this opportunity of renewing the memory of one of these Doric-Heraclide leaders, who has been so far forgotten, that in the passage of Pausanias IV. 30. 1. his name has been driven from the text. It should be thus written from the MSS.: Ὑλλου δὲ καὶ Δωριέων μάχη κρατηθέντων ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν, ἐν-

ταῦθα Ἀβίαν Γλήνου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τροφὸν ἀποχωρῆσαι λέγουσι, &c. This Glenus occurs as the son of Deianira in Apollod. II. 7. 8. and Schol. Soph. Trachin. 53. Diodorus IV. 37. calls him Gleneus. Pherecydes ap. Schol. Pind. Isth. IV. 104. reckons him among the children of Megara by Hercules.

reconcile the local tradition with the received history, and assumes that Abia had fled hither after the death of Hyllus; which, however, is inconsistent with the common account that Peloponnesus was in the hands of the enemy, and that the battle in which Hyllus fell was at the Isthmus. We come now to the common relation of the order of events.

5. According to this account, the Heraclidæ, after the death of their father, were in Trachis with their host Ceyx, who generously protected them for a time, but was afterwards forced, by the threats of Eurystheus, to refuse them any longer refuge; Ceyx, according to Hecataeus,^r was compelled to say to them, "I have not the power to assist you; withdraw therefore to another nation;" and upon this they sought an asylum in Attica. Those early historians, however, who stated that Hercules died as king in Mycenæ, gave an entirely different account of this circumstance, viz., that Eurystheus, after the death of Hercules, expelled his sons, and again usurped the dominion,^s and they fled in consequence to Attica.

At Athens they sat as suppliants at the altar of Pity, received the protection of Theseus or Demophon, dwelt in the Tetrapolis,^t and fought, together with the Athenians, under the command of Hyllus

^r Ap. Longin. 27. Creuzer. Fragment. p. 54. Apollodorus II. 8. 1. almost makes it appear that the Heraclidæ had been entertained by Eurystheus; but this does not agree with what precedes. Euripides Heraclid. 13. 195. represents them as flying first from Argos to Trachis,

and to Achaia in Thessaly, and then to Athens.

^s Thus Pherecydes in Antoin. Liber. 33. Sturz (Fragm. 50. p. 196.) does not quite understand this passage.

^t At Marathon, according to most authors. Diodorus IV. 57. mentions Tricorythus; Compare XII. 45.

and Iolaus (to whose prayers the gods had granted a second youth), at the pass of Sciron, a battle against Eurystheus; Macaria (probably an entirely symbolical being, but here the daughter of Hercules) having previously offered herself as an expiatory sacrifice. In this action they conquered the Argive king, whom Alcmene with womanish vengeance put to death, and whose tomb the Athenians showed before the temple of the Pallanian Minerva.^u This is the

^u The outline of the narrative is furnished by Pherecydes and Herod. IX. 27. the details by Euripides in the *Heraclidæ*, whose account was influenced by the circumstances of the time (Boeckh. *trag. Gr. princ.* p. 190). Whether the *Heraclidæ* of Pamphilus (Aristoph. *Plut.* 385. Schol. ad I. p. 112, Hemsterh.) was a *tragedy* or a *picture*, was frequently contested by the ancients. The latter appears to be most probable: see Winckelmann and Meyer *Kunstgeschichte*, p. 166. Pamphilus painted the battle of Phlius, one of those which took place in the 102nd or 103rd Olympiad; and it may be fairly supposed that he flourished about Olymp. 97, 4, the year in which the second edition of the *Plutus* was brought forward, and he might have lived to be the master of Apelles, who had obtained great celebrity in the reign of Philip.—Concerning the battle, see Elmsley ad Eur. *Heraclid.* 860; concerning the death of Eurystheus, Wesseling. ad Diod. IV. 57. and Staveren. *Misc. Obs.* vol. X. p. 383. Pallene is between Marathon and Athens;—according to

Strabo VIII. p. 377. the tomb was at Gargettus on the western coast; according to Pausanias I. 40. in Megaris. Concerning Macaria, see Pausan. I. 32. Schol. Aristoph. *Eq.* 1148. Zenob II. 61. and other grammarians in v. βάλλ' εἰς Μακαρίαν. A totally different tradition is preserved by Duris ap. Schol. *Plat.* p. 134, Ruhnck. In the above quoted passage of Strabo, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν χωρὶς ἐν ΘΗ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΩΙ, ἀποκόψαντος αὐτὴν Ἰολάου περὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Μακαρίαν should probably be written ἐν ΤΡΙΚΟΡΥΘΩΙ; thus in VIII. p. 383. one MS. has Τρικόρινθος. (In this correction I now find that I was anticipated by Elmsley ad Eurip. *Heracl.* 103.) Heyne indeed (*ad Apollod.* II. 8. 1.) explains ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ of the tomb of Eurystheus in Pausan. I. 44. 14.; but this was in Megaris, and there never was any change in the boundaries of Corinth and Megaris. Heyne also considers the tomb near the temple of the Pallanian Minerva and that at Gargettus as identical; but this is not possible, on account of the situation of the two places.—Concerning Gargettus see the

fable so much celebrated by the tragedians and orators, a *locus communis* as it were, which the Athenians sometimes even mentioned in their decrees,^z or wherever it served to show how poorly the Peloponnesians had requited their ancient benefactors. What credit a Lacedæmonian would have given to these stories, we know not; Pindar certainly knew nothing of them, for he states that Iolaus had near *Thebes* received a momentary renewal of youthful vigour for the purpose of putting to death Eurystheus, after which he immediately expired, and was buried by the Thebans in the family tomb of Amphitryon.⁷ In this account Eurystheus is represented as having been conquered in the neighbourhood of Thebes, and in consequence by a Theban army. It is not however necessary to esteem the Athenian tradition as altogether groundless, and purposely invented: it was probably founded on some actual event, and afterwards modified and embellished. The connecting link was without doubt the temple of Hercules in Attica. It was natural that, if the Athenians worshipped that hero, they should wish to have had the merit of protecting his descendants. Hence the sons of Hercules were said to have dwelt in the Tetrapolis at Marathon, where was the chief temple of Hercules in Attica, and in the neighbourhood of which flowed the fountain Macaria, represented as a daughter of that hero. It was on this account, as is reported, that the entire Tetrapolis was during the Peloponnesian war spared by the Lacedæmonians. Many cir-

article *Attika* in Ersch's *Encyclopædia*, p. 222.

^z Demosth. de Corona, p. 147.

⁷ It does not follow from Pindar *Pyth.* IX. 82. that Io-

laus was restored to life, which must have been alluded to elsewhere. I follow the second Scholiast, ἠύξατο δὲ τῷ Διὶ ἐπὶ μίαν ὥραν ἡβῆσαι, &c. Compare Ovid. *Met.* IX. 408.

cumstances, which will hereafter be brought forward, seem to show that an union and intercourse subsisted between the Dorians of Peloponnesus and some of the northern towns of Attica,^z the foundation of which appears to have been laid in the times of the Doric migration, by a settlement of Dorians and Bœotians in these towns. But this settlement had doubtless, when those fables were invented, been already lost in the mass of the Athenian people.

6. After this battle, won by the aid of the Athenians, the Heraclidæ are said (and with good reason, as they were assisted by the Athenians) to have obtained possession of all Peloponnesus, and to have ruled undisturbed for one year (or some fixed period); at the expiration of which, a pestilence (like a tragical catastrophe) drove them back again to Attica. The mythologists make use of this time to send Tlepolemus the Heraclide to Rhodes, in order that he may arrive there before the Trojan war. Of all this, however, Pherecydes could have known nothing, as he relates that Hyllus, having conquered Eurystheus, went to Thebes,^a without subduing Peloponnesus, and there with the other Heraclidæ formed a settlement near the gate of Electra, a circumstance which we shall advert to hereafter.^b In Peloponnesus, however, according to the traditions chronologically arranged, Eurystheus was succeeded by the Pelopidæ, who accordingly appear as the expellers of the legitimate sovereigns of the race of Perseus.^c Whether

^z See book II. ch. 11. § 10.

^a Ap. Antonin. Lib. 33.—
There is also a trace of another tradition in Apostolius XVIII. 7.

^b See book II. ch. 11. § 7.

^c Thus also Thucyd. I. 9.

Plat. Leg. III. p. 686. In Schol. Eurip. Orest. 5. write αὐτοὺς μὲν (the Atridæ) ἀποστῆσαι Λακεδαιμόνος, τοὺς δὲ Πελοπίδας βασιλεῦσαι. Polyænus

any such circumstance was known to the early poets is very much to be doubted; but it is at least clear, that in this case we are not in possession of the real tradition itself, but of scientific combinations of it. Against these new sovereigns were directed the expeditions of the Heraclidæ, of which it is generally stated that there were three. The account given of them follows the general idea of an entire dependence of the Dorians on the Delphian oracle;^d but the misconception of its injunctions, which embarrasses and perplexes the whole question, may, we think, be attributed entirely to the invention of the Athenians. The oracle mentioned the *third fruit*, and the *narrow passage by sea* (στενυγρὰ), as the time and way of the promised return, which the Athenians falsely interpreted to mean the third *year*, and the *Isthmus of Corinth*. But the account given in Apollodorus, nearly falling into Iambic or Trochaic metre, leaves no doubt that he took his account of the oracle from the Attic tragedians,^e as was remarked above. Deceived by these predictions, Hyllus forced his way into Peloponnesus in the third year, and found at the Isthmus the Arcadians, Ionians, and Achæans of the peninsula already assembled. In a single combat with Echemus the son of Aëropus, the prince of Tegea, Hyllus fell,

I. 10. is singular in mentioning Eurysthidæ in Sparta at the time of the migration; but by Eurysthidæ must be meant "*descendants of Eurysthenes*," not "*Eurysthenes and his party*." See Clinton F. H. vol. I. p. 333.

^d See particularly Plato *ubi sup.*

^e Apollod. II. 8. 2. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀντεῖπε τῶν ἀτυχημάτων αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι· τοὺς γὰρ χρησμούς

οὐ συμβάλλειν. λέγειν γὰρ οὐ γῆς ἀλλὰ γενεᾶς καρπὸν τρίτον καὶ στενυγρὰν τὴν εὐρυγαστέρα, δεξίαν κατὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔχοντι τὴν θάλασσαν. With the word εὐρυγαστῶρ compare κύτους κοιλογάστορος, Æschyl. Theb. 478. and 1026. In later times, however, these oracles were put into an epic form, as may be seen from CEnomaus ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. V. 20.

and was buried in Megara; upon which the Heraclidæ promised not to renew the attempt for fifty or one hundred years from that time.^f Here every one will recognise the battle of the Tegeate with the Hyllæan as an ancient tradition. But in the arrangement, by which it was contrived that the expeditions of the Heraclidæ should not be placed during the Trojan war and the youth of Orestes, we do not hesitate to suspect the industry of ancient systematic mythologists.

7. When the Heraclidæ had been once separated from the Dorians as belonging to a different race, and Hyllus set down as only the adopted son of the Doric king, it immediately became a matter of doubt at what time the junction of the Dorians and Heraclidæ in one expedition should be fixed. Sometimes the Dorians are represented as joining the Heraclidæ before the first, sometimes before the second, sometimes before the third expedition; by one writer as setting out from Hestiaeotis, and by another from Parnassus.^g There were doubtless no real traditional grounds for any one report; and still less any sufficient to place the name Hyllus, and the events connected with it, at any fixed epoch. Hence also Hyllus is at one time called the contemporary of Atreus, and at another of Orestes;^h Pamphylus and Dymas are stated to have lived from the time of Hercules to the conquest of Peloponnesus.ⁱ Nor is there any absurdity in this, inasmuch as they are the collective names of races which existed throughout

^f See Herod. IX. 26. Pausan. I. 41. 3. I. 44. VIII. 5. 1. VIII. 45. 2. Diod. IV. 58. Schol. Pind. Olymp. X. 80. Van Staveren Misc. Observ. X. 3. p. 385.

^g Pausan. VIII. 5. Apollod. II. 7. 7. Diod. IV. 58. Strabo

IV. p. 427 C. Isocrat. Archidam. p. 119 B. τελευτήσαντος Εὐρυσθέως.

^h Manso, Sparta, vol. I. p. 61. ⁱ Apollod. II. 8. 3. In Pausan. II. 28. 3. Orsobia, a daughter of Deiphontes of Epidaurus, is the wife of Pamphylus.

this whole period. The descendants of Hyllus, however, are no longer races, but, as it appears, real persons; viz., his son Cleodæus,^k and his grandson Aristomachus. These names stood at the head of the genealogy of the Heraclidæ; as, for example, of the kings of Sparta; and they can hardly have been mere creations of fancy. From their succession is probably calculated the celebrated epoch of the expedition of the Heraclidæ, viz., 80 years after the Trojan war, which was without doubt determined by the early historians, since Thucydides was acquainted with it. The Alexandrine critics generally adopted it, as we know expressly of Eratosthenes, Crates, and Apollodorus.^l But all that is recounted of the expeditions of these two princes, however small in amount,^m cannot have been acknowledged by those who, like Herodotus, and probably all the early writers, stated the armistice after the death of Hyllus as lasting 100 years.ⁿ

8. At length Apollo himself opens the eyes of the Heraclidæ to the meaning of the oracle. It was not across the *Isthmus*, but over the *Straits of Rhium*, that they were to cross into Peloponnesus, and after the third generation had died away. They therefore first sailed from Naupactus, to the Molycrian promontory (Antirrhium), and thence to Rhium in Peloponnesus, which was only five stadia distant.^o That the Dorians

^k He was mentioned by Hesiod; see above, p. 55.^k A different genealogy is given by Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 804, viz., that Cleodæus was the son of Hyllus, the brother of Lichas and Ceyx, the husband of a certain Peridea, and the father of Temenus.

^l See Crates ap. Tatian, cont.

Græcos, p. 107. ed. Oxf. Interpret. ad Vellei. I. 1.

^m See particularly CEnomaus ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. V. 20.; and concerning the second see Apollod. II. 8. 2. Pausan. II. 7.

ⁿ Isocrates Archidam, p. 119, only supposes one expedition.

^o Pausan. V. 3. Eusebius ubi

actually came on that side into Peloponnesus, is a statement which may be looked on as certain; agreeing (as it does) with the fact that the countries near the Isthmus were the last to which the Dorians penetrated. * The name *Naupactus* implies the existence of ship-building there in early times;^p and there was a tradition that the Heraclidæ passed over on rafts, imitations of which were afterwards publicly exposed at a festival, and called *Στεμματιαῖα*, i. e. *crowned with garlands*.^q This festival was doubtless the Carnea, since the Carnean Apollo was worshipped at Sparta under the name of *Stemmatias*. Now it is also stated that the Acarnanian soothsayer Carnus (who was reported to have founded the worship of the Carnean Apollo) was killed at the time of this expedition by Hippotes the son of Phylas, for which reason the Heraclidæ offered expiatory sacrifices to his memory.^r We see from this that some rites of a peculiar worship of Apollo were observed at this passage, which were probably for the most part of an expiatory nature. Now I have shown elsewhere, that the Carnean or Hyacinthian worship of

sup. Polyæn. I. 9. Compare Heyne ad Apollod. p. 208.

^p See Strab. IX. p. 427. Ephorus, p. 105. ed. Marx. Compare Stephanus and Suidas in *Ναύπακτος*.

^q Bekk. Anecd. Græc. p. 305. 31. στεμματιαῖον. μίμημα τῶν σχεδιῶν αἷς ἐπλευσαν οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι τὸν μεταξὺ τῶν Ῥίων τόπον. Hesychius, στεμματιαῖον. δίκηλον τι ἐν ἑορτῇ πομπέων δαιμόνων (as should be read for δαίμονος, rather than πομπέως for πομπέων with Siebelis ad Pausan. III. 20. 9). Δίκηλον is explained by Hesychius to be a Lacedæmonian word for "sta-

tue." These πομπεῖς δαίμονες, the "conducting deities," were probably Zeus Agetor (book III. ch. 12. § 5.) and the Carnean Apollo: and their festival doubtless was connected with the Carnea. At this solemnity then (as it seems) a boat was carried round, and upon it a statue of the Carnean Apollo (Ἀπόλλων στεμματίας), both adorned with lustratory garlands, called δίκηλον στεμματιαῖον, in allusion to the passage from Naupactus. Compare book II. ch. 3. § 1. ch. 8. § 15.

^r Paus. III. 20. 9.

the Ægidæ originated at Thebes, and prevailed in Peloponnesus before the arrival of the Dorians, particularly at Amyclæ:^a consequently, that prevalent near the straits of Naupactus might have been another, probably an Acarnanian^b branch of the religion of Apollo, which was afterwards incorporated in the Carnean festival; a supposition which, if admitted, would enable us to explain many statements of ancient authors. The religious rites and festivals are in fact often so intermingled and confused together, that it is necessary to trace their component parts to many and distant sources.

9. At their passage from Naupactus the Dorians stood in great need of the friendship and assistance of the native races, the Ozolian Locrians and Ætolians. The Locrians occupied Naupactus in early times;^c the Ætolians were their immediate neighbours, and their powerful city of Calydon was the mistress of the region. The Locrians are said to have aided the Dorians in their passage, by deceiving the Peloponnesians with false beacons;^d and we shall meet hereafter with traces of a lasting amity between the Locrians and Sparta. A most singular, but, doubtless for that very reason, a most ancient dress, has been given by mythology to the union of the Dorians and Ætolians. This connexion, which was indispensable for the passage from Naupactus, is also found implied in other legends, the general

^a See *Orchomenos*, p. 333. To the passages there quoted may be added Etymol. in v. Ἀλήτης. And see book II. ch. 8. § 15.

^b There were in later times Acarnanian soothsayers at Thermopylæ, Herod. VIII. 221. in the case of Pisistratus, and elsewhere.

^c Thucyd. I. 103. The city was afterwards Ætolian: Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 1756.

^d Polyb. Excerpt. lib. XII. ap. Mai, Script. Vet. Nov. Coll. vol. II. p. 386.

character of tradition being to express the same thing in various ways. Of these we may mention the marriage of Hercules with Deianira, the daughter of Æneus the Calydonian.^y At this time the Dorians were ordered by the oracle to seek a person with three eyes for a leader. This person they recognised in Oxylyus the Ætolian, who either sat upon a horse, himself having one eye, or rode upon a one-eyed mule. Difficult as it is to rest satisfied with this interpretation of the oracle, so casual a circumstance having no connexion with the general course of events, yet it appears impossible to discover the true meaning of the word *τρίοφθαλμος*.^z In all probability this expression for the whole Ætolian race was only delivered in a mythical shape, and the sorry explanation was not invented until a late period.^a The family of Oxylyus is stated to have come from Calydon; so that the Ætolians (who in later times made themselves masters of Elis) appear to have come for the most part from that place.^b There existed, however, an ancient alliance and affinity between the inhabitants of Elis, the Epeans, and the Ætolians who dwelt on the farther side of the Corinthian gulf; and Oxylyus himself was said to have originally belonged to Elis;^c hence it does not appear that there was any actual war between these two states, but only that the Ætolians were received by the Eleans, and admitted to

^y And of Pleuron with Xanthippe the daughter of Dorus, Apollod. I. 7. 7, although Ætolus is also represented as killing Dorus the son of Apollo.

^z Perhaps the Ætolians had from early times worshipped the three-eyed Zeus (*Zeus τρίοφθαλμος*), which Sthenelus the Ætolian brought from Troy, according to Pausanias II. 24. 5.

^a Oxylyus is said to have contracted an alliance with the Heraclidæ in the island of Sphacteria (Steph. Byzant.); but this story is probably founded merely on the etymology of the name Sphacteria.

^b As also Pausanias, V. 1. says.

^c Pausan. ubi sup. Strabo X. p. 463. Compare II. ψ. 630.

the rights of citizenship;^d and at the same time the same honours were permitted to the heroes and heroines of the Ætolians as to their own.^e

10. The systematised tradition next makes mention of a battle which took place between the united force of Peloponnesus, under the command of Tisamenus, the grandson of Agamemnon, and the sons of Aristomachus; in which the latter were victorious, and Peloponnesus fell into their possession. According as it suits the object of the narrator, this engagement is either represented to have been both by sea and land, and to have taken place at the passage,^f or after the march through Arcadia. We may fairly suppose that it was inferred merely on probable grounds that a battle *must* have been fought by Tisamenus, whom the tradition represented as prince of the Achæans at the capture of Ægialea.^g Many traditions agree in stating that the Heraclidæ at that time took the road through Arcadia; Oxylyus is said to have led them by this way,

^d This is the representation given by Pausanias V. 4. 1. *ἐπὶ ἀναδασμῷ τῆς χώρας*.

^e Pausan. V. 15. 7. Concerning the Tyrrhenians who accompanied them, see *Orchomenos*, p. 443. note 3, together with Pausan. II. 31. 3. Of the Thebans, who are said to have joined under Autiesion, see a detailed account in the same place.

^f As, e. g., Apollodorus evidently.

^g The name of Tisamenus, as an epithet of his father (*τισάμενος*), corresponds to Eurysaces the son of Ajax, Telemachus and Ptoliporthus of Ulysses, Astyanax of Hector, Nicostratus the youngest son of Menelaus

according to Hesiod, Gorgophone the daughter of Perseus, Metanastes the son of Archander, Aletes of Hippotes; but it cannot be inferred from this that it was mere fiction, since this method of giving names existed in historic times (Polyæn. VI. 1, 6) even in the royal family of Macedon. See also what Plutarch de Malignit. Herodot. 39, says on the names of the children of Adeimantus the Corinthian. Names derived from a characteristic of the parent (an example of which occurs in Iliad IX. 562) were called *φερόνυμα*, according to Schol. Steph. in Dionys. Gramm. ap. Bekker Anecd. Gr. vol. II. p. 868.

that they might not be envious of his fertile territory of Elis;^h Cresphontes is moreover stated to have been the brother-in-law of Cypselus king of Arcadia, who had his royal seat at Basilis, on the Alpheus, in the country of the Parrhasians.ⁱ

11. Next comes the division of Peloponnesus among the three brothers Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodamus, or his sons. We have to thank the tragedians alone for the invention and embellishment of this fable;^k that it contains little or no truth is at once evident; for it was not till long after this time that the Dorians possessed the larger part of Peloponnesus;^l and a division of lands not yet conquered is without example in Grecian history. At the same time it is related that, upon the altars whereon the brothers sacrificed to their grandfather Zeus, there was found a frog for Argos, a snake for Sparta, and a fox for Messenia. It seems however probable that these are mere symbols, by which the inventors (perhaps the hostile Athe-

^h Pausan. V. 4, 1. See below, ch. 7, § 6, note.

ⁱ Pausan. VIII. 29, 4. It is related as a stratagem of Cypselus by Polyænus I. 7. Perhaps *Cypselia*, a fort in Parrhasia, near Sciritis in Laconia, is the same as Basilis, Thucyd. V. 33. It would not however be very accurate to say of Basilis that it lies *ἐπὶ τῇ Σκιρίτιδι*. An oracle referring to the amity with the Arcadians is preserved in Schol. Aristid. Panathen. p. 191, ed. Steph.; p. 33, ed. Frommel.

^k See *Æginetica*, p. 39, note ^e, and Euripides ap. Strab. VIII. p. 366. Sophocl. Aj. 1287. (comp. Suidas in *v. δραπέτης*), Hesychius in *ἀνατομήν* and *κα-*

ταβολή.—Plato Leg. III. p. 686. Apollodorus, Polyæn. I. 6. The vase in Tischbein I. 7, represents an *ἄγων ὑδροφορικὸς*, and not this casting of lots, as Italsky supposes. The same group indeed sometimes occurs on gems *armed* (Gemmæ Florentinæ, tom. II. tab. 29; compare Winckelmann Monum. ined. n. 164, vol. III. of his works, p. xxvii.); but I believe that an *ἄγων ὑδροφορικὸς* is equally meant, as, e. g., that of the Argonauts in Apollon. Rhod. IV. 1767, since the expedition of the Heraclidæ, early as it was, was not one of the usual subjects of art.

^l See below, ch. 5.

nians) attempted to represent the character of those nations. For it cannot be supposed that national arms or ensigns are meant; unless indeed we give credit to the pretended discovery of Fourmont, who affirms that he found in the temple of the Amyclæan Apollo a shield with the inscription of Teleclus as general (*βάγος*), with a snake in the middle; and another of Anaxidamus, with a snake and two foxes.^m But he has represented the shield of so extraordinary a form, with sharp ends, and indentures on the sides, that the fraud is at once open to detection; and consequently the supposition that the snake was the armorial bearing of Sparta remains entirely unfounded.ⁿ

12. Although we cannot here give a complete account of the great revolution which the irruption of the Dorians universally produced in the condition of the different races of Greece,^o it may nevertheless be remarked, that a very large portion of the Achæans, who originally came from Phthia, retired to the northern coast of Peloponnesus, and compelled the Ionians to pass over to Attica. The reduction of the principal fortress of this country, the Posidonian Helice, is ascribed to Tisamenus; and that Helice was in fact the abode of the most distinguished families of the Achæan nation is evident from the legend, that Oxyllus the Ætolian, at the command of the oracle, shared the do-

^m Boeckh Inscr. I. p. 81, 82.

ⁿ In an oracle preserved by Plutarch de Pyth. Orac. 24, p. 289, the Spartans are called *ὀφιοβόροι*. The word of the oracle itself doubtless was *ὀφιόδευροι* (*ὀφιόδευροι*), as in Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. 23, which however might have been explained to have the same meaning as the former word, viz. "*drawing*

back the skin of serpents in order to eat them." The frog was the emblem of the Argives, as never coming out of their hole; compare ch. 8, § 7.

^o Isocrates, Panath. p. 286 A., says far too generally, *μάχη δὲ νικήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἡττηθέντας ἐκ τε τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐξέβαλον*, which he afterwards modifies considerably.

minion with Agorius, a Pelopid, who was descended from Penthilus the son of Orestes, and dwelt at Helice.^p The chronological difficulty of Oxylus being called the cotemporary of a grandson of Penthilus is not of much importance. At Helice was also shown the tomb of Tisamenus, whose supposed ashes the Spartans (doubtless with the idea of thus making amends for the injustice of his expulsion) afterwards brought to their city, as they also did the corpse of Orestes at Tegea.^q But hereupon follows a series of migrations to Æolis in Asia, which was founded in later times, in which the numbers of the Achæan race predominated. Although Orestes is called a leader of the first expedition,^r he probably is only put for his descendants: Penthilus also is perhaps put only for that part of his descendants who went with the colony to Lesbos and Æolis. For all the Penthilidæ did not go; we find indeed Penthilidæ in Mitylene;^s and others at Helice, as we have just seen. Pisander, a Laconian Achæan, is also mentioned as having gone with the expedition of Orestes; and there were men of his family in Tenedos at the time of Pindar.^t

^p V. 4, 2. An *Achæan* from Helice occurs as the cotemporary of Hercules in Theocrit. XXV. 165; a greater inconsistency with the received chronology than poets usually permit themselves.

^q Pausan. VII. 1.

^r *Orchomenos*, pp. 398, 477.

^s Aristot. Pol. V. 8, according to the most probable reading.

^t Pind. Nem. XI. 32.

CHAP. IV.

§ 1. Physical Structure of Greece and Peloponnesus. § 2. Physical Structure of Arcadia. § 3. Of Laconia. § 4. Of Argolis. § 5. Of Achaia and Elis. § 6. Improvement of the Soil by artificial means. § 7. Early Cultivation of the Soil by the Pelasgians and Leleges. § 8. Numbers of the Doric Invaders. § 9. Mode by which they conquered Peloponnesus.

1. So wonderful is the physical organization of Greece, that each of its parts has received its peculiar destination and a distinct character; it is like a body whose members are different in form, but between which a mutual connexion and dependence necessarily exists. The northern districts as far as Thessaly are the nutritive organs which from time to time introduced fresh and vigorous supplies: as we approach the south, its structure assumes a more marked and decided form, and is impressed with more peculiar features. Attica and the islands may be considered as extremities, which, as it were, served as the active instruments for the body of Greece, and by which it was kept in constant connexion with others; while Peloponnesus, on the other hand, seems formed for a state of life, occupied more with its own than external concerns, and whose interests and feelings centred in itself. As it was the extremity of Greece, there also appeared to be an end set by nature to all change of place and habitation; and hence the character of the Peloponnesians was firm, steady, and exclusive. With good reason therefore was the region where these principles predominated considered by the Greeks as the centre and acropolis^a

^a Peloponnesus is called the *Olymp*. p. 129, in Meurs. Op. ἀκρόπολις γῆς in Phlegon de vol. VII.

of their countries; and those who possessed it were universally acknowledged to rank as first in Greece.

2. This character of Peloponnesus will become more evident, if we examine the peculiar nature of its mountain-chains. Though the Isthmus of Corinth connected the peninsula with the continent by a narrow neck of land, yet it was not traversed in its whole length by any continuous chain of mountains; the Ænean hills being entirely separated from the mountains of Peloponnesus.^b The principal elevations in Peloponnesus form very nearly a circle, the circumference of which passes over the mountains of Pholoë, Lampe, Aroanius, Cyllene, Artemisium, Parthenium, and Parnon; then over Boreum, and from thence up to the northern rise of mount Taygetus, and finally over mount Lycaon along the river Alpheus. The highest ridge appears to be that part of Cyllene which looks to Parnon: the height of Cyllene, according to the statement of Dicæarchus,^c was not quite 15 stadia; according to another measurement, it was nine stadia wanting 80 feet;^d a considerable height, when it is remembered that the sea is near, and that Peloponnesus is the last link of the great chain, which runs down from the north of Macedonia. But the eastern plains also, for instance that of Tegea, are at a great height

^b As Pouqueville several times remarks. The mountain-chains are more connected by the Ænean promontory, and the mountains running westward from Sicyon and joining mount Cyllene.

^c Ap. Gemin. Elem. Astron. XIV. p. 55, in Petavius Uranolog. The passage is from the work of Dicæarchus, entitled Καταμετρήσεις τῶν ἐν Πελοπον-

νήσῳ ὁρῶν, concerning which see Pliny N. H. II. 65, and Suidas in Δικαίανχος.

^d Apollodorus ap. Steph. Byz. (p. 400, ed. Heyne.) Eustath. ad Hom. p. 1951, 15. According to Capt. Peytier Cyllene is 7266 Paris feet in height, Taygetus 7434, Parthenion (Zagura) 6095. These measurements make Taygetus somewhat higher than Cyllene.

above the sea, and are often covered with snow late in the spring.^e Now from the circle of mountains which has been pointed out, all the rivers of any note take their rise; and from it all the mountainous ranges diverge, which form the many headlands and points of Peloponnesus. The interior part of the country however has only one opening towards the western sea, through which all its waters flow out united in the Alpheus. The peculiar character of this inland tract is also increased by the circumstance of its being intersected by some lower secondary chains of hills, which compel the waters of the valleys nearest to the great chains either to form lakes, or to seek a vent by subterraneous passages.^f Hence it is that in the mountainous district in the north-east of Peloponnesus many streams disappear, and again emerge from the earth. This region is ARCADIA; a country consisting of ridges of hills and elevated plains, and of deep and narrow valleys, with streams flowing through channels formed by precipitous rocks; a country so manifestly separated by nature from the rest of Peloponnesus, that, although not politically united, it was always considered in the light of a single community. Its climate was extremely cold; the atmosphere dense, particularly in the mountains to the north:^g the effect which this had on the character and dispositions of the inhabitants has been described in a masterly manner by Polybius, himself a native of Arcadia.

3. LACONIA is formed by two mountain-chains

^e Holland in Walpole's Travels, p. 426.

^f Aristot. Meteorol. I. 13.

^g See Polybius IV. 21, 1, who particularly mentions Cynætha. Close by was the cold spring of

Λοῦσοι, or Λοῦσσα; and Sprengel in his translation of Theophrastus, vol. II. p. 383, well corrects in Theophrast. IX. 15, 8, τὸ δὲ κώνειον ἄριστον περὶ Λοῦσσα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ψυχροτάτοις τόποις.

running immediately from Arcadia, and enclosing the river Eurotas, whose source is separated from that of an Arcadian stream by a very trifling elevation. The Eurotas is, for some way below the city of Sparta, a rapid mountain-stream; then, after forming a cascade, it stagnates into a morass; but lower down it passes over a firm soil in a gentle and direct course.^b Near the town of Sparta rocks and hills approach the banks on both sides, and almost entirely shut in the river both above and below the town:ⁱ this enclosed plain is without doubt the "*hollow Lacedæmon*" of Homer.^k Here the narrowness of the valley, and the heights of Taygetus, projecting above in a lofty parapet, increase the heat of summer, both by concentrating the sunbeams, as it were, into a focus, and by presenting a barrier to the cool sea-breezes;^l whilst in winter the cold is doubly violent. The same natural circumstances produce violent storms of rain, and the numerous mountain-torrents frequently cause inundations in the narrow valleys.^m The mountains, although running in connected chains, are yet very much interrupted; their broken and rugged forms were by the ancients attributed to earthquakes;ⁿ one of which caused so great consternation at Sparta a short time before the war with the Helots. The country is not however destitute of plains; that indeed along the lower part of the Eurotas is one of the finest in Greece,

^b From the Journal of Fourmont the younger.

ⁱ Polyb. V. 22.

^k According to the interpretation of the Venetian Scholiast and others.

^l Abaris is said to have appeared a pestilence, which had been occasioned by this heat;

Jamblich. in Vit. Pythagor. 19. Compare Apollon. Dyscol. Hist. Mirab. c. 4, p. 9, ed. Meurs.

^m Theophrastus calls Laconia *ῥωδης, ἐπομβρος, καὶ ἔλειος* (de causis pluviae III. 3, 4).

ⁿ *ῥωχμοὺς ἀπὸ σεισμῶν ἔχουσα*, Eustath. ad Hom. p. 294, 10, p. 1478, 43, ed. Rom.

stretching towards the south, and protected by mountains from the north wind: moreover, the maritime district, surrounded by rocks, from Malea to Epidaurus Limera (Malvasia), is extremely fertile.^o Nor are the valleys on the frontiers of Messenia less productive; towards the promontory of Tænarum however the soil continually becomes harder, drier, and more ferruginous. The error of supposing that this country was nearly a desert appears from the very large number of its vegetable productions mentioned by Theophrastus and others: Alcman and Theognis also celebrate its wines: vines were planted up to the very summit of mount Taygetus, and laboriously watered from fountains in forests of plane-trees;^p the country was in this respect able to provide for its own wants. But the most valuable product, in the estimation of the new inhabitants, was doubtless the iron of the mountains.^q More fortunate still was the situation of the country for purposes of defence, the interior of Laconia being only accessible from Arcadia, Argolis, and Messenia by narrow passes and mountain-roads; and the most fertile part is the least exposed to the inroads of enemies from those quarters: the want of harbours^r likewise contributes to the natural isolation of Laconia from other lands. Euripides has on the whole very successfully seized the peculiar character of the country in the following lines, and contrasted it with the more favoured territory of Messenia:^s

^o See Des Monceaux in Cornille le Bruyn, tom. V. p. 465.

^p Alcman ap. Athen. I. p. 31 C. Theognis, v. 879 sq. ed. Bekker.

^q Book III. ch. 2, § 3. Boeckh's Economy of Athens, book IV. ch. 19.

^r *Ἀλιμενότης*, Xenoph. Hell. IV. 8, 7.

^s In Strabo VIII. p. 366. See Cresphont. fr. 1, ed. Dindorf.

Far spreads Laconia's ample bound,
 With high-heap'd rocks encompass'd round,
 The invader's threat despising;
 But ill its bare and rugged soil
 Rewards the ploughman's painful toil;
 Scant harvests there are rising.

While o'er Messenia's beauteous land
 Wide-watering streams their arms expand,
 Of nature's gifts profuse;
 Bright plenty crowns her smiling plain;
 The fruitful tree, the full-ear'd grain,
 Their richest stores produce.

Large herds her spacious valleys fill,
 On many a soft-descending hill
 Her flocks unnumber'd stray;
 No fierce extreme her climate knows,
 Nor chilling frost, nor wintry snows,
 Nor dogstar's scorching ray.

For along the banks of the Pamisus (which, notwithstanding the shortness of its course, is one of the broadest rivers in Peloponnesus), down to the Messenian bay, there runs a large and beautiful valley, justly called *Macaria*, or "The Happy," and well worth the artifice by which Cresphontes is said to have obtained it. To the north, more in the direction of Arcadia, lies the plain of Stenyclarus, surrounded by a hilly barrier. The western part of the country is more mountainous, though without any such heights as mount Taygetus; towards the river Neda, on the frontiers of Arcadia, the country assumes a character of the wildest and most romantic beauty.

4. ARGOLIS is formed by a ridge of hills which branches from Mount Cyllene and Parthenium in Arcadia, and is connected with it by a mountain-chain, very much broken, and abounding in ravines and

caverns (hence called Τρητὸν);¹ through which runs the celebrated *Contoporia*,² a road cut out, as it were, between walls of rock, connecting Argos with Corinth. By similar passes Cleonæ, Nemea, and Phlius, more to the south, and eastwards Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Epidaurus, were connected; and this natural division into many small districts had a considerable effect upon the political state of Argos. The southern part of this chain ends in a plain, at the opening of which, and near the pass just alluded to, was situated Mycenæ, and in a wider part of it the city of Argos. The nature of this anciently cultivated plain is very remarkable; it was, as is evident, gradually formed by the torrents which constantly filled up the bay between the mountains; and hence it was originally little else than fen and morass.³ Inachus, "*the stream*," and Melia, the daughter of Oceanus, "*the damp valley*" (where ash-trees, *μελίαι*, grow), were called the parents of the ancient Argives; and the epithet "thirsty" (*πολυδίψιον* "Ἀργος"), which is applied to Argos in ancient poems, refers only to the scarcity of spring-water in the neighbourhood of the town. Yet, notwithstanding the rugged nature of the rest of Argolis, there are, both in the interior and near the sea, here and there, small plains, which by the fertility of their soil attract and encourage the husbandman; the south-eastern coast slopes regularly down to the sea. To the north of the mountain-ridge which bounded Argolis, extending from the Isthmus

¹ It has been beautifully said of this district that *ὄφρυά τε καὶ κοιλαίνεαι*, Strabo VIII. p. 381.
² Polybius XVI. 16. 4. places it about west-south-west from Corinth. Comp. Athenæus II. p. 43 E. Pindar Olymp. XI. 30. means the same place.
³ Aristot. Meteor. I. 14. p. 755 C, and Aristides, *Ægypt.* vol. II. p. 351, ed. Jebb.

as far as a narrow pass on the boundaries of Achaia, there is a beautiful, and in ancient times highly-celebrated plain, in which Corinth and Sicyon were situated.⁷ With respect to the progress of civilization at Argos, it is important to know that the mountains between that town and Corinth contain copper:⁸ accordingly, in the former town the forging of metals appears to have been early introduced; and hence arose the ancient celebrity of the Argive shields.⁹ But no precious metal has been ever found in any part of Peloponnesus: a circumstance which greatly tended to direct the attention of its inhabitants to agriculture and war, rather than commerce and manufactures.

5. That region which was in later times called ACHAIA, is only a narrow tract of land along the coast, lying upon the slope of the northern mountain-range of Arcadia. Hence most of the Achæan cities are situated on hills above the sea, and some few in enclosed valleys. The sources of the numerous streams by which the country is watered lie almost without exception in Arcadia, whose frontiers here reach beyond the water-line.

But the lowest slope of Peloponnesus, and the most gradual inclination to the sea, is on the western side; and it is in this quarter that we find the largest extent of champaign country in the peninsula, which, being surrounded by the chain beginning from mounts Scollis and Pholoë, was hence called the HOLLOW ELIS. It was a most happy circumstance that these wide

⁷ Athen. V. p. 219 A. Lucian. Icaromenipp. 18. Nav. 20. Liv. XXVII. 31. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 969. Zenobius III. 57. Journal and Gell's Argolis. ⁸ See Schol. Pind. Olymp. VII. 152. Boeckh Comment. Pind. p. 175. Siebelis ad Pausan. II. 25, 6.

⁹ According to Fourmont's

plains enjoyed an almost uninterrupted state of peace. Towards the coast the soil becomes sandy; a broad line of sand stretches along the sea nearly as far as the Triphylian Pylos, which from this circumstance is so frequently spoken of by Homer as "*the sandy*."^b As this tract of country is very little raised above the level of the sea, a number of small lakes or lagoons have been formed, which extend along the greatest part of the coast, and are sometimes connected with one another, sometimes with the sea. Such being the nature of the country, the river Alpheus runs gently between low chains of hills and through small valleys into the sea. Towards the south the country becomes more mountainous, and approaches more to the character of Arcadia.

6. If now we picture to ourselves this singular country before the improvements of art and agriculture, it presents to the mind a very extraordinary appearance. The waters of Arcadia are evidently more calculated to fill up the deep ravines and hollows of that country, or to produce irregular inundations, than to fertilise the soil by quiet and gentle streams. The valleys of Stympbalus, Pheneus, Orchomenus, and Caphyæ in Arcadia required canals, dams, &c., before they could be used for the purposes of husbandry. One part of the plain of Argos was carefully drained, in order to prevent it becoming a part of the marshes of Lerna. In the lower part of the course of the Eurotas it was necessary to use some artificial means for confining the river: and that this care was at some time bestowed on it, is evident from the remains of quays,^c which give to the river the appear-

^b Elis in general is a χώρα ὑπαμμος, according to Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. I. 6. ^c I here follow the Journal of the younger Fourmont, which appears deserving of credit: he

ance of a canal. The ancient Nestorian Pylus was situated on a river (Anigrus), which even now, when it overflows, makes the country a very unhealthy place of residence; and no traveller can pass a night at Lerna without danger. Thus in many parts of Peloponnesus it was necessary, not merely for the use of the soil, but even for the sake of health and safety, to regulate nature by the exertions of art. At the present time, from the inactivity of the natives, the inevitable consequence of oppression, so bad an atmosphere prevails in some parts of the country, that, instead of producing, as formerly, a vigorous and healthy race, one sickly generation follows another to the grave. And that improvements of this kind were begun in the earliest periods, is evident from the fact, that the traces of primitive cities are discovered in those very valleys which had most need of human labour.^d This induction is also confirmed by the evidence of many traditions. The scanty accounts respecting the earliest times of Sparta relate, that Myles, the son of the earth-born Lelex, built mills, and ground corn at Alesiaë; and that he had a son named Eurotas, who conducted the water stagnating in the level plain into the sea by a canal, which was afterwards called by his name.* Indeed the situation of Sparta seems to imply that the standing water was first drained off:^f nay, even in later times, it was possible, by stopping the course of the river, to lay most of the country between Sparta and the opposite heights under water.^g

also states that he saw iron rings on the blocks of stone.

^d Compare with this *Orcho-
menos*, chap. 2.

* See Schol. Eurip. *Orest.*

626. comp. Manso, Sparta, vol. I. p. 11.

^f Strabo VIII. p. 363 A.

^g Polyb. V. 22. 6.

7. The consideration of these natural circumstances and traditions obliges us to suppose that the races which were looked on as the ancient inhabitants of Peloponnesus (the Pelasgians in the east and north, and the Leleges in the south and west) were the first who brought the land to that state of cultivation in which it afterwards remained in this and other parts of Greece. And perhaps it was these two nations alone to whom the care of husbandry, cattle, and everything connected with the products of the soil, belonged through all times and changes. For, in the first place, the numbers of the invading Achæans, Ionians, and afterwards of the Dorians, were very inconsiderable, as compared with the whole population of Peloponnesus; and, secondly, these races conquered the *people* as well as the *country*, and enjoyed an independent and easy life by retaining both in their possession: so that, whatever tribe might obtain the sovereign power, the former nations always constituted the mass of the population. By means of these usurpations agriculture was kept in a constant state of dependence and obscurity, so that we seldom hear of the improvement of the country, which is a necessary part of the husbandman's business. Agriculture was, however, always followed with great energy and success. For in the time of the Peloponnesian war, when the population of Peloponnesus must have been very great, it produced more corn than it consumed, and there was a constant export from Laconia and Arcadia downwards to the coast of Corinth.^h

8. It is not with a view of founding any calculation upon them, but merely of giving a general idea of the numerical force of a Greek tribe (which many would

^h Thucyd. I. 120. κατακομιδὴ τῶν ὕψλων.

suppose to be a large nation), that I offer the following remarks. At the flourishing period of the Doric power, about the time of the Persian war, Sparta, which had then conquered Messenia, contained 8000 families, Argos above 6000; while in Sicyon, Corinth, Phlius, Epidaurus, and Ægina, the Dorians were not so numerous, the constitution being even more oligarchical in those states. Although in the colonies, where they were less confined by want of sufficient space, and by the severity of the laws, the inhabitants multiplied very rapidly, yet the number of original colonists, as many of them as were Dorians, was very small. Now since in the states of Peloponnesus, even after they had been firmly established, the number of inhabitants, particularly of Dorians, never, from several causes, much increased,ⁱ it seems probable that at the time of their first irruption the whole number of their males was not above 20,000.^k Nor were the earlier settlements of Achæans and Ionians more considerable. For the Ionians, as is evident from their traditions, appear as a military race in Attica, and probably formed, though perhaps together with many families of a different origin, one, and certainly the least, of four tribes (the ὀπλητες^l). The arrival of the Achæans is represented in ancient traditions in the following simple manner: "Archander and Architeles, the sons of Achæus, having been driven from Phthiotis, came to Argos and Lacedæmon."^m Their names signify "the ruler," and "the chief governor."

ⁱ See book III. ch. 10. § 2, 5.

^k Isocrates Panath. p. 286 C, says, that in the most ancient times there were only 2000 Dorians in Sparta; but his statement is too uncertain to found

any calculation upon.

^l See Boeckh on the four ancient tribes of Attica, Museum Criticum, vol. II. p. 608.

^m Pausan. VII. 1. 6, 7.

Certainly the Achæans did not come to till the ground; as is also evident from the fact that, when dislodged by the Dorians, and driven to the northern coast, they took possession of Patræ, dwelt only in the town, and did not disperse themselves into the smaller villages."

It seems pretty certain that the Dorians migrated together with their wives and children. The Spartans would not have bestowed so much attention as they did on women of a different race; and all the domestic institutions of the Dorians would have been formed in a manner very unlike that which really obtained. This circumstance alone completely distinguishes the migration of the Dorians from that of the Ionians, who having, according to Herodotus, sailed from Attica without any women, took native Carian women for wives, or rather for slaves, who, according to the same writer, did not even dare to address their husbands by their proper names. And this was probably the case with all the early settlements beyond the sea, since the form of the ancient Greek galley hardly admitted of the transport of women.

9. It would have been less difficult to explain by what superiority the Dorians conquered Peloponnesus, had they gained it in open battle. For, since it appears, that Homer describes the mode of combat in use among the ancient Achæans, the method of fighting with lines of heavy armed men, drawn up in close and regular order, must have been introduced into Peloponnesus by the Dorians; amongst whom Tyrtæus describes it as established. And it is evident that the chariots and darts of the Homeric heroes could never have prevailed against the charge of a deep and compact body armed with long lances. But it is more difficult still to com-

ⁿ Pausan. VII. 18. 3, book III. ch. 4, § 8.

prehend how the Dorians could have entered those inaccessible fortifications, of which Peloponnesus was full; since their nation never was skilful in the art of besieging, and main force was here of no avail. How, I ask, did they storm the citadel of Acro-Corinthus, that Gibraltar of Peloponnesus?° how the Argive Larissa, and similar fortresses? On these points, however, some accounts have been preserved with regard to the conquest of Argos and Corinth, which, from their agreement with each other, and with the circumstances of the places, must pass as credible historical memorials. From these we learn that the Dorians always endeavoured to fortify some post at a short distance from the ancient stronghold; and from thence ravaged the country by constant incursions, and kept up this system of vexation and petty attack, until the defenders either hazarded a battle, or surrendered their city. Thus at a late period the places were still shown from whence Temenus and Aletes had carried on contests of this nature with success.^p And even in historical times this mode of waging war in an enemy's country (called ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῇ χώρᾳ) was not unfrequently employed against places, which could not be directly attacked.^q

° Clarke's Travels, II. 2. p. 646, &c.

^p Below, ch. 5. § 1 and 8.

^q See Thucyd. I. 122. III. 85, and the example of Decelea.

CHAP. V.

§ 1. Reduction of Argos by the Dorians. § 2. Of Sicyon. § 3. Of Phlius and Cleonæ. § 4. Of the Actè, Epidaurus, Ægina, and Trœzen. § 5. Independence of Mycenæ and Tiryns. § 6. Ancient homage of the towns of the Actè to Argolis. § 7. Territory of the Dryopians in Argolis. § 8. Reduction of Corinth by the Dorians. § 9. Ancient inhabitants of Corinth. § 10. Reduction of Megara by the Dorians. § 11. Reduction of Laconia by the Dorians under Aristodemus. § 12. Resistance of Amyclæ. Position of Sparta. § 13. Resistance of other Laconian towns to the Dorians. § 14. Traditions respecting Eurysthenes and Procles. § 15. Reduction of Messenia by the Dorians. § 16. Political state of Messenia.

1. BEFORE the time of the Dorians, Mycenæ, situated in the higher part of the plain at the extremity of the mountain-chain, had doubtless been the most important and distinguished place in Argolis; and Argos, although the seat of the earliest civilization, was dependent upon and inferior to it. At Mycenæ were the Cyclopiæ hall of Eurystheus,^a and the sumptuous palace of Agamemnon; and though, as Thucydides correctly says, the fortified town was of inconsiderable extent, yet it abounded with stupendous and richly-carved monuments, whose semi-barbarous but artificial splendour formed a striking contrast with the unornamented and simple style introduced after the Doric period.^b The Doric conquerors, on the other hand, did not commence their operations upon fortresses secured alike by nature and art, but advanced

^a Εὐρυσθέος Κυκλώπια πρόθυρα, Pindar. Fragment. Incert. ^b πολυχρυσόιο Μυκῆνης, Homer. Compare book IV. ch. 1. 48, ed. Boeckh.

into the interior from the coast. For near the sea between Lerna and Nauplia, on the mouth of the Phrixus,^c there was a fortified place named Temenium, from which Temenus the son of Aristomachus, together with the Dorians, carried on a war with Tisamenus and the Achæans, and probably harassed them by repeated incursions, until they were obliged to hazard an open battle. From thence the Dorians, after severe struggles, made themselves masters of the town of ARGOS.^d It is related in an isolated tradition, that Ergiæus, a descendant of Diomed, stole and gave to Temenus the Palladium brought by his ancestor from Troy to Argos, which immediately occasioned the surrender of the city.^e Argos was therefore supposed to have been taken by Temenus himself.

2. The further extension of the Doric power is, however, attributed not to Temenus, but to his sons; for such the Doric tradition calls Ceisus, Cerynes, Phalces, and Agræus or Agæus.^f Of these, Ceisus is represented to have governed at Argos, and Phalces to have gone to SICYON. The ancient Meconè or Sicyon had in early times been in the power of the Ionians, and afterwards subject to the Achæans of Argos. The very copious mythology of this ancient

^c Fourmont supposes that he has recognised Temenium in a citadel to the south of Lerna, but it must lie to the north.

^d See Callimach. Fragm. 108. ed. Bentr. from Schol. Pind. Nem. X. 1. Concerning the taking of Argos see Polyæn. II. 12.

^e Plutarch. Qu. Gr. 48. p. 404. Cf. Schol. Callim. Pall. 37.

^f Pausan. II. 28. 3. The names given by Apollodorus

II. 7. 6., viz. Agelaus, Euryphylus, and Callias, are probably from the Temenidæ of Euripides. Ceisus and Phalces are mentioned by Ephorus ap. Strab. VIII. p. 389. Scymn. Ch. V. 525 sq. Pausan. II. 6. 4. II. 12. 6. II. 13. 1. Ceisus is also mentioned by Hyginus, Fab. 124 (where read *Cisus* Temeni filius); but his account is very confused. See *Æginetica*, p. 40.

city contains symbolical and historical elements of the most various nature: we will only touch upon a part of the story immediately preceding the Doric invasion. Phæstus, a son of Hercules, is stated to have been king of Argos before that event; and having gone to Crete, where he founded the town of his name,^g to have been succeeded by his descendants Rhopalus, Hippolytus, and Lacestades, the last of whom lived on terms of friendship with Phalces. Between them, however, Zeuxippus, a son of Apollo and of the nymph Hyllis,^h is placed. We here perceive the traces of a connexion between Phæstus in Crete, and the introduction of the worship of Apollo and Hercules; this tradition, however, cannot authorise us to draw any chronological inferences.

3. Whether PHLIUS (situated in a corner of Arcadia, in a beautiful valley, whence arise the four sources of the Asopusⁱ) was founded from Sicyon or Argos, was a matter of contention between these two towns: the latter simply called Phlias the son of Ceisus.^k This *Phlias*, however, is nothing else than the country personified; the name being derived from φλέω or φλιδάω, and signifying "damp," or "abounding in springs," which appellation was fully merited by the nature of the spot. Hence Phlias was with more reason called the son of Dionysus (Φλεῦς, Φλεών), who loved to dwell in such valleys. There is, therefore, greater probability in the account of the Sicyonians, that Phalces and Rhegnidas were the founders of the Doric

^g Pausan. II. 6. 3. Eustath. ad II. V. p. 520. Stephanus Byzant. says, Φαῖστος Ῥοπάλον, Ἡρακλέους παῖς.

^h Νύμφης Συλλίδος; I con-
jecture Ὑλλίδος.

ⁱ Fourmont's Journal contains a detailed and accurate account of this river.

^k Pausan. II. 11. 2.

dominion;¹ it being moreover easier to force a way to Phliasia from Sicyon along the Asopus, than from Argos. It is known that Pythagoras the Samian derived his origin from a certain Hippasus, who had quitted Phlius on that occasion; and the Ionic town of Clazomenæ is said to have been partly founded by some inhabitants of Cleonæ and Phliasia, who had been expelled by the Dorians;^m from which two facts we are justified in inferring the existence of a connexion between the early inhabitants of these places and the Ionians. CLEONÆ, situated in a narrow valley, where the mountains open towards Corinth, and bordering upon Phlius, appears from this account to have been colonised at the same time with that town, but probably from Argos. For we find that the ruling power was there in the hands of the same Heraclide family, of which a branch went from Argos to Epidaurus.ⁿ

4. The ACTE (as the northern coast of Argolis, over against Attica, was called)^o was reduced, according to the account of Ephorus, by Deiphontes and Agæus.^p The former of these, who was called a de-

¹ Pausan. II. 13. 1. ἐπ' ἀνα-
δασμῷ γῆς.

^m Pausan. ubi sup. and VII.
3. 5.

ⁿ Pausan. III. 16. 5. Θερόαν-
δρου τοῦ Ἀγαμηδίδα, βασιλεὺς
τοῦ μὲν ΚΛΕΕΣΤΩΝΑΙΩΝ,
τετάρτου δὲ ἀπογόνου Κτησίππου
τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. Since some
Doric state must be here meant,
ΚΛΕΩΝΑΙΩΝ, the conjecture
of Kühn, seems most probable;
and all doubt is removed by a
comparison of Ælian N.A. XII.
31., where, however, Thersan-
der is called the son of Cleony-
mus, not of Agamedidas. Per-

haps Pausanias means "Ther-
sander, the son of the son of
"Agamedes."

^o Sophocl. Acris. ap. He-
sych. in ἀκτῆς. Scymnus Chius
526. from Ephorus, Polyb. V.
91. 8. Conon. 7. Diodor. XII.
43. XV. 32. XVIII. 11. Strab.
VIII. p. 389. Ælian. V. H. VI.
1. Plutarch. Demetr. 25. Pau-
san. II. 8. 4. Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ
Τροιζήνιοι, οἱ τὴν Ἀργολίδα
ἀκτὴν ἔχοντες. It is different
from the Ἀργολικὸς κόλπος,
which is the south coast.

^p Concerning these doubtful
names (Ἀγαῖος, Ἀγραῖος), see

scendant of Ctesippus, and son-in-law of Temenus, and whose fortunes afforded materials for the tragic poets, made himself master of the town of EPIDAUROS, and dislodged the Ionians from thence: these latter, under the command of their king Pityreus, crossed over to Attica, whence the king's son Procles went subsequently, at the general Ionic migration, to Samos.^q Of the Dorians of Epidaurus, however, a part under the conduct of Triacon withdrew to ÆGINA,^r in which place Hellenes of Thessaly had formerly ruled, and united the island and mother-state into one commonwealth, with equal rights, and the same magistrates. Now since besides Epidaurus, TRÆZEN alone belonged to the Actè, and since both Agæus and Deiphontes are mentioned as the Dorian colonisers of this coast, it was probably this Agæus who brought Trœzen under the rule of the Dorians.^s In this city, too, he must have encountered some Ionians; since both the mythical genealogies and religious rites of the ancient Trœzen attest a close connexion between its earlier inhabitants and the Athenians.^t For Trœzen even shared with the Ionic cities in the peculiar worship of the Apaturian Athene, as the goddess of *phratrîæ* and *gentes*;^u as also in that of Poseidon and his son Theseus.

5. The accounts already given show that Sicyon,

Æginet. p. 40. The name was
common in Macedonia in later
times; see Harpocrat. in Ἀρ-
γαῖος.

^q This is stated by Pausanias.
See also Jamblichus Pythagor.
2. concerning the Epidaurian
colony in Samos. Aristotle ap.
Strab. VIII. p. 374, states that
the Ionians came together with
the Heraclidæ from the Attic
Tetrapolis to Epidaurus. The

former account is by far the
most probable.

^r Æginet. p. 43.

^s Pausan. II. 30. 9.

^t Book II. ch. 2, § 8. Ac-
cording to Pausanias II. 30. 9.
Anaphlystus and Sphettus, the
sons of Trœzen, passed over to
Attica, and gave their names to
the two boroughs so called. See
Appendix II.

^u Pausan. II. 33. 1.

Phlius, Cleonæ, Epidaurus, Trœzen, and Ægina received their share of Doric inhabitants either mediately or immediately from Argos. We can only regret the want of any accurate accounts respecting Mycenæ and Tiryns; the conquest of which cities must have been most difficult; but, when accomplished, decisive for the sovereignty of the Dorians. Pindar^x considers the expulsion of the Achæan Danaï from the gulf of Argos, and from Mycenæ, as identical with the expedition of the Heraclidæ; and Strabo states that the Argives united Mycenæ with themselves.^y Nevertheless we find that in the Persian war Mycenæ and Tiryns were still independent states, and it admits of a doubt whether they had previously belonged for any length of time to Argos. That some ancient inhabitants at least still maintained themselves in the mountains above Argos, is shown by the instance of the Orneatæ. The inhabitants of Orneæ, a town on the mountainous frontier of Mantinea, having long been hostile to the Dorians, and at war with the Sicyonians,^z were at length overpowered by Argos, and degraded to the state of perieci.^a Now, since it is more probable that such a proceeding took place against the people of a different race, than against a colony of Argos, and also as there is nowhere any mention of a Doric settlement at Orneæ, it is evident that the inhabitants of Orneæ had up to that time been either Achæans or Arcadians.

6. Although from the foregoing accounts it appears that Argos almost entirely lost its power over the towns which it had been the means of bringing under the rule of the Dorians, yet in early times there existed certain

^x Pyth. IV. 49.

^y Strab. VIII. p. 372. 377.

^z Plutarch. de Def. Orac. p.

620. Paus. X. 18. 4.

^a See book III. ch. 4, § 2.

obligations on the part of these cities towards Argos, which at a later period became mere forms. There was in Argos, upon the Larissa, a temple of Apollo Pythæus, which had probably been erected soon after the invasion of the Dorians, as a sanctuary of the national deity who had led them into the country. It was a temple common to all the surrounding district, though belonging more particularly to the Argives.^b The Epidaurians were bound at certain seasons to send sacrifices to it.^c The Dryopians in early times, and afterwards also, in their character of Craugallidæ, or servants of the Delphian god, had at Asine and Hermione erected temples to Apollo Pythæus, in acknowledgment of a similar dependence; and this was the only one spared by the Argives at the destruction of the former town.^d

7. The fragments preserved respecting the ancient history of the DRYOPIANS having been collected in a previous chapter,^e we shall here only remark that this people possessed a considerable district in the most southern part of Argolis, the boundaries of which, so long as they remained inviolate, were defined by two points, viz. the temple of Demeter Thermesia on the frontier between Hermione and Trœzen, eighty stadia from Cape Scyllæum, and a hill between Asine, Epidaurus, and Trœzen,^f and they may still be pointed out with tolerable certainty. Hercules, who, according to the Doric tradition, brought the Dryopians hither, had

^b This is evident from Thucyd. V. 53. Κυριώτατοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ θεοῦ; but his account is confused.

^c Ibid. ἦσαν Ἀργεῖοι.

^d Ibid. According to Diodorus XII. 18. the Lacedæmonians were bound to send sacrifices to Apollo Pythæus (Πύ-

^e Pausan. II. 35. 2. 36. 5. Compare book II. ch. 3. § 4.

^f Above, ch. 2, § 4.

^g Pausan. II. 28. 2. 34. 6.

accurately marked out these boundaries. It is, however, also related that the Dryopians established themselves beyond these limits at Nemea^g in Argolis: this, however, as well as Olympia, was not any particular town, but merely the name of a valley, and particularly of a temple of Zeus there situated.

8. The history of the establishment of CORINTH, though marvellous and obscure, contains nevertheless some historical traces by no means unworthy of remark. In the first place, it is stated that this town did *not* receive its inhabitants from Argos. The purport of the tradition is as follows: "When Hippotes at the time of the passage of the Dorians from Naupactus slew the soothsayer, he was banished (according to Apollodorus for ten years),^h during which time he led a roaming and predatory life;"ⁱ whence his son was called Ἀλήτης, or the *Wanderer*.^k It is also recorded in the fragment of a tradition^l that Hippotes, when crossing the Melian gulf, imprecated against those who wished to remain behind, "*That their vessels might be leaky, and themselves the slaves of their wives.*" In like manner his son Aletes passed through the territory at that time called Ephyra, where he received from scorn a clod of earth;^m which in the ancient oracular language was a symbol of sovereignty.ⁿ

^g Steph. Byz. in Νέμεα, where, from the context, τῆς Ἀργολίδος should be written for Ἡλίδος.

^h II. 8.

ⁱ Conon. 26. Etymol. Mag. in Ἀλήτης.

^k Compare p. 72, note f.

^l Aristot. ap. Proverb. Vatic. IV. 4. Μηλιακὸν πλοῖον. Compare Apostol. XIX. 89, and Suidas, Diogenianus VII. 31, explains it differently.

^m Δέχεται καὶ βῶλον Ἀλήτης. See Duris in Plutarch. Prov. Alex. 48. p. 593. Diogenian IV. 27. Zenobius III. 22. Suidas in δέχεται, Schol. Pind. Nem. VII. 155. Perhaps Suidas in ἀδελώσας refers to this story.

ⁿ Orchomenos, p. 352. See also Plutarch. Qu. Gr. 13. The delivery of a clod of earth (a common symbol of transfer of possession of land, Grimm

We might almost guess from these traditions that the Dorian warriors had harassed, and at length subdued the ancient Ephyreans, by ravaging their lands, and by repeated invasions. This is confirmed by the very credible account of Thucydides relating to this point.^o There was in the mountainous country, about sixty stadia from Corinth, and twelve from the Saronic gulf, a hill called Solygus, of which the Dorians had once taken possession for the purpose of making war against the Æolian inhabitants of Corinth. This hill was, however (at least in the time of Thucydides), entirely unfortified. Here we may recognise the very same method of waging war as in the account of Temenus given above, a method which in the Peloponnesian war was adopted by the Spartans at the fortifying of Decelea. Again, it is related in a tradition connected with the Hellotian festival, that at the taking of Corinth the Dorians set fire to the town, and even to the temple of Athene, in which the women had taken refuge.^p In another it is stated that Aletes, being advised by an oracle to attack the city on a "crowned day," took it during a great funeral solemnity by the treachery of the youngest daughter of Creon: these, however, are for the most part mere attempts at an historical interpretation of ancient festival ceremonies. As Aletes (according to his genealogy) lived one generation after the conquerors of Peloponnesus, the capture of Corinth was dated thirty years after the expedition of the Heraclidæ;^q whence probably also arose the error of

Rechtsalterthümer, p. 110-21); XIII. 56.

also occurs in the history of the Ionic colony, Lycophron 1378. Olymp. XIII. 17. Conon ubi sup. Compare Diodorus in Euseb. Chronic. p. 35. (Fragment. 6. p. 635. Wessel.)

^o Thucyd. IV. 42. Compare Polyæn. I. 39.

^p Schol. Pind. Olymp. D, and Scymnus Chius, 526.

supposing that there had previously been Dorians at Corinth; as it was supposed that the Dorians had obtained their whole dominion over Peloponnesus at *one* time, by *one* expedition. The city appears to have received the name of Corinth at this time, instead of its former one of Ephyra;^r and it seems that the Dorians called it with a certain preference "*The Corinth of Zeus*;" although ancient interpreters have in vain laboured to give a satisfactory explanation of this name.

9. The early inhabitants of Corinth were, according to the expression of Thucydides,^s Æolians; and their traditions and religion show that they were very nearly connected with the Minyans of Iolcus and Orchomenus.^t Their kings were the Sisypheidæ, whose genealogy closes with Hyantidas and Doridas. We find in the last name the same confusion which has been pointed out (amongst others) in the legend of Thesalus the son of Jason,^u viz., that the arrival of a different nation was expressed by connecting the new comers genealogically with the heroes of the ruling race. Thus Doridas, i. e. the Dorians in a patronymic form, is the descendant of Sisypheus. Here begins the sovereignty of the Dorians; who, however, did not, as Pausanias^x states, altogether expel the ancient inhabitants, but formed the aristocratic class of the new state. Pindar and Callimachus, indeed, call the whole Corinthian nation *Aletiadæ*,^y but merely by a poetical license; the only lineal descendants of Aletes being the

^r According to Velleius Paterculus. I. 3. 3.

^s IV. 42.

^t *Orchomenos*, p. 140. According to Conon - ubi sup. Aletes found Sisypheidæ and Ionians mixed with them.

^u *Orchomenos*, p. 257.

^x II. 4. 3.

^y Pindar. *Olymp.* XIII. 11. Compare Boeckh's *Commentary*, p. 213. Callimachus ap. Plutarch. *Symp. Qu.* V. 3. p. 213. Ἀλητιάδαι παρ' Αἰγαιῶνι θεῷ Θήσουσιν νίκης σύμβολον Ἰσθμιάδος Ζήλῳ τῶν Νεμέηθε.

ruling house, the Bacchiadæ, from which for a long time were taken the kings and Prytanes of Corinth and all its colonies. There were, however, at Corinth distinguished families of a different origin. The family of Cypselus, which afterwards obtained possession of the tyranny, was, according to Herodotus, of the blood of the Lapithæ, and descended from Cæneus.^a They came, according to Pausanias, from Gonusa, near Sicyon, to assist the Dorians against Corinth:^a Aletes, however, at the advice of an oracle, at first refused to receive them, but presently admitted them into the city, where they afterwards overthrew his own descendants. We shall allow this narrative, which contains a *post eventum* prophecy of the tyranny of the Cypselidæ, to rest on its own merits, remarking only that the Cænidæ had more reason to assist the ancient Æolians than the Dorians; and shall merely infer from it the existence of distinguished families in Corinth not of Doric descent.

10. As in this chapter we have hitherto rather followed a geographical than a chronological arrangement, we will now pass to the founding of MEGARA.^b That event is represented by the ancient tradition as connected with the expedition of the Peloponnesians against Athens;^c which is doubtless a correct statement, since Megara had before that epoch been closely united with Attica, and comprehended in Ionia. This

^a Herodot. V. 92. 2. This perhaps may afford some explanation of the ancient affinity between the Cypselidæ and Philaidæ (see Herodot. VI. 128.), by a comparison of the table, *Orchomenos*, p. 465.

^b II. 4. 4. compare V. 18. 2.

^b See Blanchard *Recherches sur la ville de Mégare*, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* tom. XVI. p. 121.

^c Herodot. V. 76. Lycurg. in *Leocrat.* p. 196. Strabo IX. p. 293. XIV. p. 653. Conon 26. Scymnus Chius, 503.

expedition was, according to most authors, undertaken by the whole Peloponnesus; by some, however, the Corinthians are called the real authors of it, and Aletes the leader, Althæmenes of Argos, the son of Ceisus, being nevertheless joined with him. The defeat of the Doric invaders, by the voluntary sacrifice of Codrus, has been a favourite subject both with poets and rhetoricians.^d It is sufficient for our purpose to oppose to this celebrated legend an obscure tradition that some Athenians, whom Lycophron calls Codri, had a share in the expedition of the Heraclidæ.^e Whether or not the Ionians and Dorians met at the borders on this occasion, thus much is certain, that Megara in consequence of this invasion became a Doric town, and indeed soon afterwards a Corinthian colony.^f It also remained for some time in complete dependence on Corinth, as Ægina upon Epidaurus; in proof of which it is mentioned that the Megarians were bound to mourn for every death that occurred in the family of the Bacchiadæ at Corinth.^g When, however, the internal strength of Megara increased, it ventured to dissolve this connexion, and, in defiance of the Corinth of Zeus, to rout the Corinthians in the field.^h The

^d See Raoul-Rochette III. p. 56. who has omitted the remarkable passage of Pausan. VII. 25. according to which the Lacedæmonians had partly taken Athens. There was at Athens a Delphian *gens* named Cleomantidæ, whose ancestor was said to have communicated to the Athenians the prophecy concerning the king's death, Lycurgus in Leocrat. p. 196.

^e Lycophr. 1388. and Tzetzes' note.

^f See particularly Schol. Pind.

Nem. VII. 155. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 440. Pausan. I. 39. 4.

^g Schol. Pind. et Aristoph. ubi sup. According to Zenobius V. 8. the Megarians mourned for a daughter of their own king Clytius, and of Bacchius the Corinthian.

^h This event is always narrated in explanation of the proverb; see Schol. Pind. ubi sup. Schol. Plat. Euthydem. pag. 97. edit. Ruhnken. and Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 440 (from Demon). Compare Aristoph.

border-wars of the Megarians and Corinthians were carried on without intermission.¹ Megara appears not to have raised itself to the situation of a ruling city till after it had obtained its independence; since in earlier times it had been one of the five hamlets (*παῖμαι*) into which the country was divided, viz. the Heræans, Piræans, Megarians, Cynosyrians, and Tripodiscians.^k These small communities also waged war with each other, but with a singular lenity, of which some almost marvellous accounts have been preserved; the conquerors carried their prisoners home, treated them as guests and companions, who were hence called *δορυξῆνοι*, in opposition to *δορυάλατοι*.

11. We now turn to LACONIA, which, according to the above-mentioned legend concerning the division of Peloponnesus, fell to the share of Aristodemus or his sons.¹ According to the common tradition (which was derived from the epic poets^m) the twin brothers

Eccles. 828. Zenob. III. 21. Vatic. Prov. III. 13. Apostolus VII. 17. XIV. 97. Suidas, Hesychius, Dissen ad Pind. ubi sup. It is probably of this victory of the Megarians that Pausanias (VI. 19. 9.) had read in some document that it took place before the commencement of the Olympiads, when Phorbas was archon for life at Athens; but in my opinion he is incorrect in referring it to a treasury of Dontas the Lacedæmonian (Olymp. 60.), the inscription of which spoke indefinitely of a victory of the Megarians over the Corinthians, in which the Argives were supposed to have had a share. Phorbas was

archon from the 173rd to the 148th year before the first Olympiad, according to Eusebius.

¹ Thucyd. I. 103. Diod. XI. 79. Plutarch Cimon. 17. It was probably in some war of this kind that Orsippus of Megara enlarged the territory of his native city, according to Etymol. M. p. 242; he was conqueror in the 15th Olympiad, see book IV. ch. 2. note. Pausan. I. 44. 1. and the epigram in Anthol. Pal. II. App. 272. See Siebelis ad Pausan. ubi sup.

^k See the account in Plutarch. Qu. Gr. 17. p. 387.

¹ Above, ch. 3. § 11.

^m See above, ch. 3. § 3.

Eurysthenes and Proclesⁿ took possession of Sparta after the death of their father; whereas the national tradition of Sparta, as Herodotus informs us, represented Aristodemus himself as having been the first ruler,^o and the double dominion of his children as not having been settled till after his death; the first-born, however, enjoying a certain degree of precedence.^p This is, indeed, contradicted by the account of Thucydides,^q who mentions as a Lacedæmonian tradition, that the kings who first took possession of Lacedæmon (i. e. Eurysthenes and Procles) were conducted thither with dances and sacrifices, an honour which at the command of the Delphian oracle was afterwards given to Pleistoanax at his restoration. This variation, however, is perhaps merely the effect of a pardonable negligence in the author.

12. It is, however, far more difficult to ascertain what was the condition of Laconia immediately after the invasion of the Dorians. For it is plain that the history, as it was arranged by Ephorus, and derived from him to other authors, is in contradiction with many isolated traditions, but which for that very reason are of the greater importance. So far, indeed, from the whole of the Laconian territory immediately

ⁿ Called in the Doric dialect Προκλέας, Kühn ad Pausan. III. 1. According to Polyænus I. 10. Procles and Temenus together conquered Lacedæmon.

^o Herod. VI. 52. and it is followed by Xen. Agesil. 8. Plutarch. Agesil. 19. [The same tradition is preserved in a fragment of Alcæus (Mus. Crit. I. p. 432) ὡς γὰρ δὴ ποτε φασὶν Ἀριστόδαμον ἐν Σπάρτῃ λόγον οὐκ ἀπάλαμνον εἰπεῖν, as Nie-

buhr has remarked. History of Rome, vol. I. note 94. ed. 2.]

^p The words of the oracle, which Herodotus paraphrases, probably were μάλλον δὲ γεραίτερον ἔστι γεραίρειν.

^q V. 16. Also in Plato Leg. III. p. 683. Megillus the Spartan, to the question καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν—Λακεδαιμόνος Προκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυσθένης; answers, πῶς γὰρ οὐ, against his national tradition.

falling into the hands of the Dorians,^r it is certain that a powerful fortress of the ancient Achæans, at a short distance from Sparta itself, held out for nearly three centuries after the Doric invasion.

There was a saying, well known in antiquity, of the "silent Amyclæ;" thus called because its citizens had been so often alarmed by the report of the enemy coming, that they at last made a law that no one should give tidings of the enemy's approach; in consequence of which the town was at length taken.^s This proverb, and the story on which it was founded, prove the existence of a long and determined contest between the two neighbouring cities. They also confirm the account of Pausanias, that the Dorians in the reign of Teleclus built a temple^t to Zeus Tropæus, because they had at length, after a tedious and severe struggle, overcome the Achæans of Amyclæ and taken their city. This city of Amyclæ, one of the most ancient and considerable in Peloponnesus, of which there still remains a fort situated upon a rock on the side of mount Taygetus, was therefore so far from being reduced by the Spartans immediately, that it held out until the reign of Teleclus, 278 years after the invasion, a short time before the first Messenian war; and

^r Pindar Pyth. I. 65. says that the Dorians, "coming down from Pindus, immediately took Amyclæ." Compare Boeckh Comment. p. 479. This is equally fallacious with his other statement, that Pylos fell at the invasion, see below, § 15. According to Ephorus ap. Strab. p. 364 D., Philonemus the Achæan, who had betrayed Lacedæmon to the Dorians, received Amyclæ from them as a reward for his treachery, and

held the νόμος Ἀμυκλαῖος (to which his name seems to allude) as a vassal. Compare Conon Narr. 36. Nicol. Damasc. p. 445. Vales.

^s Servius ad Æn. X. 564. and Lucilius, ibid. compare Heyne Excurs. II. ad Æn. X. Sosibius ap. Zenob. Prov. I. 54.

^t Pausan. III. 2. 6. ib. 12. 7. ib. 19. 5. The temple was still standing in his time. Compare Orchomenos, p. 313-321.

then was only taken after a tedious contest, which, from the proximity of Amyclæ and Sparta, must have been very dangerous to the latter city. Now it is not possible that before this victory Amyclæ and Sparta, distant only 20 stadia (2½ miles) from each other, should have been engaged in constant war, as it must have soon ended in the destruction of one or the other city: their truces and armistices were, however, doubtless interrupted frequently by sudden incursions. The important territory near mount Taygetus belonged at that time to Amyclæ, and all this country was still in the possession of the Achæans, with whom some Minyans from Lemnos, and Cadmean Greeks, known by the name of Ægidæ, had united themselves. This is the territory from which the colonies of Thera, Melos, and Gortyna proceeded; so, according to Pindar, Amyclæ was the point from which the first colonies to Lesbos and Tenedos set out, and also (as may be inferred from other notices) those Achæans who took possession of Patræ."

Sparta, on the other hand, must have been of very slight importance before the Doric migration; by which event alone it was enabled to become the ruler of all the surrounding states. For, in the first place, Sparta was not built in the same manner as Mycenæ, Tiryns, and other ruling cities founded before the Doric invasion; the Acropolis is a hill of inconsiderable height, and easy of ascent, without any trace of ancient fortifications or walls. Secondly, it is remarkably deficient in monuments and local memorials of the times of the Pelopidæ and other mythical princes; much as the Spartans in other instances clung to tra-

ⁿ Pausan. VII. 6. 2. where ed to have been descended from Preuges, their leader, is stat- Amyclæ.

ditions and records of this kind: while Amyclæ and Therapne had these in great abundance. Amyclæ, in a beautiful and well-wooded country,^w was the abode of Tyndareus and his family; here were the tombs of Cassandra and Agamemnon, who, according to a native tradition (preserved by Stesichorus and Simonides),^x ruled in this city. At no great distance was situated the town of Therapne. Alcman calls it the "well-fortified Therapne;"^y Pindar mentions its high situation;^z by which they clearly imply a position and fortification similar to that of Tiryns. The latter also calls it the ancient metropolis of the Achæans, amongst whom the Dioscuri lived; here were the subterraneous cemeteries of Castor and Pollux,^a vaulted, perhaps, in the ancient manner; here also the temples of the Brothers and of Helen in the Phœbæum, and many remains of the ancient symbolical religion.^b It is also very remarkable, that on the banks of the Eurotas, in the district between Therapne and Amyclæ, there should have been discovered a building^c which resembles the well-known treasury at Mycenæ, and

^w Polyb. V. 19. 2.

^x Ap. Schol. Eurip. Orest. 46. Simonides fragm. 177. ed. Gaisford.

^y Εὐπύργος Θεράπνα, ap. Priscian. p. 1328. Fragm. 1. ed. Welcker.

^z Isthm. I. 31.

^a Ἐν γνάλοις Θεράπνας Pindar Nem. X. 55. The δόκανα were, according to some, tombs of this description.

^b See Dissen's Commentary to Pindar ubi sup. p. 471.—Concerning Helen at Therapne, see Euripid. Hel. 211. and Tryphiod. 520. Schol. Ly-

cophr. 143. Isocrat. Encom. Hel. p. 218 D. ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἐν Θεράπναις (Μενελάω καὶ Ἑλένῃ) θυσίας ἀγίας καὶ πατρίους ἐπιτελοῦσιν οὐχ ὡς ἥρωσιν ἀλλ' ὡς θεοῖς. Concerning the Menelaia, see Athenagoras Leg. p. 14. A. Θεραπναῖος Ἀπόλλων Apollon. Rhod. II. 162. Therapne, according to some, was ἐν Σπάρτῃ, Schol. Apollon. et Pind. ubi sup.; according to other authors, referred to by Steph. Byz., it was Sparta itself. Both are in the wrong.

^c It was first discovered by Gropius.

which affords a certain proof that the dominion of the Pelopidæ extended to this district.

But although the local traditions make it probable that the ante-Doric rulers of the country dwelt in Amyclæ and Therapne, yet Homer describes Sparta as the residence of the Pelopidæ, transferring, apparently, the circumstances of his own time to an earlier period. Homer sometimes calls Lacedæmon the abode of Menelaus; by Lacedæmon meaning the entire country, and especially the valley round Sparta, which agrees far better with the epithet of "*hollow Lacedæmon*," than the district of Amyclæ, which opens down to the sea.^d Sometimes he expressly mentions Sparta as the city in which Menelaus has fixed his abode.^e

13. Amyclæ, however, is not the only Achæan city which was not reduced by the Dorians till a late period. Ægys, on the frontiers of Arcadia, is said to have been taken from the Achæans by Archelaus and Charilaus a short time before Lycurgus; Pharis, together with Geronthræ, by Teleclus;^f and Helos in the plains, near the mouth of the Eurotas, by Alcamenes, the son of Teleclus.^g So long as these places belonged to the Achæans, the Spartans were shut out from the sea, and surrounded on all sides by the possessions of a different race. It appears, however, that other places besides Sparta were held by the Dorians them-

^d Polyb. ubi sup. See ch. 4. § 3.

^e Od. B. 327. 359. A. 459. N. 412. 414. The passage in Od. A. 10. is also to be explained in this manner.

^f Pausan. III. 2. 6.

^g Pausan. III. 2. 7. Phlegon

Trallianus ap. Euseb. Arm. p. 130. According to Strabo VIII. p. 365 A. however it was conquered by Agis. Concerning a war between Sparta and its periceci in the time of Lycurgus, see Nicol. Damas. fragm.

selves previously to their obtaining possession of the whole of Laconia; such were, for instance, Bœæ near Malea,^h and perhaps also Abia on the confines of Messenia.ⁱ But of the numerous contests which doubtless took place at this period, little information has come down to us, as they just lie between the provinces of mythology and history.

Thus much, however, we may with safety say, that Ephorus is clearly in error when he mentions a division of Laconia made by the Dorians, immediately after their conquest, for the sake of an undisturbed dominion over the country.^k The same historian further states that "Sparta was reserved by the Dorians as the seat of their own empire; that Amyclæ^l was granted to Philonomus, who had delivered the country to them by treachery, and that governors were sent into the other four divisions." Also, that "the principal towns of these four provinces were Las, Epidaurus Limera (or Gytheium), Ægys, and Pharis; of which the first served as the citadel of Laconia,^m the second as an excellent harbour, the third as a convenient arsenal for the wars with Arcadia, and the fourth as an internal point of union. That the periceci dwelt in these towns, and were

^h Pausan. III. 22. 9.

ⁱ See above, ch. 3. § 4.

^k This is now evident from the restoration of the fragment of Ephorus in Strabo VIII. p. 364 D. Χρησθαι δὲ ΛΑΙ ΜΕΝ ὁ[χυρώματι, Ἐπιδάυρω (or Γυθείῳ) δὲ ἐμπορίῳ διὰ τὸ] εὐλίμενον, ΑΙΓΥΙ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους [ἐπιτεχισμῶ, ταύτην] γὰρ ὁμορεῖν τοῖς κύκλῳ [πολεμίους],

ΦΑΡΙΔΙ δὲ [εἰς συνόδους] ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἔχουσιν. Polybius II. 54. 3. calls Αἰγυτίε a boundary-district of Sparta, where no alteration is required. See Meursius ad Lycophr. 831.

^l The νόμος Ἀμυκλαῖος according to Nicol. Damasc.

^m See Steph. Byz. and Pausanias. The Διοσκοῦροι Λαπέρσαι are derived from this town.

"dependent upon the Spartans, though without losing "their freedom." This account doubtless suited the historical style of Ephorus; but it does not agree with the isolated but genuine traditions already mentioned.

The division into six provinces is nevertheless, in my opinion, to be considered as an historical fact; only the arrangement could not have been made till a much later period. Of these provinces, the first comprehended the district of the city; the second, the mountain-chain of Taygetus, with the western coast; the third, the Laconian gulf; the fourth, perhaps the modern Zaonia, on the eastern side of the Eurotas; the fifth, the northern frontier; and the sixth, the lower valley of the Eurotas. The reality of such a division is also confirmed by the existence of a similar one in Messenia; which is spoken of by other writers besides Ephorus.ⁿ For this country is also said to have been divided by Cresphontes, so that Stenyclarus was the habitation of the Dorians and their king, under whose authority were placed the Messenian districts of Pylos, Rhium, Mesola, and Hyamia; of these, Pylos apparently comprehended the whole western coast; Rhium is the promontory of Methone and the neighbouring southern coast; Hyamia may perhaps be the shore of the Messenian bay nearest to the frontiers of Laconia;

ⁿ Ὑαμία πόλις Μεσσηνίων τῶν πέντε, Stephanus Byz. Compare Pausan. IV. 14. 3. Μεσόλα πόλις Μεσσηνίας μία τῶν πέντε. Νικόλαος τετάρτῳ, Stephanus. From this Ephorus in Strabo VIII. p. 361 C. should be thus restored, ὥστε τὴν Στενύκλαρον μὲν ἐν τῇ μέσῳ τῆς χώρας παύτης κειμένην ἀπο-

δεῖξαι βασιλεῖον αὐτῇ τῆς βασιλείας, πέμψαι δὲ ἐς Πύλον τε καὶ Ῥίον [καὶ Μεσόλαν καὶ] Ὑαμίτιν ποιήσοντας ἰσονόμους πάντας τοῖς Δωριεῦσι τοὺς Μεσσηνίους. Compare Μεσόλα καθήκονσα εἰς τὸν μεταξὺ κόλπον τοῦ Ταῦγέτου καὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, Strab. VIII. p. 360; Ῥίον ἀπεναντίον Ταϊνάρον, *ibid.*

Mesola signifies the midland district^o near the Pamisus; and Stenyclarus is the northern plain of Messenia.

14. We have now another instance of the arbitrary manner in which Ephorus composed his history by probable arguments. He proceeds upon the fact that Eurysthenes and Procles, although the founders of Sparta, were not honoured as such (as ἀρχηγέται), that they did not enjoy any divine honour, did not give their name to any tribe, &c. (Now the very first of these statements is false; for Eurysthenes and Procles, according to the native tradition, were *not* the founders of Sparta, as was shown above.) Hence Ephorus infers that they must have offended the Dorians; and he finds the cause of this offence in the adoption of foreign citizens, through whose assistance they had extended their power. This instance is a sufficient justification for our rejecting the historical system of Ephorus, and neglecting the results which he obtained by it.

There must have been many stories concerning Eurysthenes and Procles current in ancient times which have not come down to us. There was a general tradition of their continual discord; and we know that the military fame of Procles was as great as that of Eurysthenes was insignificant.^p There is, however, something peculiarly worthy of notice in an incidental remark of Cicero,^q that Procles died a year before Eurysthenes. Could there have been chronicles of so early a period, or is it possible that tradition

^o The same termination may be observed in the name of the ancient Laconian city Ἰππό-λα, Pausan. III. 26. 6. Steph. Byz.; and in the ancient gentile name

of Argos, Ἀργό-λας.

^p See Herodotus, Pausanias, Cicero de Divin. II. 43.

^q Cicero ut sup.

should preserve such precise dates? It is also a remarkable statement that the wives of both kings were likewise twin sisters, Lathria and Anaxandra by name, daughters of Thersander king of the Cleonæans, whose descent we mentioned above.¹ Some great heroic actions of Soüs² (the "violent"), the son of Procles, were also celebrated in Sparta.³ It was even said that he had carried on war against the Cleitorians; and it was related, that in the narrow valley of Cleitor, when surrounded by enemies, and oppressed by intolerable thirst, he promised to give up all his conquests, on the condition of himself and his army being allowed to drink from the fountain: that upon this he offered the crown to any one who would abstain from drinking, but, no one being willing to gain it at this price, he moistened himself with water from the fountain, and departed without drinking.⁴ But a Spartan king would hardly have ventured, even some centuries afterwards, to lead an army through the hostile territory of Arcadia, to a place at so considerable a distance as Cleitor, leaving behind so many hollow defiles, ravines, and mountains.

15. In the country which from this time forth obtained the name of MESSENIAN,⁵ Pylos was before the Doric migration the most important town, whither the family of the Nelidæ had retired from the Triphylian territory.⁶ The Dorians under Cresphontes⁷

¹ See above, p. 90. note ⁿ.

² See Valckenaer. ad Theocrit. Adonias. p. 266.

³ Plutarch. Lycurg. 2, 3.

⁴ Plutarch. Lycurg. 2. Lac. Apophth. p. 234.

⁵ From what is not clear, though probably from the Μέσση of the Homeric Catalogue, the position of which is however

quite uncertain, since it is not connected with the city of Messene.

⁶ Orchomenos, p. 366. The territory of Pylos had, according to the tradition in Pausan. IV. 15. 4. once extended as far as Καπρού σῆμα, near Stenyclarus.

⁷ Cresphontes, as well as Aris-

at first seated themselves in the opposite part of the country, at Stenyclarus, in the midland region; they must however have soon pressed so closely upon Pylos, that part of the inhabitants was forced to emigrate. For that many of the noble families, both at Athens and in Asia Minor, came originally from Pylos, is placed out of doubt by the agreement of many national and family traditions; and it is equally certain that they did not leave Peloponnesus long before the Ionic migration. Mimnermus, the most ancient witness to this fact, says that the founders of his native city Colophon came from the Nelean Pylos;^a i. e., he calls Andræmon, the founder of Colophon, a Pylian; where it almost seems that the poet meant a direct migration from that place. Pylos however (though it is generally considered to have been in the possession of the Dorians from this epoch) probably remained for some time an independent town, with a limited territory; even in the second Messenian war some Nestoridæ went as allies to the Messenians;^b and, after the defeat of the Messenians, the Pylians and the Methonæans were able to harbour them for a considerable time.^c

16. Of the internal condition of Messenia we cannot even know so much as of that of Laconia, since, at the cessation of its political existence, its monuments, and even its inhabitants, perished; and thus all means of perpetuating a knowledge of its former state were

tomenes, were names in Messenia in late days, Boeckh Inscript. N^o. 1297.

^a Ap. Strab. p. 633 B. He was one of the Colophonians who had settled in Smyrna.

^b Strabo, p. 355 D. Pausanias IV. 3. 3. and others speak

too generally of the expulsion of the Nestoridæ.

^c Pausan. IV. 18. 1. IV. 23. 1. Pindar Pyth. V. 70. is not so accurate; Λακεδαιμόνι ἐν Ἀργεῖ τε καὶ Ζαθέῃ Πύλῳ ἔνασσαν ἀλκάντας Ἡρακλῆος ἐγγόνους Ἀίγυμιν τε (Ἀπόλλων).

entirely lost. Yet, setting aside the accounts of Ephorus, there remain some very simple circumstances from which we may form an idea of the condition of the country. It is related, that when Cresphontes was treacherously assassinated, the Arcadians, in conjunction with the kings of Sparta and Ceisus king of Argos, re-established in his place his son Æpytus,^d who had been brought up with Cypselus the Arcadian, the father of his mother Merope,^e and who rendered himself so celebrated, that all his descendants were called Æpytidæ. The name of Æpytus is evidently connected with Æpytis, a district on the frontiers of Arcadia and Messenia, near the ancient Andania, the earliest seat of civilization and religious worship in the country. The names of his descendants, Glaucus, Isthmius, Dotades, Sybotas (swine-herd), Phintas (or Φιληγής), are in remarkable contrast with those of the Lacedæmonian kings, as Eurysthenes (widely-ruling), Procles (the renowned), Agis (the general), Soüs (the violent), Echestratus (the general), Eurypon (the widely-reigning), Labotas (shepherd of the people), and so forth; for, whilst the latter signify powerful warrior princes, there sounds in the former something peaceable and pastoral. What Pausanias relates of these Messenian princes refers

^d Apollod. II. 8. 5. Pausan. IV. 3. VIII. 5. 5. Isocrates Archidam. p. 120. represents the Lacedæmonians as having long governed Messenia, which had been given them by the sons of Cresphontes. Euripides in the Merope told the story as follows:—viz. that Polyphontes killed Cresphontes, and obtained possession of his queen Merope and of his empire: that on this her son Tele-

phon, whom Merope had sent to a friend in Ætolia, returned, and, after various tragic scenes, slew the usurper by stratagem. See the fragments of the Merope, and Hyginus, Fab. 137, with the continuation in Fab. 184. The narrative of Apollodorus is made to coincide more with the national tradition.

^e The pedigree is, Æpytus—Cypselus—Merope—Æpytus—Æpytidæ.

almost exclusively to a peaceful office—viz., the establishment of festivals; the gods also to whom they were consecrated agree with the same general character. Glaucus and Isthmius, we are told, established or promoted the worship of Æsculapius at Gerenia and Pharæ: Sybotas joined to the ancient worship of the great gods at Andania the funeral sacrifices of the hero Eurytus, brought over from the Thessalian to the Messenian Æchalia; and others in the same manner. In fact this Cabirian worship of Demeter at Andania, allied to that prevalent in Attica at Eleusis and Phyla, was one of the most ancient in Peloponnesus, and at that time flourished in Messenia;^f whereas, according to Herodotus, the Dorians everywhere exterminated the ancient rites of Demeter.^g Hence also the mystical consecration of Andania was discontinued as long as Messenia was governed by the Spartans, and it fell into oblivion, until many centuries afterwards Epaminondas solemnly re-established it, either from the mere recollection of the inhabitants, or, if the account be true, upon the authority of an inscription on a tin plate found in a brazen urn, containing some obscure words referring to ancient mystic ceremonies.^h

The re-establishment of Æpytus may, however, have been effected by the threefold alliance of both the princes and nations of Argos, Sparta, and Messenia, by which they guaranteed their respective rights, an alliance of which Plato has preserved a faint, though

^f As it is evident from several passages in the 4th book of Pausanias.

^g II. 171.

^h Pausan. IV. 20. 2. 26. 5, 6. 27. 4. 33. 5. It is to this

time probably that Methapus the Athenian belongs, who restored the ancient worship of Andania, with some few changes, Pausan. IV. 1. 5.

undoubted trace, marked out in the spirit of his political philosophy.¹

From the settlements of the Dorians *within* Peloponnesus, we now turn to those *without* that peninsula.

CHAP. VI.

§ 1. Doric colonies of Argos, Epidaurus, and Trœzen. § 2. Doric league of Asia Minor. § 3. Mythical accounts of the colonization of Halicarnassus, Rhodes, Cos, Nisyrus, Carpathos, and Casos. § 4. Rhodian colonies. § 5 and 6. Legends respecting the foundation of Mallus, Mopsuestia, Mopsucrene, and Phaselis. § 7 and 8. Colonies of Corinth. § 9 and 10. Colonies of Megara. § 11 and 12. Colonies of Sparta.

1. On account of the multiplicity of subjects which it will be now necessary to consider, we shall be compelled to shorten the discussion of several points, and to take for granted many collateral questions, except where we may be encouraged to enter into greater detail by the hope of disclosing fresh fields for the inquiries of others.

It will be the most convenient method to make the mother-states the basis of our arrangement, as these are known with far greater certainty than the dates of the foundation of their respective colonies; by which means we shall also be enabled to take in a regular order those settlements which lie near to, and were connected with, one another.

First, the colonies of ARGOS, EPIDAUROS, and TRŒZEN. We will treat of these together, as they all lie in the same direction, and as the colonies of

¹ Leg. III. p. 684.

the two last states more or less recognised the supremacy of Argos, and not unfrequently followed a common leader. These extend as far as the southern extremity of Asia Minor.

The Dorians on the south-western coast of Asia Minor derived their origin, according to Herodotus,^a from Peloponnesus. And indeed they were generally considered a colony of Argos^b (from which state Strabo derives Rhodes, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Cos), led by princes of the Heraclidæ, from whom the noble families of Rhodes—for example, the Eratidæ or Diagoridæ at Ialysus—claimed to be descended.^c This emigration was considered contemporary, and as having some connexion with the expedition of Althæmenes, the son of Ceisus, from Argos to Crete.^d Now we know from Herodotus^e that the Coans, Calydnians, and Nisyrians came from Epidaurus;

^a In the following discussion, although beginning somewhat in advance, I still take for granted what is stated in my *Ægine-tica*, p. 42. The ancient expression *Διμοδωριεύς* was referred to this migration. See Hesychius, Plutarch. Prov. 34. p. 590. Yet Didymus in Hesychius calls the Dorians who dwelt under mount Ceta *Διμοδωριεύς*. See above, page 44. note^o.

^b The Rhodians came from Argos, according to Thucyd. VII. 57. The Coans were also of Argive origin, according to Tacit. Ann. XII. 61.

^c The Eratidæ refer to Argos, according to the note of Boeckh, Explic. ad Pind. Olymp. VII. p. 165. Cleobulus also was a

Heraclide, according to Diog. Laert. I. 6. § 89.

^d There were different ways of making the 100 towns of Crete mentioned in the Iliad agree with the 90 in the Odyssey, as may be seen from Schol. Venet. Catal. 156.—According to Ephorus, Althæmenes founded 10 cities in Crete, so that in the time of Ulysses there were only 90, but in Homer's time 100. Strabo X. p. 479. This was the manner in which Ephorus wrote history. "Pylæmenes the Lacedæmonian" in the Venetian Scholiast is probably only a corruption of the name. Canon 47. derives the Tripolis of Rhodes from Althæmenes.

^e VII. 99.

yet, as is evident from arguments already brought forward, two different expeditions cannot be understood to have taken place. Thus also Ægina was called a colony of Argos as well as of Epidaurus. The account of Herodotus is confirmed by the similarity of the worship of Æsculapius at Cos and at Epidaurus, which was sufficiently great to prove a colonial connexion.¹ We have also a tradition of some sacred missions between Cos and Epidaurus; a ship of the latter is said to have brought a serpent of Æsculapius to the former state.² If this is considered as an historical fact, we may, as it appears, deduce more from it than is commonly inferred—viz. that the Doric colonists of Cos, Calydna, &c. remained in Epidaurus a sufficient time before their passage into Asia Minor to adopt the worship of Æsculapius. And since we find that the worship of Æsculapius also prevailed in Cnidos and Rhodes,³ it may be fairly inferred, that of the inhabitants of these islands a part at least passed through Epidaurus. This is further confirmed by the orator Aristides, who, on the authority of the national tradition, states of the Rhodians, “that from ancient times they had been Dorians, and had had Heraclidæ and Asclepiadæ for their princes.”⁴ Thus also there were families of the Asclepiadæ and Heraclidæ at Cos, to the former of which Hippocrates was related on his father’s side, to the latter on his mother’s.⁵ Contemporaneous

We find in both the worship of serpents, incubation, the custom of votive tablets, &c.

¹ Pausan. III. 23. 4.

² Sprengel’s *Geschichte der Medicin*, vol. I. pp. 343. 326.

new edit.

³ Rhod. Orat. II. p. 396.—Concerning the Asclepiadæ in Cnidos, see particularly Theopompus in Phot. cod. 176.

⁴ Sprengel, *ibid.* p. 554.

with this migration from Argos and Epidaurus was that from Troezen,¹ in which Halicarnassus, *the citadel upon the sea* (ἀλι-κάρινον), was founded; which fact also receives confirmation from the similarity of religious worship.² And indeed there is reason for believing that it was only one Doric tribe, the Dymanes, which colonized this city³—who strengthened themselves by collecting together the earlier inhabitants, the Leleges and Carians.⁴

2. Those towns, however, only which composed the Doric Tripolis of Rhodes (a number which probably originated from the division of the tribes), together with Cnidos, Cos, and Halicarnassus, formed the regular Doric league (before the separation of Halicarnassus called the Hexapolis, afterwards the Pentapolis). The members of this alliance met on the Triopian promontory to celebrate in public national festivals the rites of Apollo and Demeter, which last were of extreme antiquity;⁵ its influence in political affairs was however probably very inconsiderable.⁶ But, besides those already mentioned, many towns and islands in this district were peopled by Dorians.⁷

¹ Vitruvius II. 8. 12. *Cum Melas et Areuanius ab Argis et Træzene coloniam communem eo loco induxerunt, barbaros Caras et Lelegas ejecerunt.*—The 1200 years, mentioned by Tacitus, from the time of its founding to Tiberius, must be taken as a round number.

² The religious ceremonies of Halicarnassus, as shown on its coins, can be completely traced up to their origin. The head of Medusa, and of Athene, the trident, and head of Hephæstus, belong to the worship of Athene

and Hephæstus at Troezen and Athens: the tripod, lyre, and heads of Apollo and Demeter to the *sacra Triopia*. At Cos the insignia of Æsculapius predominated, besides those of Hercules as father of Pheidippus.

³ Callimach. ap. Steph. in v. Ἀλικάρνασσος. compare *Æginetica*, p. 240.

⁴ Vitruvius, *ubi sup.*

⁵ See book II. ch. 3. § 5.

⁶ Dionys. Hal. Rom. Hist. IV. 25. probably ascribes to it too much influence.

⁷ Herodot. I. 144.

The small island of Telos, near Triopium, was probably dependent upon Lindos:^a Nisyros and Calydna (or Calymna) have been already mentioned; the inhabitants were Epidaurian Dorians, who belonged to the colony of Cos:^b Carpathus also received some Argive colonists. It is said to have been taken by Ioclus, the son of Demoleon, an Argive by descent.^c Syme also was colonised from Cnidos: of this town we shall make further mention when speaking of the Laconian settlements. The inhabitants of Astypalæa were partly derived from Megara;^d their Doric origin is attested by the dialect of decrees now extant;^e and by the same circumstance we are enabled to recognise as a Doric colony Anaphe,^f which is situated near the Doric islands of Thera, Pholegandros,^g and Melos; the position of these islands, together forming a chain across the southern part of the Ægæan sea, shows that they were colonized in a connected and regular succession. Myndus, however, upon the mainland had received inhabitants from the same town as Halicarnassus;^h perhaps Mylasa had also had some connexion with the Dorians.ⁱ Cryassa in Caria was colonised by inha-

^a According to the account of Gelon's ancestors in Herodot. VII. 153.

^b Compare Herodotus with Diod. V. 54.

^c Diod. ubi sup.

^d Scymnus Chius, 549. Probably with the colony of Althæmenes.

^e E. g. ε [δοξε] ται βουλαι και τωι δαμωι φιλ θενευς επεστατει γνωμα πρυ [τανιων], &c. from Villosion's papers.

^f See the quotations in Villosion in the Mém. de l'Acad.

des Inscr. tom. XLVII. p. 287. An inscription among his papers refers to the building of the temple of Apollo and Aphrodite at that place. The worship of Aphrodite appears to indicate a Laconian colony.

^g Concerning Pholegandrus, see Mém. de l'Acad. tom. XLVII. p. 307. 339.

^h Paus. II. 30. 8. Raoul-Rochette is wrong in stating that Scylax declares Caryanda to have been Doric.

ⁱ Herodot. V. 121. 'Ηρα-

bitants of the Doric island of Melos.^a Even Synnada and Noricum, further to the interior in Phrygia, had inhabitants of Doric origin;^b yet the Spartan settlement in Noricum is a fact which it is difficult to understand; and with regard to the former we are wholly unable to state how the Dorians could have penetrated thus far.

I have now, though not without in some measure forestalling the regular course of these investigations, given an account of all the known cities in this territory which were founded by Dorians of Peloponnesus; and if to these we add the colonies from Rhodes upon the opposite coast of Asia, and the cities of Lycia founded from the island of Crete, in which the Doric dialect was doubtless spoken, we shall have before us a very extensive range of colonies belonging to that race. Some of these were probably dependent upon the more considerable; many on the contrary stood entirely alone, some very early disagreements having, as it appears, separated and estranged them from the league of the six towns.^c Hence the Calym-

κλειδης Ἰβανωλίου, ἀνὴρ Μυλα-
σεύς as leader of the Carians.

^a Plut. de Mul. Virt. p. 271.

^b Polyæn. VIII. 56. According to Lycophron, v. 1388. the Doric colony also possessed Thingrus and Satnium, which were places in Caria, according to Tzetzes, in whose notes Ἰκα-
ρίας should be twice altered into Καρίας.

^c Concerning Noricum, see below, § 11. The coins of Synnada have ΣΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ ΔΩ-
ΠΙΕΩΝ; also ΣΥΝΝ. ΙΩΝΩΝ, and both together; also the expression Καστολοῦ (better Κασ-

τωλοῦ) πεδίων Δωριέων, Stephan. Byz. Xenophon mentions it twice in the Anabasis, without precisely stating its position.

^d Compare Steph. Byz. in Ἀραϊ, Ἰωνίας (this is false. They were situated between Syme and Cnidos, Athenæus VI. p. 262.) νῆσοι τρεῖς οὕτω λεγομένη διὰ τὰς ἀράς, ἃς Δω-
ριεῖς ἐποίησαντο πρὸς τοὺς Πεν-
ταπολίτας, ὡς Ἀριστοίδης. Ac-
cording to Dieuchidas in Athe-
næus, the curse was in the time
of Triopas and Phorbas.

nians (or Calydnians) at a later period, on the occasion of embarrassing lawsuits, had recourse not to the larger states of the same race, but to the Iasians (who, though a colony from Argos, had afterwards learned the habits and character of the Ionic race by a settlement from Miletus),^g which nation sent them five judges. This circumstance, however, may be accounted for by a temporary resemblance of their constitutions.^h

3. Having thus put together the most simple historical accounts respecting the foundation of these Doric cities, we have still to examine the mythical narrations with which they are accompanied, and which were invented by representing the same colonies under different names, and attributing a false antiquity to their establishment. That this was in fact the case is evident from the mythical account which is connected with the colony of Troezen, viz. "that Anthes and his son Aëtius, ancient princes of the Troezenians, had in early times founded Halicarnassus."ⁱ This tradition, however, contradicts itself, when compared with the additional account in Callimachus,^k "that Anthes had taken out Dymanes with him;" which was *exclusively* a civil division of the Dorians. It is therefore far preferable to follow the statement of Pausanias,^l that the descendants of Aëtius passed over to Halicarnassus and Myndus long after his death. It

^g Polyb. XVI. 12. 1.

^h See the decree of the Jasiens, which includes that of the Calymnians, in the Doric dialect: Boeckh. Corp. Ins. Gr. No. 2671.

ⁱ Strabo VIII. p. 374, endeavours to give the tradition an historical colouring by sup-

posing that Pelops drove away *Anthes*. compare XIV. p. 656. Apollod. ap. Steph. in *Ἀλικαρνασσος*.

^k Ap. Steph. Raoul-Rochette also perceives this; tom. III. p. 31.

^l II. 30. 8.

must not, however, from this circumstance be inferred that these descendants of Aëtius were leaders of the colony, since it was necessary that these should be Doric Heraclidæ. But they were in all probability a family which cultivated the worship of Poseidon in preference to any other, and carried it over with them to the colony. But that a family of this kind, and with it the tradition and name of Anthes, actually prevailed in Halicarnassus, is seen also from the poetical name of the Halicarnassians (*Antheadæ*).^m

There is also a great similarity in the part which Tlepolemus bears in the history of the colonisation of Rhodes. In this case also the mythical hero is represented as coming from Argos,ⁿ as well as the historical colony, only at an earlier period. But, it may be objected, the colony is related to have come immediately from Epidaurus, and not the hero. We have, however, still an evident trace of mythical genealogies of Rhodes, in which Tlepolemus was represented as immediately connected with the Heraclidæ of Epidaurus. For Pindar celebrates the Diagoridæ as descended on the father's side from Zeus, from Amyntor on the mother's, because both these were the grandfathers of Tlepolemus.^o Now Deiphontes of Epidaurus was also descended on his mother's side from Amyntor, and was

^m Steph. Byz. in *Ἀθήναι*. Hence Athens is called the son of Poseidon, Paus. II. 30, &c. Concerning the *Antheadæ* as priests of Poseidon see an Halicarnassian inscription in Corp. Inscript. No. 2655, and Boeckh's Commentary. It is well known that Posidonia in the south of Italy received the worship of Poseidon and also its name, from a Troezenian colony.

ⁿ Indeed Pindar appears to represent him as dwelling at Argos, the native place of the descendants of Hercules, at a time when all the Heraclidæ were there living together undisturbed; and from Argos he sails to Rhodes.

^o Olymp. VII. 24. Concerning the mother of Tlepolemus, see the epigram, quoted below, p. 121 note ^g.

therefore very nearly related to Tlepolemus. We may also probably suppose that there was in this Argive and Epidaurian colony a family which derived itself from Tlepolemus the son of Hercules, by which means the traditions concerning him were connected with this migration.^p The same want of consistency which we observed above, may here also be perceived in the statement of Homer, that the colony of Tlepolemus was divided into three parts, according to the different races of the settlers;^q whence it is evident that he was always considered as a Doric prince.

Thirdly, the colony of Cos, Nisyros, Carpathus, and Casos also possessed leaders or heroic founders, whose expedition is reported to have taken place at a time different from that at which the colony was founded, and is placed back in a remote period, viz. Phidippus and Antiphus, sons of Thessalus the He-

^p In Iliad E. 628 sqq. there is no necessity for assuming that the poet intended to represent Tlepolemus as a Rhodian. In the catalogue, indeed, four insular Greeks are mentioned, Nireus of Syme, Antiphus and Phidippus of Cos, and Tlepolemus of Rhodes II. B. 653-680). But of these the three first are not elsewhere mentioned. Tlepolemus therefore remains the only Greek, of the Asiatic colonies, on the Achæan side, in the Iliad; and the connexion of the catalogue with the other parts of the poem does not seem to intimate as to prove this exception to have been intended by the writer of the fifth book. Tlepolemus must therefore be considered as a Grecian of the mother country. I feel convinced, that, according to

Homer, no enemy of Troy comes from the eastern side of the Ægean sea. Concerning the numerous differences between the catalogue and the genuine Homeric traditions, see the author's History of the Literature of ancient Greece, ch. 2, § 9.

^q II. B. 668. When Strabo XIV. p. 653, states that Tlepolemus did not lead out Dorians, but Achæans and Boeotians (as a Heraclide of Thebes), he does not follow any ancient tradition, but the chronological system of his times. The ancestors of Theon of Rhodes (Schol. Pind. Olymp. II. 14.) have no reference to this: and Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 272, mixes various accounts.

raclide, or of Hercules himself. Their origin is derived by the fable from the irruption of Hercules into Cos, where he made pregnant the daughter of Euryphylus; afterwards they are said to have migrated to Ephyra in Thesprotia, and their descendants to have gone from thence to Thessaly, where the Aleuadæ, the most distinguished and the wealthiest family of Larissa, claimed them as ancestors.^r Again, I do not deny that Heraclide families in exile at Cos derived their origin from both these heroes (it was indeed by this means that the name of Thessalus found its way into the Asclepiad family of Hippocrates); but that these families were born in the island of Cos itself, is evidently a patriotic invention of the Coans. There were, as we have seen, traditions respecting Phidippus and Antiphus in Cos, and also at Ephyra in Thesprotia; which traditions the fables and poems respecting the returns of the heroes from Troy, endeavoured to reconcile, by making Antiphus reach Ephyra, after a series of wanderings, instead of going directly to Cos; a supposition which will not gain many believers. It is also plain from the epigram of Aristotle,^s that, according to the traditions of Ephyra, that city was considered as the *native country*, and the domicile of the two heroes; and therefore was in direct opposition to the Coan tradition. Now that a Heraclide family should have gone from Cos to Ephyra in Epirus, is contrary to all other examples of the migrations of Greek races and colonies, and all that we know of the dispersion of Heraclide clans or families. On the other hand, a part of the mythology of Hercules, which appears to be of great antiquity,^t refers to this Ephyra in Epirus; and

^r See book II. ch. 12. § 6.

^s Book II. ch. 11. § 4.

^t Peplus Troj. Her. Epig. 27.

it was then quite natural, that with the conquest of Ephyra (a fabulous exploit of Hercules) the origin of a branch of the Heraclidæ should be connected, who then came with the Dorians into Peloponnesus, and by means of the Epidaurian colony to the island of Cos.

4. The favourable situations of these Doric cities on islands and promontories, possessing roadsteads and harbours convenient for maritime intercourse, attracted in early times a considerable number of colonies. It is remarkable that the RHODIANS should have founded fewer and less considerable colonies on the coast of Asia Minor than in the countries to the west: for, with the exception of Peræa, which was not till later times dependent on this island, the only Rhodian towns in Asia Minor were Gagæ^u and Corydalla^v in Lycia, Phaselis,^w on the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia, and Soli in Cilicia.^x On the other hand, in Olymp. 16. 4. 713 B. C., according to Thucydides, about the time of their colonising Phaselis, they founded in Sicily the splendid city of Gela, the mother-town of Agrigentum. This colony was sent from Lindus, which furnished its leader Antiphæmus (or Deinomenes.)^a It was accompanied by inhabitants of the

^u See particularly Etymol. Mag. p. 219. 8. also Raoul-Rochette, tom. III. p. 157.

^v Hecateus ap. Stephan. Byz.

^w As Raoul-Rochette, tom. III. p. 251. clearly shews from Herodotus and Aristænetus *περί Φασηλίδος* ap. Steph. Byz. in *Γέλα* and other words.

^x Eckhel D. N. III. p. 68. According to Strab. XIV. p. 671 D. *Ποδίων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν*,

which Raoul-Rochette, tom. III. p. 379, proposes to refer to Achæa in Rhodes, and leave out *καὶ*, but the Gentile name would be rather *Ἀχαιῶν* than *Ἀχαιοί*. Solon, the Lindian, of Rhodes, is called the founder of this Soli in Cilicia, Vita Arati, vol. I. p. 3. vol. II. p. 444. Buhle.

^a Both names in Etymol. Magn. in v. *Γέλα*.

small island of Telos;^b and was at the same time joined by some Cretan emigrants. That however the numbers of those who came from the first-mentioned town predominated, is shown by the original name of the settlement, *Λίδιοι*, and by the religion there established. Doric institutions were common to all the founders above mentioned, and were consequently established in their settlements.^c The connexion and intercourse with those islands continued without interruption; hence it was that, in later times, the family of Phalaris, coming from Astypalæa, found a welcome reception at Agrigentum;^d and the family of the Emmenidæ, which overthrew Phalaris, had come from the same region, viz. from Thera.^e Moreover, Parthenope, in the country of the Osci, and Elpiæ; or Salapiæ, in the territory of the Daunians (in the founding of which the inhabitants of Cos had a share), were beyond a doubt settlements of the Rhodians; and indeed this same people penetrated even to Iberia at an early period, and there founded Rhode; and we have also traces of their presence at the mouth of the Rhone.^f Hence also, perhaps, arose the account of the expedition of Tlepolemus to the Balearic islands; which account, and the statement that Sybaris was

^b Herodot. VII. 153. The coins of Telos have the head of Jupiter and the *Crab*, like those of Agrigentum; the last symbol is also on those of Cos and Lindus.

^c Thucyd. VI. 4.

^d According to the spurious letters, which are correctly treated of by Bentley in several passages of his Dissertation (without, however, noticing the historical connexion), and also

by Lennep in the notes.

^e According to Hipponstratus ad Pind. Pyth. VI. 4.

^f Compare, besides Meursius, Heyne, Nov. Comment. Gotting. II. cl. philol. p. 40 sqq. That Lyons was a Rhodian colony, has, though without any grounds, been lately maintained, after Father Colonia, by count Wlgrin de Tailefer, Antiquités de Vésone.

founded by him, may be understood merely as mythical expressions for the voyages undertaken by the Rhodians in the western sea.

5. It is, however, a matter even of still greater difficulty to determine the true history of several cities in Asia Minor, which are reported by tradition to have been colonies of Argos, and generally of the greatest antiquity. But it requires nothing short of absolute superstition to believe that Tarsus was founded by Io, or Perseus the Argive,^s who, with his descendant Hercules, was worshipped in this place as a tutelar deity;^h or that Mallus, Mopsuestia, Mopsucrene, and Phaselis were founded by Argive soothsayers at the time of the Trojan war.ⁱ To these may be added Aspendus in Pamphylia, Curium in Cyprus, and even Ione, near Antiochia, in Syria,^k the founding of which place is attributed to the Argives. For, without considering the period at which the ancient Peloponnesians are represented to have undertaken such distant (and at that time impossible) voyages round the Chelidonian islands, it is most singular that Argos, which is at no time mentioned among the maritime nations of Greece, should have planted upon that one line of coast a series of colonies in so connected an order, and so completely useless to herself. We will therefore venture to advance an hypothesis, to which, though perhaps no complete proofs of it can be adduced, we have still sufficient traces to lead us, viz.

^s See Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 124. who also believes in the victory of Perseus over Sardanapalus.

^h See particularly Dio Chrysost. Orat. Tars. 33, pp. 394, 406, 408. Hercules was called ἀρχηγός, and on the day of his

festival a funeral pile was built to his honour; compare Athenæus V. p. 215 B. on the Stephanephorus or priest of Hercules at Tarsus.

ⁱ Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 403 sqq.

^k Steph. Byz. in Ἰώνη.

that all these towns were colonised from Rhodes; but that, by a form frequently in use, they were led out in the name of Argos, the mother-country of Rhodes, and under the auspices of Argive gods and heroes.¹ In the first place, Argives and Rhodians are mentioned together as founders; as in the instance of Soli, which nevertheless only defended the Rhodians as a sister state before the Roman senate.^m Of the manner in which heroes were adopted as founders, the city just mentioned furnishes a good instance. For the Argive soothsayer Amphilocheus is said to have come hither, who, according to poems that went under the name of Hesiod, had been put to death by Apollo at Soli.ⁿ The following example gives a still clearer notion of the manner in which these fables were formed. The Rhodians built Phaselis at the same time with Gela (Olymp. 16. 713 B. C.); the founder is called Ladius, whom the Delphian oracle had sent to the east, as it had Antiphemus to the west.^o Now it is shown in another part of this work^p that Ladius is a Cretan form for Rhacius; and this was the name of the husband of Manto, and father of Mopsus, the ancient mythical prophet of the temple at Claros. For, leaving no doubt that this person is intended, the tradition also says, that this Mopsus, the son of Rhacius, founded Phaselis:^q Pamphylia itself is called the

¹ The arrival of Diomedes the Argive among the Daunians may likewise refer to the founding of Elpis. He is said to have come with Dorians. Antonin. Liber. 37.

^m Polyb. Exc. Leg. XX. 7. 11. Liv. XXXVII. 56.

ⁿ Ap. Strab. XIV. p. 676.

^o Steph. Byz. in Γέλα. Com-

pare Athen. VII. p. 297, from the Ὀροι Κολοφωνίων of Heropythus, and Philostephanus περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων.

^p Book II. ch. 2, § 7.

^q Pompon. Mela I. 14. The tradition is very ancient. Strab. XIV. p. 668. from Callinus. τοὺς λαοὺς μετὰ Μόψου τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερθέοντας τοὺς μὲν ἐν Παμ-

daughter of Rhacius and of Manto;² and lastly, the same Lacijs is represented as a contemporary of Mopsus, and as having been sent out by Manto as a founder at the same time with the latter.³ The inference that we must draw is, that there was no such individual as Lacijs who led the Lindians in person to Phaselis, but that he was merely a mythical being, and represents the Clarian oracle, which seems to have co-operated on this occasion.⁴ Those who are versed in the interpretation of mythical narratives will also hence infer, that the same was the case with his contrary, Ἀντιόφημος. In order, however, to give the mother-state, Argos, a share in the mythical account of the foundation of the Pamphylian colonies, it was necessary that Amphilocheus, who belonged to the family of the Amythaonidæ, should, together with Calchas, have some connexion with them all; and, in fact, it is not impossible that soothsayers from Argos, who called themselves descendants of this prophet and hero, were procured by the Rhodians for this service.

6. We may now penetrate somewhat deeper into the obscure traditions of the Cilician cities Mallus, Mopsuestia, and Mopsucrene. In the fables concerning the founding of these towns, Amphilocheus and Mopsus are always mentioned together; at the same time that the account of their Argive origin is very

φυλὴν μέναι, τοὺς δ' ἐν Κιλικίᾳ μέρισθῆναι καὶ Συρίᾳ, μέχρι καὶ Φοινίκης. Concerning Mopsus in Pamphylia, see also Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 334.

² Strab. XIV. p. 675, and others.

³ Philosteph. ubi sup.

⁴ Rhodia, near Phaselis, is also without doubt a Rhodian

colony; and Mopsus (Theopompus. ap. Phot. cod. 176) was the founder merely in the above sense. In the same manner probably Lyrnessus; compare Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 404 sqq., who, however, has not perceived any thing of all this.

much brought into notice. Cicero calls both these prophets on this occasion kings of Argos.⁵ Here then we may also assume that soothsayers were brought from the mother-country, and suppose that the prophets of the Amphilocheian oracle of Mallus were actually natives of Argos; and although, as will be shown below, the influence of the Clarian worship was also felt,⁶ yet the persons who were the real colonisers could only have been a sea-faring people, such as the Rhodians. In consequence, however, of these settlements having been founded at a very early period, when all colonies were as yet entirely dependent upon the oracles, and therefore were always under the direction of prophets, and as an inventive and imaginative spirit was then in full vigour, their true history has been enveloped in a thick cloud of mythological fiction, which we have at least begun to remove.

7. We next proceed to the CORINTHIAN colonies, the geographical situation of which alone affords a remarkable result with regard to the maritime expeditions undertaken by the mother-country. For although Corinth had two harbours, Lechæum in the Crisæan, and Cenchreæ in the Saronic gulf, it is evident that all its colonies were sent out from the western port. They were founded, almost without exception, on the coasts of the Ionian sea; at the entrance of which the Corinthians had, perhaps at a very early period, founded the city of Molycreium.⁷ Notwithstanding this, the very first colony from Corinth, the date of which is known within a few years (Olymp. 5. 760—757 B. C.),⁸ ventured to cross the

⁵ De Div. I. 40.

⁶ Book II. ch. 2. § 7.

⁷ Thucyd. III. 102.

⁸ See § 10.

Ionian sea, and to found in the most beautiful part of Sicily the renowned city of Syracuse. The founder was Archias a Heraclide, and probably also of the family of the Bacchiadæ;^a he was followed by Corinthians, chiefly from the borough of Tenea;^b and on the road was joined by some Dorians from Megara;^c the expedition was also accompanied by a prophet of the sacred family of Olympia, the Iamidæ, whose descendants flourished at Syracuse in the time of Pindar.^d It appears, however, that Syracuse at that time borrowed many religious institutions from Olympia, as is proved by the worship of Arethusa, of Artemis Ortygia, and of the Olympian Zeus.^e These original founders built a town in the island of Ortygia, the name of which can be explained only from the worship of the goddess just mentioned. The lands taken from the aboriginal Sicilians they divided into lots, according to the number of the colonists. For the method universally observed in founding these colonies was, that the adventurers received beforehand a promise of a share in the territory—which also was called a lot. On the occasion of this very settlement, Æthiops, a Corinthian glutton, is said to have

^a For what Plutarch. Amator. and Diodor. Exc. II. 228. p. 548. Wess. relate of the expulsion of Archias, is stated by the Scholiast to Apollonius IV. 1211, of the family of the Bacchiadæ. The former affirm the accidental murder of the son of Melissa to have been the cause of the founding of Syracuse, the latter of that of Coreyra. Yet this is contradicted by the Parian Marble, I. 47. Archias δέκατος ἀπὸ Τημένου, since the

Bacchiadæ derived themselves from Aletes, not Temenus. In either case Archias is an Heraclide. See Boeckh. Explic. ad Pind. Olymp. 6. p. 153. Compare Göller de situ Syracusarum, p. 5. sq.

^b Strab. VII. p. 380 D.

^c Strab. VI. p. 269. Compare Scymnus Chius, v. 274.

^d See Boeckh's Introduction to the sixth Olympiad.

^e Book II. ch. 9. § 4. ch. 10. § 1.

sold a promise of this kind to a companion for one honey-cake.^f Eumelus the Bacchiad, the celebrated poet of Corinth, seems to have been one of these colonists,^g as he is mentioned in connexion with Archias. Although the *demus*, or populace of the city, chiefly perhaps consisted of inhabitants of various nations, who put themselves under the protection of this colony, and although the territory around was peopled by Sicilian bondsmen, yet in its dialect, and probably for a considerable period in its customs also, Syracuse remained a purely Doric state: as the women in Theocritus say,^h "*Our origin is Corinthian, and therefore we speak the language of Peloponnesus. For it is permitted, I suppose, to the Dorians to speak Doric.*" Hence the Syracusans were so greatly pleased with an ambassador from Lucania, who had learnt to speak Doric in order to address them in their native tongue.ⁱ Syracuse increased so rapidly in population and power, that seventy years after its foundation it colonized Acraë, and also Enna, situated in the centre of the island; twenty years after this, the town of Casmene; and in forty-five more, Camarina. Also some Syracusan^k fugitives named Myletidæ, together with Chalcideans from Zancle, are said to have founded Himera:

^f Athen. IV. p. 167. from Demetrius Scepsius. Archilochus made mention of this Æthiops (Siebel. Fragm. p. 233).

^g Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 298. His *προσόδιον* was composed before the Messenian wars, about the same time.

^h Adonias. 53. compare Thu-

cyd. VI. 77. *ὅτι οὐκ Ἴωνες τὰδε εἰσιν, — ἀλλὰ Δωριεῖς, ἐλεύθεροι ἀπ' αὐτονόμου τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκοῦντες.*

ⁱ Dio Chrys. Or. XXXVIII.

^k According to Thucyd. VI. 5. Raoul-Rochette, III. p. 319. supports the contrary opinion.

hence the dialect there in use was a mixture of Chalcidean and Doric; but the institutions were entirely Chalcidean.

8. The other Corinthian colonies, as has been already remarked, were all situated to the east of the Ionian sea. The nearest of these are, besides their colony of Molycreium, Chalcis in Ætolia,¹ and Solium in Acarnania;^m further on, we find that Ambracia was in very early times founded by Corinth,ⁿ and accordingly was governed by a brother of Periander;^o by the influence of this settlement Amphilochean Argos changed its language and customs for those of the Greeks.^p Anactorium was founded by the Corinthians, under the command of Periander, in conjunction with the Corcyraeans. At the same time, and in connexion with the same persons, they occupied the island of Leucadia;^q to the possession of which, however, the Corcyraeans, as they were at that

¹ Thucyd. I. 108. where this Chalcis is evidently intended.

^m Raoul-Rochette, *ib.* p. 290. The coins of Alyzia do not necessarily prove it to be of Corinthian origin, since barbarous towns frequently adopted the devices of the neighbouring Greek cities. Herodotus IX. 28. does not afford any reason for supposing that Pale was a Corinthian colony; yet both here and in Thucyd. I. 27. it appears as closely united with Corinth.

ⁿ This I believe, because it was founded by Heraclidæ, i. e. by Bacchiadæ, according to Anton. Lib. 4; hence also the worship of Hercules existed there. Compare also concern-

ing the Doric migration to Ambracia, the Epigram of Damagetus in the *Palat. Anthol.* VII. 231.

^o Γόργος is probably the most correct form of those in Plut. *Conv.* VII. Sap. 17. p. 42. Strab. X. p. 452, 7. p. 325. Scymn. Ch. 427. Antonin. Lib. I. 4. p. 23. Teuchn., who alone considers him as the brother of Cypselus. See book III. ch. 9. § 6. note. The form ΓΟΡΓΟΣ is also confirmed by a coin of Ambracia. See Raoul-Rochette, *Annali dell' Instituto di corrisp. archeol.* 1829, p. 316.

^p Thucyd. II. 68.

^q See Boeckh. *Corp. Inscript.* No. 43.

time subject to Corinth, had no just claim; and Themistocles unquestionably did wrong in attributing any such right to them;^r the Leucadians also always remained firm to their real parent-state. Next comes Corcyra itself, the founding of which by Chersicrates the Bacchiad^s is represented as having been a secondary branch of the colony sent to Syracuse;^t but it had at a very early period set itself up as a rival to the mother-state in the Ionian sea, whose ancient power had been probably broken before the Persian war. On the opposite coast lay Epidamnus, which city was chiefly founded by Corcyraeans, but under the command of Phalius, the son of Eratocleides, a Corinthian Heraclide, whom the Corcyraeans, according to the ancient colonial law, had sent for, together with some of his countrymen (in Olymp. 38. 2. 629 B.C. according to Eusebius), and were afterwards strengthened by emigrants from Dyspontium in Pisatis.—Lastly, Gylax, a Corinthian, together with 200 of his own countrymen, and a greater number of Corcyraeans, founded Apollonia in the time of Periander. Here ends the list of Corinthian colonies, which formed a strong and continuous chain along the coast; and thus even the barbarians of the interior, especially the

^r Plutarch. *Themist.* 24.; but the whole history is inaccurately related.

^s Thus Schol. *Apollon.* IV. 1212., and from Timæus at V. 1216.

^t Yet Timæus *ubi sup.* places Chersicrates 600 years after the Trojan war, the date of which he fixed (according to Censorinus de *Die Nat.* 21.) 417 years before the first Olympiad; consequently the date which he

gives to Chersicrates is Olymp. 46. 3. 594. B. C. in the time of the Cypselidæ. But since it is scarcely credible that Timæus could place the foundation of Corcyra so low down, it is probable that he fixed an earlier date for the Trojan war, according to Clinton F. H. vol. I. p. 135. *ω.* III. p. 490. Compare Mustoxidi *Illustrazioni Corciresi*, I. 5. p. 65.

Epirots of Thesprotia, were forced to maintain a perpetual connexion with Corinth: hence also the kings of the Lyncestæ in Macedonia esteemed it an honour to derive their origin from the Bacchiadæ.^a At a still further distance lay the island of Issa, which was colonized from Syracuse.^b Corcyra, however, possessed settlements as far as the Flanatian gulf.^c From these facts it is evident that there was a time when Corinth predominated in these seas; and by means of Corcyra and Ambracia, and other towns, ruled over many nations of barbarians. But the loss of Corcyra, which had been at war with its mother-state in the 28th Olympiad (about 668 B.C.),^d even before the time of Periander (though it was for a short time again reduced to subjection by the enterprising Cypselidæ), was an incurable wound for Corinth. The other colonies, however, showed a remarkable obedience to her.^e It was not till after the loss of their maritime dominion in these quarters (an event which had nevertheless taken place before the Persian war) that the Corinthians appear to have founded Potidæa on the opposite side of Greece in Chalcidice, which colony they sought to retain in their power by continually interfering in its internal administration, and for this purpose sent thither every year magistrates named Epidemiurgi.^f

9. MEGARA, on the other hand, was induced by its situation to send even its first colonies to the oppo-

^a Thucyd. I. 47.

^b Strab. VII. p. 326. Scymn. Ch. 620.

^c Scymn. Ch. 412. According to Raoul-Rochette, IV. p. 86. it was founded at the same time that Dionysius founded Lissus.

^d Orchomenos, p. 297.

^e Thucyd. I. 13.

^f *μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἀποίκων στεργόμεθα*, the words of the Corinthians in Thucyd. I. 38. compare I. 26. Plutarch Timol. 3.

^g I. 56. See book III. ch. 8. § 5.

site side of Greece on the Thracian coast. Thus in Olymp. 17. 3. 710 B.C. it founded Astæus in Bithynia;^d afterwards Chalcedon, on the entrance of the Bosphorus^e in Olymp. 26. 2. 675 B.C. (according to Eusebius); and 17 years later (Olymp. 30. 3. 658 B.C.) Byzantium in a more favoured spot, opposite to Chalcedon.^f The Argives also had a share in the foundation of this town; for which fact we may trust the general assertion of Hesychius of Miletus, that his circumstantial and fabulous history of the early times of this city was derived from ancient poets and historians. For the transmission of the worship of Here (whose temple both at Byzantium and Argos was on the citadel),^g and the traditions concerning Io, the attendant of the Argive Here, confirm in a manner which does not admit of a doubt, the pretensions of Argos to a share in this colony. Io, who was represented with horns on her forehead, is said to have here produced to Zeus a daughter, Ceroëssa the "Horned" by name (which is, however, only a different name for Io herself), who being suckled by the nymph Semestra, afterwards brought forth Byzas.^h Thence the fable of the cow swimming over the sea became peculiar to this place.ⁱ In other respects the combina-

^d According to Eusebius. See Raoul-Rochette, III. p. 233.

^e According to Hesychius Milesius de Constant. p. 48. the founder's name was Dineus.

^f The situation of Byzantium, in a political and commercial point of view, is well described by Polybius IV. 44.

^g Dionys. Byzant. de Thracio Bosphoro in Hudson's Geogr. Min. vol. III. sacrifices were offered to her on the first day of the year. Heyne Comment.

Rec. Gotting. tom. I. p. 62. has treated of the fables of Io at Byzantium with sufficient fullness, but without tracing the origin of the traditions.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ See, besides others, Palat. Anthol. VII. 169. Why does not Raoul-Rochette admit here as elsewhere, the supposition of an ancient colony under the guidance of Io, an Argive princess?

tions of religious ceremonies as found at Byzantium, almost exactly resembled that which existed in Megara. Nay, so carefully did the Byzantians, though far removed from their mother-state, preserve the remembrance of it, that they carried over almost all the names of their native country and the neighbouring region. We find on the coast a temple of Poseidon, whose son was named Byzas; also of Demeter and Cora; the Scironian rocks, an Isthmian promontory, with the tomb of Hipposthenes a Megarean hero, the temple of Apollo on the high promontory of Metopum; also an altar of Saron, a pretended hero, whose name referred to the Saronic gulf.^k Thus Byzantium was never estranged from its Peloponnesian ancestors, although it adopted a large number of additional colonists,^l and ruled over Thracian subjects. Moreover, the prevailing dialect, which occurs in some public decrees still extant, remained for a long time Doric.^m The Byzantians, together with the Chalcedonians, either at the time of the expedition of Darius against the Scythians, or of the Ionic revolt, founded Mesambria on the Pontus,ⁿ which some consider as a colony of Megara. The Megareans had also founded Selymbria even before the settlement of Byzantium,^o and probably carried on from this place a war with

^k See Dionysius. There is something on this head also in Hesychius. Besides the names in the text, there are Athene Ec-basia—Artemis Dictynna (also *Lucifera in piscinis*), Ajax Telamonius, and Achilles—Rhea—Hecate and Fortune—The Dioscuri—Amphiaraus *ἐν σν-καῖς*, Aphrodite the preserver of peace, and Aphrodite *Πάνδημος*.

^l With whom there were at times dissensions. See Aristot. Pol. V. 2. 10.

^m See, besides the decrees in Demosthenes, Constantin. Porph. Them. I. p. 1452. in Meursii Opp.

ⁿ Μεγαμβρία and Μεσαμβρία on coins.

^o According to Scymnus Chius, v. 714.

the Samians at Perinthus,^p when that island was still governed by Geomori, before the time of Polycrates. Moreover, the Megareans had a large share in the founding of Heraclea on the Pontus; for although they were strengthened by some Tanagræans from Boeotia, their numbers so predominated that this city was in general considered as Doric.^q

10. Megara, however, at the same time founded some very considerable colonies to the west, viz., in Sicily. It will be sufficient to state in general terms that Hybla in Sicily was a Megarean colony, established in the 13th Olympiad (about 728 B.C.), and was even called Megara.^r It probably kept up a constant intercourse with the mother-state; since

^p Plut. Qu. Gr. 57. *Ægine-tica*, p. 67. It is probable that Perinthus also at that time received a party of Doric colonists, as it is called an allied town by the Byzantians (Demosth. de Corona, p. 255), and the worship of Hercules was prevalent there. Compare Pano-fka Res Samiorum, p. 22, where, however, several passages are incorrectly applied.

^q Arrian, Periplus of the Pontus Euxinus, p. 14. Hudson. Compare Orelli Heracleot. p. 115. Raoul-Rochette places it as far back as the 30th Olympiad, but according to Scymnus Chius, 231, the founding took place in the time of Cyrus.

^r Megara was founded in the same year as Naxos, Olymp. 11. 3, according to Ephorus (in Strabo and Scymnus); according to the more exact Thucydides some time after, 245 years before its destruction by Gelon. Gelon reigned from

Olymp. 72. 2, in Gela, from Olymp. 73. 4, till 75. 3, in Syracuse (Boeckh ad Pind. Olymp. I. Explic. p. 100). From the narrative of Herodotus VII. 156, it appears that he conquered Megara in the interval of Olymp. 74. 1—3; in which case the foundation would fall about Olymp. 13. 1, 728 B.C. According then to the account of Thucydides, the arrival of Lamis the Megarean must have been some years before. This event was contemporary with the founding of Leontini, which was five years after that of Syracuse: this cannot, therefore, be reconciled with the account of Eusebius, who dates the building of Syracuse Olymp. 11. 4. (Hieron. Scal.) The statement of the Parian Marble agrees better, viz. Olymp. 5. 3. Raoul-Rochette, III. p. 214, reckons on false suppositions. Compare Heyne Opusc. Academ. tom. II. pp. 259. sq.

tions of religious ceremonies as found at Byzantium, almost exactly resembled that which existed in Megara. Nay, so carefully did the Byzantians, though far removed from their mother-state, preserve the remembrance of it, that they carried over almost all the names of their native country and the neighbouring region. We find on the coast a temple of Poseidon, whose son was named Byzas; also of Demeter and Cora; the Scironian rocks, an Isthmian promontory, with the tomb of Hipposthenes a Megarean hero, the temple of Apollo on the high promontory of Metopum; also an altar of Saron, a pretended hero, whose name referred to the Saronic gulf.^k Thus Byzantium was never estranged from its Peloponnesian ancestors, although it adopted a large number of additional colonists,^l and ruled over Thracian subjects. Moreover, the prevailing dialect, which occurs in some public decrees still extant, remained for a long time Doric.^m The Byzantians, together with the Chalcedonians, either at the time of the expedition of Darius against the Scythians, or of the Ionic revolt, founded Mesambria on the Pontus,ⁿ which some consider as a colony of Megara. The Megareans had also founded Selymbria even before the settlement of Byzantium,^o and probably carried on from this place a war with

^k See Dionysius. There is something on this head also in Hesychius. Besides the names in the text, there are Athene Ec-basia—Artemis Dictynna (also *Lucifera in piscinis*), Ajax Telamonius, and Achilles—Rhea—Hecate and Fortune—The Dioscuri—Amphiarus *ἐν σκαῖς*, Aphrodite the preserver of peace, and Aphrodite *Πάνδημος*.

^l With whom there were at times dissensions. See Aristot. Pol. V. 2. 10.

^m See, besides the decrees in Demosthenes, Constantin. Porph. Them. I. p. 1452. in Meursii Opp.

ⁿ Μεσαμβρία and Μεσαμβρία on coins.

^o According to Scymnus Chius, v. 714.

the Samians at Perinthus,^p when that island was still governed by Geomori, before the time of Polycrates. Moreover, the Megareans had a large share in the founding of Heraclea on the Pontus; for although they were strengthened by some Tanagræans from Bœotia, their numbers so predominated that this city was in general considered as Doric.^q

10. Megara, however, at the same time founded some very considerable colonies to the west, viz., in Sicily. It will be sufficient to state in general terms that Hybla in Sicily was a Megarean colony, established in the 13th Olympiad (about 728 B.C.), and was even called Megara.^r It probably kept up a constant intercourse with the mother-state; since

^p Plut. Qu. Gr. 57. *Ægine-tica*, p. 67. It is probable that Perinthus also at that time received a party of Doric colonists, as it is called an allied town by the Byzantians (Demosth. de Corona, p. 255), and the worship of Hercules was prevalent there. Compare Pannofka *Res Samiorum*, p. 22, where, however, several passages are incorrectly applied.

^q Arrian, *Periplus of the Pontus Euxinus*, p. 14. Hudson. Compare Orelli *Heracleot.* p. 115. Raoul-Rochette places it as far back as the 30th Olympiad, but according to Scymnus Chius, 231, the founding took place in the time of Cyrus.

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Theognis, who was a Megarean from Sicily, according to Plato, dwelt nevertheless for a long time in the Megara near Athens, to which state many of his poems refer.^a The founding of the small town of Trogilus, and of the more important city of Thapsos, preceded the building of Megara. A century later, some inhabitants of Megara founded Selinus in the neighbourhood of that part of the island, which town was in early times held by the Phoenicians, in later times by the Carthaginians.

11. The colonies of SPARTA, which still remain to be considered, were more numerous than would be expected of a state so averse to maritime affairs. In the history of the migrations of the Heraclidæ, we find introduced the colonies of Thera, Melos, Gortyna, and Cyrene; which, although for the sake of honour they recognised Sparta as their mother-state, had been in fact founded by Achæans, Minyans, and Ægidæ, who dwelt at that time in a state of almost entire independence in a district of Laconia.^t All these states, however, retained the Doric name; and Cyrene, though even the founders married Libyan women,^u

^a See Passow ad Theogn. 773. Welcker ad Alcman. p. 85, adds Schol. Platon. p. 220. See also Welcker's Theognis, p. 14. In literary history many instances occur of the same persons being called citizens of the mother-state, and of the colony; e. g., Archilochus was a Parian and Thasian; Protagoras and Hecataeus the younger were citizens both of Teos and Abdera; Terpander belonged to Arne in Boeotia and Lesbos at the same time; Mimnermus was both a Colophonian and

citizen of Smyrna, &c.

^t See *Orchomenos*, pp. 313—359. Thrice's *Res Cyrenensium* (1828), pp. 23-35. Concerning a family of the Heraclidæ, see the interesting passages of Synesius, *Καταστ.* (p. 10. Morell.) and of Theodorus Metochita in the Supplem. ad Nicol. Damasc. Orellii. The account of the latter is very confused.

^u Pind. Pyth. IX. Boeckh Explic. p. 325. Thrice *ibid.* 121 sq.

always preserved to the utmost of its power the institutions, customs, and language of its mother-country.^x The founding of Cnidos also took place at an early period, and was generally ascribed to the Lacedæmonians.^y The leader of the colony was, according to Diodorus, one Hippotes.^z Syme also was at that time peopled from Cnidos.^a The principal religion of this city, that of Aphrodite^b (who was here worshipped in a three-fold capacity), was without doubt the same as that which existed at Cythera, having been carried over by the Lacedæmonian colonists. The splendid city of Cnidos, protected toward the east by an Acropolis, which both its Cyclopiian architecture^c and fabulous history prove to have existed before the time of the Dorians, was situated on a neck of land, with a harbour on each side, one of which was among the largest in Greece. Thus fitted by nature for commerce, Cnidos also founded colonies of its own, among which Lipara, established (in Olymp. 50, about 580 B.C.) upon one of the Æolian islands under the direction of descendants of Hippotes,^d overcame the Etruscans in several wars, and adorned Delphi with offerings

^x Δωρικοί τόποι, Synesius, ubi sup.

^y Herodot. I. 174. Diodorus V. 53. speaks of an Argive-Lacedæmonian colony in this district.

^z V. 9. 53. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1388, calls him Ἰππότης ὁ Ἀλήτης, but I can hardly think that he is the same as the ancestor of the Corinthian Heraclidæ.

^a Diodor. V. 53.

^b Also at Nisyros, according to its coins.

^c I here speak on the authority of some beautiful drawings

by M. Huyot, amongst which is a plan of Cnidos; an accurate plan of the harbour was shown me by Captain Beaufort. Compare Clarke, part II. § 1, plate 13.

^d It is stated by Diodorus V. 9, that the Cnidians in the 50th Olympiad (580 B.C.) sent a colony to Lipara under the guidance of three descendants of their countryman Hippotes, Gorgus, Thestor, and Epithersidas, who, in conjunction with 500 of the former inhabitants, founded a state. Now it was natural to call Æolus the god

of victory.^o Another colony from Cnidos, remarkable chiefly for its distance from the mother-country, is Black-Corcyra, on the coast of Illyria. Lacedæmon herself, however, is said to have sent out colonies to Phrygia, Pisidia, and Cyprus. In the former country, Pisistratus, a Spartan, is said to have founded Noricum near Celænæ on the river Marsyas.^f Selge in Pisidia is generally considered by the ancients to have been a Lacedæmonian colony, and we frequently find on coins of a late date this origin recognised. The representative of the state is Hercules the Doric hero: moreover, the free spirit, the bravery, and the good laws of the Selgæans (although the reverse is sometimes attributed to them) were derived from their mother-state.^g The wrestling youths in the act of grasping one another (*ἀκροχειρίζόμενοι*) represented on their coins, bespeak a love for gymnastic exercises. It should, however, be remembered, that the founders of this colony were, according to a more exact statement, Amyclæans,^h i. e. fugitive Perioeci, who perhaps had

of the winds, who was supposed to reside on these islands, a son of the new national hero, Hippotes; and hence he became *Αἰολος Ἱπποτάδης*. If this is true, then the name *Ἱπποτάδης* in the Odyssey (K. 2. 36.) is certainly *later* than the Homeric age; which might be almost supposed from the statement of the learned Asclepiades, that the Æolus of Homer was the son of Poseidon (not of Hippotes), which he could hardly have said, if all the copies of the Odyssey had *Ἱπποτάδης*.

^o See particularly Pausan. X. 11. 3, from Antiochus, and Diodorus V. 9, probably from the same author.

^f Pseud-Plutarch. de fluv. Mars. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 321.

^g See Strab. XII. p. 570. The inscription on their coins is *Σελγέων Λακεδαιμονίων ὁμόνοια*. Compare Mionnet Descript. III. p. 525. Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 427, with whom I do not entirely agree. See also Nicephorus Blemmidas, ed. Spohn. p. 13.

^h Dionys. Perieg. 860, where I consider that "the Amyclæans" is not a mere poetical ornament, although the testimony is not to be much depended upon. Compare Eustathius ad l.

passed through Cnidos in their way to these districts. It appears that the Selgæans founded Sagalassus,ⁱ which city is styled on its coins *The Lacedæmonian*. Perhaps Praxander went at the same time from Therapne in Laconia, with Cephas of Olenus (both Achæans by birth) to the island of Cyprus, where they founded Lapathus and Ceronia.^k

12. But the most celebrated of all the Lacedæmonian colonies, and which really proceeded from Sparta, was Tarentum. The history of its origin is buried in fable, in the accounts of the first Messenian war; the accompanying circumstances will be mentioned below. The leader of this colony was Phalanthus, son of Aratus, a Heraclide.^l Taras, on the other hand, is called the son of Poseidon, because this colony carried over the worship of that deity from Tænarum to Italy. These emigrants also brought with them other religious rites, as for instance the worship of Hyacinthus;^m likewise many names from their native country, as that of the Eurotas, which they gave to the river Galæsus.ⁿ But the fruitful and luxuriant

ⁱ See Raoul-Rochette's argument, tom. II. p. 428.

^k Lycophr. vv. 452, 593. Strab. XIV. p. 682. *Λακεδαιμόνων ἐν Κύπρῳ* Eustath. ad Homer. p. 293. 45. ed. Rom. Golgi in Cyprus was founded by *Sicyonians* (Steph. Byz. in *Γόλγοι*), and it was the *only* colony sent out by that state, with the exception of Phæstus in Crete, whither a Heraclide of Sicyon is said to have gone; see ch. 5. § 2.

^l *Ut fertur, octavus ab Hercule*, Schol. Vetust. ad Hor.

Carm. II. 6. 12; and so likewise Servius ad Virgil. Georg. IV. 125. Æn. III. 551. Compare, concerning the Phalantidae, Steph. Byz. in *Ἀθήναι*. Callimachus is referred to in a verse quoted by Schol. ined. ad Dionys. Perieg. (Spohn. Opusc. Niceph. Blemm. 29.) *πάντες ἀφ' Ἡρακλῆος ἐτήτυμον ἔστε Λάκωνες* according to Goettling's conjecture.

^m *Ῥακίνθου* or *Ἀπόλλωνος Ῥακίνθου τάφος*, Polyb. VIII. 30. 2.

ⁿ Ib. VIII. 35. 8.

territory to which they had moved, its soft and voluptuous climate, and the commerce, for which Tarentum was well situated,^o and always open (although it never carried it on in an active manner), helped to engender that effeminacy of character, which gave countenance to the fable of the founders having been the sons of unmarried women (*παρθενίαι*). Still, amidst all its degeneracy, Tarentum retained a certain degree of dependence on its mother-country: at the foundation of Heraclea the Tarentines allowed Cleandridas a Spartan to be one of the original colonists.^p The friendship, moreover, of the Cnidians with the Tarentines,^q as well as that with the Cyreneans, was founded on the recognition of a common origin. The colony of Croton (Olymp. 19. 2. 703 B.C., according to Eusebius) consisted indeed of Achæans, who came partly from the maritime town of Rhypæ,^r and partly from Laconia:^s it must, however, have been established under the authority of the Doric state of Sparta, since Apollo and Hercules, the Doric god and hero, were here worshipped with especial honour;^t the early constitution was also Doric; and although in general we are not to look for truth in the poetry of Ovid, yet in this instance we may credit his statement that Myscellus the founder was a Heraclide.^u In like manner the Locrians, who (in Olymp. 24. 2. 683 B.C.) founded Locri, must have procured Spartans as leaders,^x since (as their coins also show) they paid par-

^o Scymn. Ch. 330.

^p Strabo VI. p. 264, from Antiochus.

^q Herodot. III. 138. IV. 164.

^r Strabo VIII. p. 387.

^s Pausan. III. 3. 1. Jamblichus Vit. Pythag. 10. Raoul-

Rochette, III. p. 187.

^t See book II. ch. 3.

^u Metam. XV. 15. *Grates agit ille parenti Amphitryoniadæ.*

^x See Pausan. ubi sup. The newly discovered fragments of Polybius confirm the partici-

ticular honours to the Dioscuri, in time of distress in war the statues of these gods having been sent to them from Sparta, as being a people of the same origin;^y and even in the Peloponnesian war they still adhered to the cause of Sparta.^z Of a nature wholly different were the rapid and transitory settlements of Dorieus the son of Anaxandrides, king of Sparta, which this noble adventurer founded in Sicily and Libya; when, scorning to submit to a worthless brother, and confiding in his own strength, he hoped to obtain by conquest a kingdom in a distant country.^a Finally, the Lycians of Crete and other inhabitants of this island called themselves colonists of Sparta. In all probability many of the ancient Doric cities of this country received fresh settlers from Lacedæmon; which state, at the beginning of the Olympiads^b in the time of Alcamenes, and even during the life of Lycurgus,^c exercised a very considerable influence upon the internal affairs of Crete.

Having taken a view of the Doric settlements without Peloponnesus, we now return to the history

pation of Sparta in the colonization of Locri, p. 384. Mai, inasmuch as they mention the sending of Locrian auxiliaries to the Spartans as the cause of the foundation of Locri in Italy.

^y Justin XX. 2.

^z Thucyd. VI. 44. Raoul-Rochette, p. 194, derives it from Dorians, who had previously settled at Cape Zephyrium: but even if there were Dorians there, they must have been Megareans.

^a It would lead us too far from our subject to explain the tradition concerning the Lacedæmonians among the Sabines

and Samnites. It is remarkable that, according to Silius Italicus, these Lacedæmonians came from Amyclæ and Therapne, the ancient settlements of the Achæans. I must also pass over the Cretan colonies, for many reasons.

^b Paus. III. 2. 7.

^c A war with Cnosus is very improbable and almost impossible; Paus. II. 21. III. 11. Vell. Pat. I. 4. (*Lacedæmonii in Asia Magnesiam*), had probably some account of the share of the Spartans in these Cretan colonies, which will be discussed book II. ch. 3.

of that peninsula, which we will divide into two periods, namely, before and after the 40th Olympiad, or the year 620 B.C.

CHAP. VII.

§ 1. Sources of the early history of Peloponnesus. § 2. Quoit of Iphitus, Registers of Victors at the Olympic and Carnean Games, Registers at Sicyon and Argos. § 3. Registers of the Spartan Kings. § 4. Spartan Rhetras, Land-marks. § 5. Lyric Poets, Oral Tradition, and Political Institutions. § 6. Mythical character of Lycurgus. § 7. Lycurgus founder of the sacred armistice of Olympia. §§ 8. and 9. Messenian wars: sources of the history of them. § 10. First Messenian war. § 11. Second Messenian war. § 12. Influence in Arcadia obtained by the Spartans. § 13. Limited ascendancy of Argos in Argolis. § 14. Disputes between Argos and Sparta. § 15. Pheidon of Argos. § 16. Further struggles between Argos and Sparta.

1. BEFORE we begin to collect and arrange the accounts extant concerning the early history of Peloponnesus, it will be first necessary to ascertain what are our sources of information respecting the events of this period. For the epic poets, who carried on an uninterrupted series of traditions on the events of the mythical ages, and have thus thrown over this dark period some faint glimmerings which may in many places be condensed into a distinct and useful light, only touch on a few points of the period whose history we are about to examine. On the other hand, indeed, the art of writing was during this time introduced among the Greeks through their intercourse with Asia; but that a long time elapsed before it

came into general use, is evident from the almost surprising imperfection of those written documents which have been preserved to us of a date anterior to the 60th Olympiad, in comparison with the great perfection of the works of Grecian art. For this reason, writing was long regarded in Greece as a foreign craft, and letters were considered (for example in the *Teian* curses) as Phœnician symbols. Nevertheless, these few and scanty registers are the first materials for real history and chronology now extant. As such, the following have been made known to us from Peloponnesus.

2. The *Quoit of Iphitus*, upon which was inscribed in a circle the formula for proclaiming the sacred armistice of Elis, and in which Iphitus and Lycurgus were mentioned as the founders of it.^a There is no reason for doubting its genuineness, which was recognised by Aristotle, and the institution which it mentioned was considered by all ancient writers as a real fact.^b Secondly, the *lists of the conquerors at the Olympic games* brought down uninterruptedly from the victory of Choroëbus,^c which always recorded the conquerors in the foot-race, and in later times at least those in the other games.^d It is probable that they were originally engraved on single pillars, and afterwards collected under the inspection of the Hellenodiceæ.^e Similar catalogues of conquerors in other

^a Pausan. V. 20. 1, according to Clavier, Plutarch. Lycurg. I.

^b Δυκοῦργος ὑπὸ πάντων συμφώνως ἱστορεῖται μετὰ τοῦ Ἰφίτου τοῦ Ἡλείου τὴν πρώτην ἀριθμηθεῖσαν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θέσιν διαθεῖναι, Athen. XIV. p. 635 F.

^c Pausan. V. 8. 3. ἐξ οὗ γὰρ

τὸ συνεχὲς ταῖς μνήμας ἐπὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐστὶ—

^d γράμματα Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας, Pausan. V. 21. 5. VI. 2. 1.

^e See Aristodemus ap. Syncell. Chron. p. 196 C. Compare Goeller de Situ Syracusarum, p. 198.

games, besides the four great ones, were also probably not uncommon, but they were generally inscribed on separate pillars, and were therefore of little use to the historian.^f The names of the *conquerors at the Carnean games* at Sparta were also registered, so that Hellanicus was enabled to compose from them a work called *Καρνεονίκα*. The *register at Sicyon* contained a list of the priestesses of Here at Argos, and the poets and musicians of the games.^g But this also contained fabulous accounts: for example, the invention of playing and singing on the harp by Amphion. Nor were the *catalogues of the priestesses of Here*, which were probably kept at Argos, altogether free from fable, as may be perceived from the fragments of Hellanicus's chronological work on these priestesses, which was probably founded on the official catalogues.^h

3. There were also at Lacedæmon public registers, in which Plutarch found mention of the daughters of Agesilaus;ⁱ and in those of the earliest times the same author discovered the Pythian oracle concerning Lycurgus,^k the same that Herodotus refers to in his first book. These doubtless contained the names of all the kings, and probably also the years of their reigns, as far back as Procles, who, according to a statement noticed above, died one year before his

^f Pind. Olymp. VII. 86. ἐν Μεγάροις τ' οὐχ ἕτερον λιθίνα ψᾶφος ἔχει λόγον. Compare Boeckh Explic.

^g Plutarch de Musica, 3. 8.

^h Sturz. Hellanici fragment. p. 79 sqq. ed. 2.

ⁱ Agesil. 19.

^k In Colot. 17. p. 268. Λα-

κεδαιμόνιοι τὸν περὶ Λυκούργου χρησμὸν ἐν ταῖς παλαιοτάταις ἀναγραφαῖς ἔχοντες. Concerning this oracle see Theodoret Græc. Affect. 9. 10. Max. Tyr. Diss. XXIX. p. 72. The oracle in CEnomaus (Euseb. Præp. Ev. V. p. 113.) is evidently a modern forgery.

brother Eurysthenes.¹ This fact could hardly have been derived from any other source than some national annals, though it is not impossible that it was first transferred to them from oral narrative; in which case, however, it is difficult to understand how tradition, contrary to its general character, preserved dates. It was without doubt from these registers that Charon of Lampsacus, before the time of Herodotus, composed his work entitled, "*The Prytanes, or Rulers, of Lacedæmon;*"^m in which he also noticed the sacred offerings and monuments of ancient times." With respect to the chronological labours of Timæus, Polybiusⁿ says that "this writer compared the ephors "with the kings of Lacedæmon from the beginning, "and the archons at Athens and priestesses at Argos "with the conquerors at the Olympic games, and "noted the errors which the cities had made in the "registration, even when they only differed by three "months." Eratosthenes and Apollodorus founded their chronology, especially before the Olympiads, upon the same list of the kings;^p they both nearly agreed in reckoning 327 or 328 years from the expedition of the Heraclidæ to the first Olympiad (776 B. C.),^q which calculation would have been impos-

¹ Above ch. 5. § 14. Eurysthenes, according to Eusebius, reigned 42 years.

^m Suidas in Χάρων.

ⁿ Athen. XI. p. 475 B. concerning the καρχήσιον.

^o XII. 12. 1.

^p Plutarch. Lycurg. I. Diod. I. 5. who calls the ἀναγραφὴ of the kings a παράπηγμα. Eusebius says that at the beginning of the Olympiads *Lacedæmoniorum reges defecerunt*, which

error arose from the lists ending here, which had been made for computing the preceding periods.

^q Apollod. ap. Diod. ubi sup. Eratosthenes ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 336. ed. Colon. Compare Tatian. adv. Græcos, p. 174. Censorinus de Die Natali 21. Euseb. Scalig. p. 23. Cicer. de Rep. II. 10. who also followed the Χρονικά of Apollodorus.

sible if the duration of each king's reign had not been known; for if this computation is made by generations, reckoning about three to a century, quite a different number comes out.¹ Lycurgus, however, was placed by Eratosthenes 108 years before the first Olympiad;² in which computation he certainly went on the authority of the Quoit of Iphitus; which agrees with the statement of Apollodorus, that Homer, who according to this chronologist flourished 148 years before the first Olympiad, was a contemporary of Lycurgus when the latter was a young man.³—It appears, however, that the name of Lycurgus was not preserved in any register of the kings, since in that case it would have been impossible that he should have been called by Herodotus the guardian of his nephew Labotas the Eurysthenid,⁴ by Simonides (who lived in great intimacy with king Pausanias)⁵ the son of Prytanis and brother of Eunomus the Proclid, and by others the son of Eunomus and guardian of his nephew Charilaus,⁶ had there existed any genealogy of

¹ I do not contend that the chronological statements in the Spartan lists form an *authentic document*, more than those in the catalogues of the priestesses of Here and in the list of Halicarnassian priests (Boeckh Corp. Ins. Gr. N^o. 2655). The chronological statements in the Spartan lists may have been formed from imperfect memorials; but the Alexandrine chronologists must have found such tables in existence, since they could not have been produced by mere computation; and yet the date of 328 years before the 1st Olympiad was entirely founded upon them.

² Ap. Clem. comp. Diod. de Virt. et Vit. p. 547, ed. Vales.

³ P. 411. Fragm. ed. Heyn. from Tatian and Clemens I. p. 327. comp. p. 309. Pausan. III. 2. 4. Eusebius's quotation of Apollodorus at the 18th year of Alcamenes is incorrect, as may be seen from Plutarch. Lycurg. I.

⁴ I. 65. Pausan. III. 2. 3.

⁵ Ælian. V. H. IX. 41.

⁶ Simonid. ap. Plutarch. Lyc. 2. and compare Schol. Plat. Rep. X. p. 474. 21 Bekker. The latter, also, according to Aristot. Polit. II. 7. 1. Ephorus ap. Strab. X. p. 482. Compare Dieuchidas, ap. Plutarch.

him which was sufficiently accredited. Hence we must infer that these catalogues only contained the names of the kings, and not even of the royal guardians or protectors, such as Lycurgus. On the other hand, the variations in the enumeration of the kings are unimportant, being confined to this, that in the pedigree of the Proclidæ Herodotus^a (or his transcribers) leaves out the name of Soüs, which occurs in all the rest, and, contrary to Pausanias, changes the order of Eunomus and Polydectes. Since the name of Polydectes is entirely wanting in Simonides and Eusebius, it is probable that Polydectes and Eunomus are only different names of the same king; and that Polydectes was the proper name, and Eunomus a title of honour.^b Upon this hypothesis we obtain the following series of kings of the Proclid line—Prytanis, Polydectes, Charilaus, with tolerable certainty. There must also have been registers of the names and years of the princes of Corinth, and the family of the Bacchiadæ, since no one could have had the boldness to invent them.^b Indeed there were altogether many

Lycurg. 2. et Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 328. ed. Colon. (p. 390 Potter). cf. Strab. X. p. 481. He took Lycurgus for a son of Polydectes and a younger brother of Eunomus, and placed him 290 years after the taking of Troy. Dionys. Hal. Arch. Rom. II. 49. calls Lycurgus the uncle of Eunomus, whom he probably places with Herodotus (VIII. 131.) after Polydectes. Thucydides I. 18. places Lycurgus not long before 800 B. C. Timæus escaped the difficulty by supposing that there were two Lycurguses. Xenophon disagrees the most (Rep. Lac. 10.

quoted by Plutarch. Lyc. 1.), as he says that Lycurgus lived κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας, i. e. κατὰ τὴν Ἡρακλείδων κάθοδον.

^a VIII. 131.

^b See Clinton, F. H. vol. I. p. 144. The same explanation also diminishes the difficulty about the relationship of Lycurgus; yet there still remains the great discrepancy between Herodotus (where the emendation proposed by Marsham does not suit the context) and Xenophon.

^b The dates of these are given, doubtless from Alexandrine chronologists, by Diodo-

pedigrees, particularly of the Heraclidæ: as, for example, of families at Cyrene,^c and the Ptolemies;^d their authority, however, could not have been very great; in the latter, indeed, we cannot fail to recognise the unscrupulous hand of Alexandrine flatterers. The ancient chronicles of Elis, which Pausanias saw, appear to have contained complete pedigrees from Oxylus down to Iphitus;^e although the descendants of the former were not kings. The father of Iphitus was there stated to have been also named Iphitus, in contradiction to the common account.^f

4. None of these registers appear to have contained anything beyond the names of conquerors at the games (which have seldom any reference to history), and princes with the years of their reigns. If anything more was noted down, it was perhaps here and there an oracle, as those belonging to the history of Sparta in Herodotus,^g which were without doubt brought by the Pythians to Sparta in writing, at a very early period. To these may be perhaps added some ancient *rhetras*;^h under which term the ancient Dorians included all political documents, laws, and treaties. The most ancient instance of the last kind

rus, fragm. 6. p. 635, where (with Wesseling after Didymus) 30 years must be assumed from the return of the Heraclidæ to the reign of Aletes, by which the computation comes out right. This has been overlooked by Eusebius, since he makes Aletes contemporary with Eurysthenes. See the Armenian Eusebius, p. 16. Mai.

^c See above, p. 136. note ^t.

^d *Æginetica*, p. 62. Comp. Theocritus XVII. 27.

^e As may fairly be inferred from V. 4. 3.

^f V. 4. 4. In an inscription at Olympia (Brunck. Anal. II. p. 193.) he was called the son of Hæmon; according to common tradition, he was the son of Praxonides. In Eusebius (Hieronym.) should be written, *Iphitus Praxonidis vel Æmonis f.*

^g I. 66, 67.

^h Concerning this word see Boissonade, *Classical Journal*, vol. XX. p. 289.

is the treaty between the Eleans and the inhabitants of Heræa, discovered by sir William Gell,ⁱ the writing of which is so extremely rude as to prove that they were little practised in that art when it was engraved. It is however very doubtful how the Spartan rhetras of Lycurgus were drawn up. By some it has been supposed that they were originally composed in metre, in order to be chanted by the youth of Sparta;^k but this is contradicted by the certain testimony^l that Terpander of Antissa, whom the Spartans so highly esteemed, was the first who set these laws to music, and first gave them a metrical and poetical form; and Terpander did not live till after the 26th Olympiad, or 672 B. C.^m But the rhetra which Plutarch has preserved as the genuine constitutional formula bears a truly archaic character, since it contains a command of the Pythian Apollo to the lawgiver in the infinitive mood, and does not fall into verse. I do not perceive why it might not have been written, as well as the contemporaneous inscription on the Quoit of Iphitus, and the ancient oracles cited by Herodotus; at least we cannot in any other way account for the preservation of the words. The original rhetras, however, were very few, and formed merely the nucleus of a system of laws, more as a help to the memory than as a perfect code; hence the ancients could with propriety say, that Zaleucus was the first who committed laws to writing.ⁿ The three rhetras, which were preserved besides the former one, were merely

ⁱ Boeckh Inscript. No. 11.

^k *E. g.* by Wolf Proleg. Homer. p. 67.

^l Of Clem. Alexand. Strom. I. p. 308.

^m For the date of Terpander, see book IV. ch. 6. § 1. note.

ⁿ Scymnus Chius, v. 313.

Strabo VI. p. 259.

certain general formulas, and by no means explicit laws; they had the form of an oracle, as having proceeded from the Pythian god,^o but were written entirely in prose.^p

Next in the list of public monuments come the *ῥῥοι*, or landmarks of territory. It is well known that we are in possession of such records of a later period, belonging to the sacred territory of the Pythian Apollo (in which earlier surveys of the Amphictyonic Hieromnemons, and ancient inscriptions on boundary-stones are appealed to), belonging to Cretan towns, and likewise to Samos and Priene, in which the inhabitants of Priene cite ancient records, preserved from the time of Bias in the temple of Athene.^q Historical works were also composed from these memorials.^r Now there must also have been records of this kind in Peloponnesus, although the inscriptions, by which the Messenians wished to prove

^o Plutarch. Lyc. 13. whose words should be thus understood, "*Lycurgus did not enact any written laws, but merely sanctioned existing customs.*" The *ῥῥοι* however were evidently not mere *ἔθη*, but oracular dicta, expressed in definite words, which had been preserved from ancient times. Plutarch. Agesil. 26. calls them *Αἱ καλούμεναι τρεῖς ῥῥοι*, and also de Esu Carn. II. 1. *ὁ θεῖος Λυκούργος ἐν ταῖς τρεῖσι ῥῥοις*; consequently this was in a certain degree a fixed number.—One of these very regulations was *μη χρῆσθαι νόμοις ἐγγράφοις*.

^p Plutarch. de Pyth. Orac. 19. *αἱ ῥῥοι, δι' ὧν ἐκόσμησε*

τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν Λυκούργος, ἐδόθησαν αὐτῷ καταλογάδην.

^q The Delphian Inscription in Boeckh Corp. Inscript. n. 1711. The Cretan in Chishull Ant. Asiat. p. 135. The Samian and Prienian in Chandler Inscript. p. 1. 38. 1, 2, 3. Marm. Oxon. p. 25.

^r I agree with Creuzer Histor. Ant. Fragm. p. 122. that it is unnecessary *always* to alter writers concerning *ῥοι* into *ῥογράφοι*, i. e. chronologists. The above Samian inscriptions expressly refer to historical works; and are we then to alter in Herodian p. 7. (where see the passages quoted), and in p. 39. *ἐν Σαμίων ῥοις*?

to the Romans their original boundary towards Laconia, were evidently not made till after their re-establishment by Epaminondas.^s

5. These documents, if we were in possession of them, would afford a valuable foundation for an account of the three centuries before regular history begins; but merely an outline, which would require to be filled up from other sources. This might partly be done from the writings of the *Lyric poets*, who flourished at that time, as Eumelus, Thaletas, Tyrtæus, Alcman, and Terpander;^t which writers had frequent intercourse with the Spartans, and introduced the events of the time into their poetry to a much greater degree than the epic poets. And in fact we find in the fragments of Tyrtæus and Alcman a lively representation of the feelings and manners of the period. The next source of information is *oral tradition*, which, though erring continually with regard to names and numbers, yet always relates something essential; and, finally, the *political institutions* continuing to exist in later times, which had their origin in this period.

These, and no other than these, can have been the means employed by the authors who wrote on the affairs of Laconia, in the century when history was approaching to maturity, such as Hellanicus, Charon, and Herodotus; and either directly or indirectly must have afforded materials to those who treated of the times of Lycurgus during the later age of Greek learning. But how little do we recognise the ancient

^s *Monumenta saxis sculpta et ære prisca*, Tacitus Annal. IV. 44. on account of his *ἔσμα προσόδιον* for the Messenian Theoria to Delos, Pausan. IV. 4. 1.

^t I mention Eumelus in this place, as being a Lyric poet in

simplicity and liveliness which characterise all the genuine remains of that time, in the historical style of Ephorus and Hermippus," and their followers. The object of these writers was to assimilate, as much as possible, the notions of antiquity to those of their own time, and to attempt in some way or other to represent every act as proceeding from such motives as would have actuated their own contemporaries. They have with a truly unsparing hand rubbed off the venerable rust of ancient tradition, and, totally mistaking the most powerful springs of action then prevalent, moulded all events of which any records had been preserved, into a connected form more suited to a modern history. It is almost impossible to describe with what unlucky zeal Plutarch, where Lycurgus only embodied in laws the political feelings of his race and nation, ascribes to that legislator plans and views generally unsatisfactory, and often absolutely childish.

6. If now we apply the method above stated to the history of Lycurgus, we shall find that we have absolutely no account of him as an *individual person*. Tradition very properly represents him as intimately connected with the temple of Delphi (by which the Dorians, and especially the state of Sparta, were at that time entirely led), and with Crete, the earliest civilized state of the Doric race. This connexion was generally represented under the form of a journey to both places; his tomb was also shown both at Cirrha and at Pergamia in Crete. It was easy to imagine that the reforms of Lycurgus were violently

^a Περὶ νομοθετῶν. He must however have either invented himself, or adopted the inventions of others, if he mentioned the names of the twenty assistants and friends of Lycurgus, Plutarch. Lyc. 5.

opposed, and produced tumults and disturbances.^x But the story of Alcander putting out one of Lycurgus's eyes (probably a popular tale) is founded on a false explanation of the title of Pallas Optiletis.^y It was indeed an ancient tradition that he was guardian of a Spartan king; but the common report of this being Charilaus^z is not quite certain, as we have seen above; and in order to account for both his travels and regency, he was reported to have abdicated the latter in order to avoid suspicion.^a If we set aside all fictions of this description, which have almost the spirit of a moral tale, like the Cyropædia of Xenophon, there remains very little traditional lore. Of his legislation we will treat hereafter.^b

7. It is very singular that historians should have mentioned so little of the action of Lycurgus, which comes next in importance to that which has been just discussed;^c I mean the share that he had in founding the sacred armistice and games at Olympia, which event was without doubt the commencement of a more tranquil state of affairs in Peloponnesus. Lycurgus, as the representative of the Doric race, Iphitus, of the Ætolians and Eleans, and Cleosthenes,^d the son

^x Plutarch. Lyc. 31. and 11.

^y See book II. ch. 10. § 2.

^z He was anciently celebrated for his mildness. Plutarch in the Life of Lycurgus, and de Adul. 16. On the other hand, Heraclides Ponticus 2. καὶ τὸν Χάριλλον (ΧΑΡΙΛΑΟΝ) τυραννικῶς ἀρχόντα μετέστησε.

^a Plutarch. Lyc.

^b Book III. ch. 1. The names of Eunomus as the father and of Eucosmus as the son of Lycurgus (Pausan. III. 16. 5.) be-

long to the class pointed out above, p. 69. note 5.

^c Only Plutarch. Lycurg. 23. and Heraclid. Pont. 2. καὶ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν τὰς ἐκχειρίας (the Pythian are probably meant) κατέστησε. The account of Hermippus is evidently, in part at least, invented.

^d This Cleosthenes is mentioned in Phlegon Trallianus ap. Meurs. Opera, vol. VII. p. 128. and Schol. Plat. Rep. V. p. 246, 7. Bekker.

of Cleonicus of Pisa, the city to which the temple of Olympia properly belonged, and which had not then lost the management of it, in conjunction perhaps with several others, drew up the fundamental law of the Peloponnesian armistice. This contained two heads. First, that the whole territory of the Eleans (who acted as masters of the games, after the expulsion of the Pisatans, every year with more exclusive power) should remain for ever free from hostile inroads and ravages, insomuch that even armed troops were only to be allowed a passage on condition of first laying down their arms;^e secondly, that during the time of the festival a cessation of arms should also be proclaimed throughout the rest of Peloponnesus. But, since there was little agreement among the individual states in the computation of time, and as the Eleans alone were acquainted with the exact time at which the quadriennial festival came round, and perhaps also in order to make the injunction of the god more impressive, the Eleans always sent *feciales* round to the different states, "*heralds of the season*," "*the Elean truce-bearers of Zeus*;"^f these persons proclaimed the Olympic armistice, first to their own countrymen, and then to the other Peloponnesians: after which time no army was to invade another's territory.^g The fine which was to have been paid by the Spartans in the Peloponnesian war for having sent

^e Συγχώρημα Ἑλλήνων ἱερὰν καὶ ἀπόρρητον εἶναι Ἡλείαν, Polyb. IV. 73. who calls the peaceable existence of the Eleans in early times a *ἱερὸς βίος*; Strab. VIII. p. 357. Diod. Excerpt. p. 547. Wessel., where very absurd motives are attributed to the Lacedæmonians.

^f Isthm. II. 23. Boeckh Explic. p. 494. Schneider Lexicon in v. et ad Xen. Hell. IV. 7. 2.

^g The determination of this time was somewhat ambiguous. See Thuc. V. 49. *ἔπαγγελλειν* is the proper word for the announcement.

out soldiers after this period was two minas for each hoplite, the very sum which by the agreement of the Peloponnesians was required for the ransom of prisoners of war;^h whence it is evident that the transgressors of the truce were considered as becoming slaves of the god, and were to be ransomed again from him. The decree was pronounced by the tribunal of the temple at Elis, according to the "Olympian law."ⁱ The fine was divided between the Eleans and the treasury at the temple of Olympia. To this temple also were paid all penalties incurred by the infraction of treaties;^k nay, sometimes whole cities were bound to pay a fixed tribute every year to the god.^l By these and similar laws was the armistice protected, which doubtless was not intended merely to secure the celebration of the games from disturbance, but also to effect a peaceable meeting of the Peloponnesians, and thus to give occasion for the settling of disputes, and the conclusion of alliances. Even in the Peloponnesian war public business was transacted at this assembly.^m But one chief effect of the Olympic festival appears to have been the production of a more friendly connexion between the Ætolian and Doric races. This fact appears to be established by the tradition that Iphitus introduced the worship of Hercules at Elis, which therefore had previously been peculiar to the Dorians.ⁿ Apollo, the Doric god, was also at this time regarded as the protector of the sacred armistice of Olympia, as we shall see hereafter.^o

^h Herod. VI. 79. see also V. 77.

ⁱ Thucyd. V. 49. comp. Pausan. V. 6, 4. VI. 3, 3.

^k As in the well-known treaty between the Eleans and Heræans, αἱ δὲ μά συνέαν, τάλαντόν

κ' ἀργύρῳ ἀποτίνοιαν τῷ Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ.

^l Thuc. V. 31.

^m Thuc. III. 8, 14.

ⁿ Pausan. IV. 4.

^o Book II. ch. 3, § 2.

8. We now proceed immediately to the *Messenian wars*, since it is hardly possible to find one independent event between the commencement of them and the time of Iphitus. These however are really historical, since we have in Tyrtæus a nearly contemporaneous account of the first, and one actually so of the second. The fragments and accounts of his poems are our principal guides for obtaining a correct knowledge of these transactions. And in these alone many circumstances appear in quite a different light from that in which they are represented in the romance of Pausanias. In the latter, the Spartans only are the aggressors, the Messenians only the subjects of attack; but, if we listen to Tyrtæus, the former also had to fight for their own country. But, since even the ancients possessed few remains of Tyrtæus, and as nearly all the historical part of his poems appears to have come down to us, whence did Pausanias derive his copious narrative, and the details with which he has adorned it? Was it from ancient epic poets? Yet of these there is nowhere any mention: and in general an historical event, if it could not be put into an entirely fabulous shape, like the stories of the origin and foundation of many colonies, lay altogether without the province of the early poetry. It is indeed possible that in the Naupactia, which are referred to for the mythical history of Messenia,^p some historical notices may have occasionally occurred, perhaps too in the works of Cinæthon and Eumelus: but the ancients, who disliked the labour of compiling a history from scattered fragments, probably gave themselves very little trouble to discover them. On the other hand,

^p Pausan. IV. 2. 1.

there existed a series of traditional legends, whose character announces their high antiquity; thus, that of the Messenians, that Aristomenes had *thrice* offered a *hecatomphonion*, or sacrifice for a hundred enemies slain in battle;^a whether or no of human victims is doubtful.^b A share in this sacrifice was also performed by Theoclus, who is called an Elean, because he belonged to a family of the Iamidæ, which, as it appears, was settled in Messenia; but this clan, though scattered about in different places, yet always retained their rights at Olympia.^c The same character may also be perceived in the legend of Aristomenes thrice incurring the danger of death. On the first of these occasions, when thrown into the Ceadas, he was preserved by a fox, the symbol of Messenia; on the second, whilst his guards were asleep, he turned to the fire and burnt in two the cords that bound his limbs,^d a story more certainly derived from tradition than the love-adventure which supplies its place in Pausanias: the third time however that he fell into the hands of his enemies, they cut open his breast, and found a hairy heart.^e

^a Plutarch Romul. 25. Sympos. Qu. IV. 1. 1. Sept. Sap. Conviv. 16. Polyæn. II. 31. 2. Plin. H. N. XI. 70.

^b See Fulgentius in Staveren Mythograph. Latin. p. 770. *Si quis enim centum hostes interfecisset, Marti de homine sacrificabat apud insulam Lemnum, quod sacrificatum est a duobus, Aristomene Gortynensi et Theoclo Eleo, sicut Sosicrates scribit.* Apollodorus ap. Porphy. de Abstin. II. 55. p. 396. (comp. Meursius, Misc. Lac. II. 14.) says that the Lacedæmonians

also had sacrificed a man to Mars.

^c Paus. IV. 15. 5.

^d Polyæn. II. 31. 3. Plin. XI. 70. Valer. Maxim. I. 8. ext., 15.

^e Stephanus Byz., who quotes Herodotus, Rhianus, and Plutarch. Herodotus, however, does not mention the subject. What Stephanus says is taken from Plutarch de Herodot. Maled. 2. p. 291. where however for *φησιν αὐτὸς* should probably be written *φασιν αὐτόν*.

9. Traditions of this kind were probably circulating in different forms among the victorious Lacedæmonians,^x amongst the refugee Messenians in Italy and Naupactus, the subject Messenians who remained in the country, and the other Peloponnesians, when they were recalled into existence by the re-establishment of the Messenian state by Epaminondas. Even before the battle of Leuctra, the Boeotians, on the advice of an oracle, hung up as a trophy the shield of Aristomenes,^y the device of which was a spread eagle:^z and when Epaminondas recalled the Messenian fugitives from Italy, Sicily, and even from Libya, and had erected them, with numerous Helots and people collected from various quarters, into a new state,^a Aristomenes was especially invoked before the foundation of the city.^b In this manner the ancient traditions were enabled to gain a new footing, and to be developed in a connected form. Several writers now seized upon a subject which had begun to excite so great interest, of whom Rhianus the poet and Myron the prose-writer are known to us.^c Myron gave an account of the first Messenian war down to the death of Aristodemus; but, in the opinion of Pausanias, utterly regardless whether or no he related falsehood and incredibilities; thus, in the teeth of all tradition, he introduced Aristo-

^x Isocrates (Archidam. 11.) connects the Messenian war with the assassination of Cresphontes, and relates that the Spartans were much encouraged by the oracle: the narrative evidently had not at this time received the form in which it was afterwards represented. Yet he mentions the twenty years' siege (on the authority of Tyrtæus), § 66.

^y See Antip. Sidon. VII. 161. Anthol. Palat.

^z Pausan. IV. 16. 4. VI. 32. 5. IX. 39. 5.

^a Lycurgus in Leocrat. 15. p. 155. comp. Isocrates Archidam. 10.

^b Pausan. IV. 27. 4.

^c Also Æschylus of Alexandria wrote Messeniaca, Athen. XIII. p. 599 E.

menes, the hero of the second war, into the first; and he wrote with an evident bias *against* Sparta.^d Rhianus, however, a native of Bena in Crete, celebrated the actions of Aristomenes, in the second war, from the battle near the Great Trench (Μεγάλη Τάφρος), until the end of the war, as Homer had done those of Achilles; and although Pausanias has disproved some of his statements of particular facts from Tyrtæus,^e yet he has frequently followed him, and especially in the poetical embellishments of his narrative.^f He never mentions any historians, such as Ephorus, Theopompus, Antiochus, or Callisthenes.^g Rhianus, however, though he might not have exclusively adopted the Messenian account,^h yet, as far as we can judge from Pausanias, gave the reins to his fancy, and mixed up many circumstances and usages of later times with the ancient tradition.ⁱ It is not therefore our inten-

^d See Athen. XIV. p. 857 D. Diodorus probably follows him, since he represents Cleonnis in the first war and Aristomenes as fighting together, Fragm. X. p. 637, Wessel. In XV. 66. he means him among the εἰνοί. Boivin and Wesseling endeavour in vain to reconcile the contradictions. The genuineness of the fragment of Diodorus is however doubtful.

^e IV. 15. 1.

^f Concerning Rhianus see Jacobs in the Index Auctorum to the Anthology.

^g See Strabo, VIII. p. 362.

^h E. g. it was a *Messenian* account which Myron followed (Pausan. IV. 6. 2.), that Aristomenes killed the king Theopompus (contrary to Tyrtæus, as may be seen from Plutarch Agid. 21.).

ⁱ I will now point out some instances of modern fiction in the narrative of Pausanias. The account of Polychares and Euæphnus supposes a greater power in the Areopagus than it ever possessed; nor did the quarrel come at all within the province of the Argive Amphictyons. Besides Pausanias, see Diodorus Excerpt. p. 547, who generally follows the same authorities. The Cretan bowmen must have been introduced by Rhianus from his own country; it is certain that there were no mercenaries at so early a period. How could the Corinthians have gone to Laconia without passing through an enemy's country, and who would have allowed them a free passage? The flight of the initiated to Eleusis is contrary to all pro-

tion either to divert the reader with a continued narration of these fictions, at the expense of truth, or fatigue him by a detailed criticism of them, but merely to lay before him the chief circumstances, as they are known with historical certainty.

10. The first war is distinctly stated by Tyrtæus to have lasted nineteen years, and in the twentieth the enemy left their country, and fled from the mountain Ithome.^k The same authority also gives the time which elapsed between the first and second wars, viz., that the grandfathers were engaged in the first, the grandchildren in the second.^l The date of the first war is fixed by Polychares, who is stated to have been the author of it,^m having been conqueror in the race at the

bability; and this the more, as in the second war they were quiet spectators, Pausan. IV. 16. 1. Yet we are told the sacred torchbearers (δαδοῦχοι) fought at Athens in military array. The disposition of the light-armed troops in separate bodies (IV. 7. 2.) is contrary to the account of Tyrtæus and to ancient usage, compare IV. 8. 4. Οἱ Μεσσήνιοι δρόμῳ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐχρῶντο (IV. 18. 1.) is contrary to Herodotus (VI. 112). Many events are attributed to very improbable causes, e. g. that they left the fortified cities (IV. 9. 1.) from want of money. There is absolutely no reason given for the subjection of Messenia. That the Argives came in a private capacity, and not at the command of the state, appears from Herodot. VI. 92. The oracle in IV. 9. 2. in iambic verses is of a late date, but ne-

vertheless *more* ancient than the corresponding one in hexameters preserved by Eusebius Præp. Ev. V. 27. p. 130. ed. Steph. The verse in Pausan. IV. 12. 1. ἀλλ' ἀπάτη μὲν ἔχει γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα λαός, refers to the fraud of Cresphontes at the original division. In the oracle in Pausan. IV. 12. 3. and Eusebius ubi sup. should be written, ἦ γὰρ Ἀρης κείνων εὐήρεα τεῖχῃ, Καὶ τειχέων στεφάνωμα πικρὸς οἰκήτορας ἔξει. Whence these oracles were derived does not appear: nor is it easy to decide concerning the date of such short pieces. (The above oracle is differently, and perhaps more correctly, emended by Lobeck ad Phrynich. Par. p. 621.)

^k See the Fragments as arranged by Frank, *Callinus*, p. 168.

^l Ap. Strab. VIII. p. 362.

^m By Pausanias and Diodorus de Virt. et Vit. p. 540.

4th Olympiadⁿ (764 B.C.); and it agrees well with this date that Eumelus, who was contemporary with Archias the founder of Syracuse (in the 5th Olympiad), composed a poem for *free* Messenia. Pausanias places the commencement (we know not on what grounds) at Olymp. 9. 2, (743 B.C.) the termination nineteen years later, Olymp. 14. 1. (724 B.C.) The interval between the two wars he states (though on what authority we know not, and contrary to Tyrtæus) to have been thirty-nine years;^o so that the second would have lasted from Olymp. 23. 4. to Olymp. 28. 1. (or from 685 to 668 B.C.)^p We shall, however, find hereafter that the date of this war was probably later by several years, though not so late as Diodorus fixed it, according to whom the war began in Olymp. 35. 3.^q We also know from Tyrtæus that the Spartan

ⁿ Pausan. IV. 4. 4.

^o Justin. III. 5. says eighty years. Thirty-nine years are probably too short a period; for, as the Spartans did not marry before the age of thirty (book IV. ch. 4. § 3.), the difference between grandfathers and grandchildren must have been on an average sixty years. If the interval had been only thirty-nine years, most of those engaged in the second war would have been the sons of the conquerors of Ithome.

^p The same date is in the Parian Marble, Ep. 34. But Pausanias IV. 15. 1. proves *only from Tyrtæus* that Rhianus was incorrect in calling Leoty-chides a contemporary of the second war; consequently the numbers cannot have much authority. Pausanias had however various means of judging: e. g.

after the expulsion and subjugation of the inhabitants no Messenian occurred in the Ὀλυμπιονίκαι, Pausan. VI. 2. 5. Different writers however vary remarkably. Dinarchus in Demosth. p. 99. 29. places the subjection of the Messenians 400 years before their restoration (370 B.C.); Lycurgus in Leocrat. p. 155. 500; Isocrates Archidam. p. 121 B. only 300; but Bekker reads 400 from a manuscript, which agrees better with the early date of Isocrates for the subjection of the Messenians. Plutarch Reg. Apoph. p. 126. only 230 years before the liberation by Epaminondas.

^q It has been proved by the succession of the excerpts of Diodorus that he placed the second Messenian war at the same time as Eusebius: Krebs *Lectiones Diodoreæ*, Epimetrum.

king who completed the subjugation of Messenia was Theopompus.¹ Now, with respect to the origin of this war, it may be first traced in the increase of power, which Sparta, before the beginning of the Olympiads, owed to the exertions of its king Teleclus; this prince having succeeded in subduing the neighbouring city of Amyclæ, and in reducing several other Achæan towns to a state of dependence on Sparta.² Indeed, if we correctly understand an insulated notice,³ Teleclus razed the town of Nedon, on the frontiers of Messenia and Laconia,⁴ and transplanted its inhabitants to the towns of Pœessa, Echeiæ, and Tragis. Hence arose border wars between the Dorians at Sparta and those at Stenyclarus. The temple of Artemis Limnatis,⁵ the possession of which was disputed between the two nations (though its festival was common to both), afforded, as may be discovered from the romance of Pausanias,⁶ the immediate ground for the war. For even in the reign of Tiberius the Lacedæmonians supported their claim to this temple by ancient annals and oracles;⁷ while the Messenians, on the other hand, brought forward the document already quoted, according to which this temple, together with the whole territory of Dentheleatis, in which it was situated, belonged to them. Dissensions in Messenia must have

Now Eusebius places the beginning of the second war at Olymp. 35. 3. (638 B.C.), and Tyrtæus at Ol. 36. 3. (636).

¹ Pausan. IV. 6. 2. (comp. Frank, *Callinus*, pp. 172, 196. who proposes Πολυδώρ without any reason); see Polyæn. I. 15.

² See above, ch. 5. § 12, 13.

³ Strabo VIII. p. 360.

⁴ In the time of Augustus it

was in Messenia. The name Nedon was only preserved in that of Ἀθηνᾶ Νεδονσία.

⁵ IV. 4. 2.

⁶ Strabo V. p. 257. has nearly the same account as that of the Lacedæmonians in Pausanias; and so also Heraclides Ponticus, and Justin. III. 4.

⁷ *Annalium memoria vatun- que carminibus*, Tacit. Annal. IV. 43.

hastened the breaking out of the war, since it is certain that Hyamia, one of the five provinces of Messenia, was given by the Spartans to the Androclidæ, a branch of the family of the Æpytidæ.^a The history of the first war contains traces of a lofty and sublime poetical tradition: for example, that Aristodemus, though ready to appease the wrath of the gods by the blood of his own daughter,^b yet was unable to effect his purpose; that the damsel was put to death in vain; and upon this, recognising the will of the gods that Messenia should fall, and being terrified by portentous omens, he slaughtered himself upon the tomb of his murdered child.^c The war seems to have been confined chiefly to the vicinity of Ithome, which stronghold, situated in the midst of the country, commanded both the plain of Stenyclarus and that of the Pamisus. The reduction of this fortress necessarily entailed the subjugation of the whole country, and many of the Messenians began to emigrate. With this event the Doric colony of Rhegium is connected. Heraclides of Pontus^d merely relates, that some Messenians (who happened to be at this time at Macistus in Triphylia, in consequence of the violation of some Spartan virgins) united themselves to the Chalcidian founders of this town (who had been sent out from Delphi). He probably means those Messenians who wished to make a reparation for the violation of the Spartan virgins in the temple of Artemis Limnatis, and were in conse-

^a Pausan. IV. 14. 2. See ch. 9. above, ch. 5. § 13.

^b Probably tradition had preserved some report of a sacrifice to Artemis Orthia (Iphigenia), concerning which see book II.

^c Plutarch also mentions the same expedition, de Superstit. 7. p. 71, Hutten.

^d Fragm. 25.

quence expelled by their own countrymen.^o But, according to Pausanias,^f even this body of Messenians received the district of Hyamia; and the Messenians did not migrate to Rhegium until after the taking of Ithome under Alcidas, and again after the second Messenian war under Gorgus and Manticlus, son of Theoclus, one of the Iamidæ.^g Anaxilas the tyrant (who lived after Olymp. 70) afterwards derived his family from the Messenians,^h who constituted in general the first nobility of the town of Rhegium.ⁱ

The establishment of Tarentum is connected with the history of the first Messenian war; but it is wrapped up in such unintelligible fables (chiefly owing perhaps to an ignorance of Lacedæmonian institutions), that all we can learn from them is, that Tarentum was at that time founded from Sparta.^k

11. In a fragment of Tyrtæus we find some very distinct traces of the condition of the subject Messenians after the first war, which will be separately considered hereafter. The second war clearly broke out in the north-eastern part of the country, on the frontier towards Arcadia, where the ancient towns of Andania and Œchalia were situated. In all probability this tract of country had never been subjugated

^o Pausan. IV. 4. Strabo VI. p. 257.

^f IV. 14. 2. 23. 3.

^g Hence Hercules Manticlus was worshipped at Messana, Pausan. IV. 23. 5. IV. 26. 3.

^h See particularly Thucyd. VI. 5.

ⁱ Strabo ubi sup. The Rhegini considered the Messenians of Naupactus as kinsmen, Pausan. IV. 26. We may pass

over the often corrected error of Pausanias concerning Anaxilas (last by Jacobs, Amalthea, I. p. 199. where Bentley is forgotten).

^k Yet it should be observed that Dionysius Perieg. 376. mentions Amyclæans as colonists in Tarentum, which is probably not a mere poetical embellishment.

by the Spartans. Aristomenes, the hero of this war, was born at Andania,¹ from which town he harassed the Spartans by repeated inroads and attacks. In his first march he advanced as far as the plain of Stenyclarus; but after the victory at the Boar's Grave he returned to Andania. But this attempt of the Messenians to recover their independence became of serious importance by the share which the greater part of the states in Peloponnesus took in it. For Strabo,^m quoting Tyrtæus, states, that the Eleans, Argives, Arcadians, and Pisatansⁿ assisted the Messenians in this struggle. The Pisatans were led by Pantaleon the son of Omphalion, who celebrated the 34th Olympiad in the place of the Eleans;^o which fact enables us accurately to fix the time (644 B.C.).—At the head of the Arcadians was Aristocrates, whom Pausanias calls a Trapezuntian, the son of Hicetas, and mentions

¹ Ἀνδανία.—ἐκ ταύτης Ἀριστομένης ἐγένετο, Steph. Byz. The words οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μεσσήνη Ἀνδανία ἐκαλεῖτο, ἣν οἰκίσαι φασὶ τινὰς τῶν μετὰ Κρυσφόντων καὶ οὕτω καλεῖσθαι, &c. contain two errors; comp. Pausan. IV. 26. 5.

^m The whole of the following passage is evidently taken from Tyrtæus, VIII. p. 362. τὴν μὲν πρώτην κατακτ. φησὶ Τυρταῖος—γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ δευτέραν, καθ' ἣν ἐλόμενοι συμμάχους Ἠλείους καὶ Ἀργεῖους [καὶ Ἀρκάδας ἀδιδendum] καὶ Πισάτας ἀπέστησαν, Ἀρκάδων μὲν Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ὀρχομενοῦ βασιλέα παρεχόμενων στρατηγόν, Πισατῶν δὲ Πανταλέοντα τὸν Ὀμφαλίωνα. It is stated by Strabo, p. 355 C. that at the ἐσχάτη κατάλυσις τῶν Μεσσηνίων the Eleans assisted the Spartans. They must there-

fore have espoused the cause of the latter out of hatred towards Pisa. With Strabo agrees the article of Phavorinus in v. Ἀνγείας, p. 134. viz. that "the Lacedæmonians deprived the Pisatans of this privilege for siding with Messenia, and gave it to the Eleans, who took their part." But if Elis was friendly and Pisa hostile to the Spartans, Pantaleon can hardly have obtained the agonothesia, when Sparta had overcome all her enemies, and had ended the war victoriously. Accordingly, the 34th Olympiad, which Pantaleon celebrated without the Eleans, probably fell in the period of the second war.

ⁿ According to Pausanias also the Sicyonians.

^o Pausan. VI. 22. 2.

his treachery at the battle near the Trench, on the subsequent discovery of which the Arcadians deprived his family of the sovereignty of Arcadia.^p The same account is also given by Callisthenes,^q and both writers quote the inscription on a pillar erected near the mountain-altar of Zeus Lycæus in memory of the traitor's detection. Now we know from good authority^r that Aristocrates was in fact king only of Orchomenus in Arcadia,^s of which his family was so far from losing the sovereignty, that his son Aristodamus ruled over it, and also over a great part of Arcadia. The date of Aristocrates^t appears to have been about 680-640 B. C.^u

The Lacedæmonians were therefore in this war really pressed by an enemy of superior force, a fact alluded to by Tyrtæus. Meanwhile Sparta was assisted by the Corinthians,^x perhaps by the Leprea-

^p Plutarch de sera Num. Vind. 2. p. 216. agrees with Pausanias, and states that the war lasted for more than twenty years.

^q Ap. Polyb. IV. 33. 2. The words of the inscription are as follows:—

πάντας δ' χρόνος εὖρε δίκην ἀδίκῃ βασιλῇ,
εὖρε δὲ Μισσηνὴν σὺν Δαί τὸν προδότην
ῥηιδίως. χαλεπὸν δὲ λατὴν θέναι ἄνδρ' ἐπί-
ορον.

χαίρει Ζεὺ βασιλεῦ, καὶ σάω Ἀρκαδίαν.

^r See *Æginetica*, p. 65.

^s Which city was still governed by kings in the Peloponnesian war, Plutarch Parallel. 32. p. 430. In this strange composition, arbitrary fictions are curiously mixed with learned notices.

^t See the genealogy of the Orchomenian, Epidaurian, and Corinthian princes below, ch.

8. § 3. note.

^u The battle ἐπὶ τῇ Μεγάλῃ Τάφρῳ, περὶ Τάφρον (Polyb. IV. 33. Pausan. IV. 6. 1. 17. 2.), in which Aristocrates is supposed to have betrayed the Messenians, was also mentioned by Tyrtæus; but the account which he gave of it quite differs from that in Pausanias, viz. that the Spartans were intentionally posted in front of a trench, that they might not be able to run away. Eustratius ad Aristot. Eth. Nic. III. 8. 5. fol. 46. καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν τάφρων καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων παρατάττοντες. τοῦτο περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων λέγοι ἄν' τοιαύτην γὰρ τινα μάχην, ὅτε πρὸς Μεσηνίους ἐμαχέσαντο, ἐπολέμουν, ἧς καὶ Τυρταῖος μνημονεύει.

^x According to Pausanias.

tans,^y and even by some ships of the Samians;^z but chiefly by Tyrtæus of Aphidnæ, whom an absurd and distorted fable has turned into a lame Athenian school-master. The fact of Sparta seeking a warlike minstrel in Aphidnæ, may be accounted for from its ancient connexions with this borough in Attica, which is said to have been in the hands of the Dioscuri. Whether or not Aphidnæ at that time belonged to Attica, and was subject to Athens, is a question we shall leave undecided; but there does not seem to be any reason for inferring with Strabo, from the passage of Tyrtæus itself, that the whole tradition was false, and that Tyrtæus was a Lacedæmonian by birth,^a though he doubtless became so by adoption. It is to be regretted that we have very little information concerning the war carried on by Sparta with the rest of

^y Pausan. IV. 15. 4. What he says in IV. 24. 1. does not, however, agree well with this.

^z Herod. III. 47. That the Lacedæmonians, at the beginning of the second war, dedicated a statue of Jupiter, twelve feet in height, at Olympia, with the inscription in Pausan. V. 24. 1. is merely a conjecture of the ἐξηγηταί.

^a The passage of Strabo VIII. p. 362. should be arranged thus: "Tyrtæus says that the second conquest of Messenia took place," ἦν ἡ καὶ φησὶν αὐτὸς στρατηγήσαι τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ γὰρ εἶναι φησὶν ἐκεῖθεν ἐν τῇ ἐλεγείᾳ ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν Εὐνομίαν. Αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων—νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα. Ὡστε ἡ ταῦτα ἈΚΥΡΩΤΕΟΝ τὰ ἐλεγεία (for ἡ κύρωται τὰ ἐλ. some MSS. have ΗΚΥΡΩΤΑΙ-ΟΝΤΑ), ἡ Φιλοχόρῳ ἀπιστητέον καὶ Καλλισθένι καὶ ἄλλοις πλεί-

οσιν εἰποῦσιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ἀφιδνῶν ἀφίκεσθαι. Comp. p. 52. n. d., and Porson's *Adversaria*, p. 39. But there is nothing surprising in Tyrtæus, who lived among the Dorians, speaking of the whole nation in the first person plural, without mentioning his own different origin. In the same manner Tyrtæus says of the Spartan nation as of a whole, Μεσσηνὴν εἵλομεν εὐρύχορον, Pausan. IV. 6. 2. Compare the verses of Mimnermus in Strab. XIV. p. 634. The Laconian town of Aphidnæ, from which the Leucippidæ are supposed to have come, has probably arisen from some misunderstanding. (Steph. Byz. in v.) Archimbrotus also, the father of Tyrtæus (Suidas in v.), looks like an etymological invention; Ἀρχίμβροτος, "the ruler of men."

the Peloponnesians;^b but the Messenians at a later period withdrew from Andania towards Eira, which is a mountain-fortress on the Neda, the border-stream towards Arcadia, near the sea-coast. When obliged to retire from this stronghold, they were received first by the Arcadians, their ancient and faithful allies (who, according to the tradition, gave them their daughters in marriage^c); afterwards the exiles sought an asylum with their kinsmen at Rhegium. Aristomenes himself (if he was not put to death by the Spartans) is said to have died at Rhodes, in the house of the noble family of the Eratidæ.^d

12. Besides the possession of Messenia, nothing was of such importance to the Spartans as the influence which they gained over the towns of Arcadia. But in what manner these came into their hands is very little known.^e During the Messenian war Arcadia was always opposed to Sparta. Hence, in the year 659 B.C., the Spartans suddenly attacked and took the town of Phigalea, in a corner of Messenia and Triphylia; but were soon driven out again by the neighbouring Oresthasians.^f But the place chiefly dreaded

^b Concerning a defeat of the Spartans by the Argives, see below, § 13.

^c Callisthenes ap. Polyb. IV. 33. 2. Aristomenes, according to Pausan. IV. 24. married his sister and daughters to persons at Phigalea, Lepreum, and Heræa. This is alluded to in a verse from the fifth book of Rhianus in Steph. Byz. in v. Φιγάλεια, τὴν μὲν ἀνήγετ' ἄκοιτιν ἐπὶ κραναὴν Φιγάλειαν, viz. Tharyx.

^d This circumstance was narrated by Rhianus in the sixth

(probably the last) book, in which Atabyrum, a town in Rhodes, was mentioned, Steph. Byz. in v. Ἀτάβυρον.

^e Aristotle Polit. II. 6. 8. speaks of wars with Argos, Arcadia, and Messenia, before the time of Lycurgus; but probably he is incorrect. According to Polyæn. VIII. 34. the Tegeatans took king Theopompus prisoner (provided the king is meant); and the same authority states II. 13. that Mantinea was taken by Eurypon.

^f Pausan. VIII. 39. 2.

by Sparta, as being one of the most powerful cantons in Arcadia, and commanding the principal entrance to Laconia, was Tegea. Charilaus, one of the early kings of Sparta, is said to have been compelled, by the valour of the Tegeate women, to submit to a disgraceful treaty.^g At a later period also, in the reigns of Eurycrates and Leon the Eurysthenid,^h Sparta suffered injury from the same state,ⁱ until it at last obtained the superiority under the next king, Anaxandridas. It was not, however, merely the ingenuity of a mountain-tribe, in protecting and fortifying its defiles, that made victory so difficult to the Spartans; but, although the pass which separates Tegea from Laconia, and even at the present time retains the vestiges of defensive walls, was of great service in repelling invasions from Laconia,^k yet Tegea was also formidable in the open field from her heavy-armed troops, which in later times always maintained the second place in the allied army of Peloponnesus.^l

13. Argos never obtained so great authority in Argolis as Sparta did in Laconia, since, in the former country, the Dorians divided themselves into several ancient and considerable towns;^m and to deprive Dorians of their independence seems to have been

^g Pausan. VIII. 48. 3. concerning Ἄρης γυναικοθείας, compare III. 7. 3.

^h Herod. I. 67. Pausan. III. 3. 5. comp. Dio Chrys. Orat. XVII. p. 251. C. the speech of the Tegeatans in Herodotus IX. 26. Polyænus I. 11.

ⁱ At this time probably the oracle was delivered, which held out such deceitful promises to the Spartans, Δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσεικροτον ὀρχήσασθαι, καὶ καλὸν πέδιον σχοίνῳ διαμετρή-

σασθαι, Herod. I. 66. The ambiguity lies in the word ὀρχήσασθαι, which may be derived from ὄρχος. Also διαμετρήσασθαι signifies the condition of a Helot, or a Clarotes, who receives a measured-out piece of land to cultivate.

^k See the stratagem of king Ἄλνῃς (Ἄλεος Casaubon) in Polyæn. I. 8.

^l See below, ch. 9. § 1.

^m Above, ch. 5. § 1, 4, 5.

more contrary to the principles of that race, than to expel them, as the Spartans did the Messenians. Argos was thus forced to content itself with forming, and being at the head of a league, which was to unite the forces of the country for common defence, and to regulate all internal affairs. An union of this kind really existed, although it never entirely attained its end. It was probably connected with the temple of Apollo Pythæus, which, as we remarked above, was considered as common to the Epidaurians and Dryopians. An Argive Amphictyonic council is mentioned in the account of the Messenian war,ⁿ and is evidently not a fiction, although erroneously there introduced. That it still continued to exist in the 66th Olympiad is clear from the fact, that, when the inhabitants of Sicyon and Ægina furnished Cleomenes with ships to be employed against Argos, each town was condemned to pay a fine of 500 talents.^o These penalties could not have been imposed by Argos as a single town, but in the name of a confederacy, which was weakened and injured by this act. We find that the Eleans could impose similar penalties in the name of the Olympian Zeus.^p But the very case here adduced shows how refractory was the conduct of the members of this alliance with regard to the measures taken by the chief confederate.

14. To this internal discord were added the continual disputes with Lacedæmon. Herodotus states,

ⁿ Pausan. IV. 5. 1. The Amphictyons decided concerning Thyrea, Plutarch Parallel. Hist. Gr. et Rom. 3.

^o Herod. VI. 92. sqq.

^p Concerning these Amphictyons, see S^{te} Croix *Gouverne-*

ments fédératifs anciens, p. 100. who, however, treats the subject with his usual carelessness. See Boeckh Corp. Inscript. n. 1121. cf. n. 1124. Maffei in Muratori, 561.

that in ancient times (i. e. about the 50th Olympiad, or 580 B.C.) the whole eastern coast of Peloponnesus as far as Malea (comprising the towns of Prasias, Cyphanta, Epidaureus Limera, and Epidelium), together with Cythera, and the other islands, belonged to the Argives.^q According to the account of Pausanias the territory of Cynuria, a valley between two ranges of mountains, on the frontiers of Laconia and Argos, inhabited by a native Peloponnesian race, had been from early times a perpetual subject of contention between the two states. The Lacedæmonians had subdued this district in the reigns of Echestratus and Eurypon.^r During the reigns of Labotas and Prytanis, the Spartans complained of an attempt of the Argives to alienate the affections of their Perioeci in Cynuria :^s as, however, we know not by what authority this statement is supported, we shall allow it to rest on its own merits. In the reign of Charilaus the Lacedæmonians wasted the territory of Argos.^t His son Nicander made an alliance with the Dryopians of Asine against Argos. Accordingly this people were expelled by Eratus, the Argive king, from their town,^u and fled to their allies in Laconia; from whom they obtained, after the end of the first Messenian war, a maritime district, where they built a new Asine, and for a long time preserved their national manners,^v as well as their connexion with the ancient religious

^q I should not now venture to make such positive assertions as those made in my *Æginetica*, p. 54.

^r III. 2. 2. III. 7. 1.

^s Paus. III. 2. 2. III. 7. 1.

^t III. 7. 3. and hence perhaps CEnomaus ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 133. Steph.

^u II. 26. 5. III. 7. 5. IV. 8. 1. IV. 14. 2. IV. 43. 6.

^v Thus, according to Herodotus, Hermione and Asine ἡ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ, which then probably was the nearest place of importance, belonged to the Dryopians; comp. Theopompus ap. Strab. p. 373.

worship of their kinsmen, the inhabitants of Hermione.^x

15. A clearer point in the Argive and Peloponnesian history is the reign of Pheidon. The accounts respecting this prince having been collected and examined in another work, it is merely necessary to repeat the result.^y Pheidon the Argive, the son of Aristodamidas, was descended from the royal family of Temenus, the power of which had indeed since the time of Medon, the son of Ceisus, been much diminished, but yet remained in existence for a long time. Pheidon broke through the restrictions that limited his power, and hence, contrary however to the ancient usage of the term, was called a *tyrant*. His views were at first directed towards making the independent towns of Argolis dependent upon Argos. He undertook a war against Corinth, which he afterwards succeeded in reducing. In all probability Epidaurus, and certainly Ægina, belonged to him; none of the other towns in the neighbourhood were able to withstand the bold and determined conqueror.^z The finishing stroke

^x See Boeckh. Inscript. n. 1193.

^y Æginetica, pp. 51—63.

^z With regard to the dominion of his brother in Macedonia, the relation of this narrative to that in Herodotus VIII. 137. appears to me to be as follows. Both describe the same event; but the latter is the rude native tradition of Macedon, formed among a people which had few historical memorials; the former is derived from an Argive tradition, and, though as well as the other not purely historical, is yet connected together in a more probable manner. Κάρα-

νος is perhaps only another form of Κοίρανος; see Hesychius in Κόρανος. The account of Euripides, that Archelaus, the son of Temenus, took the city of Ægæ in Macedonia, whither he had come as a goatherd in great distress (Hyginus Fab. 219; Dio Chrysost. p. 70.), is the most unfounded. Whether Isocrates (ad Philipp. p. 88. D.) was acquainted with the tradition concerning Caranus, or followed the account of Herodotus, does not appear. There is also a discrepancy in the account of Constant. Porphy. Them. I. p. 1453. See Appendix I. § 15.

of his achievements was manifestly the celebration of the Olympic games, over which he, as descendant of Hercules (the first conqueror at Olympia), after having abolished the Ætolian-Elean Hellanodicæ, presided, in conjunction with the inhabitants of Pisa, the ancient town of Pelops, which at this time, and many centuries after this time, had not relinquished its claims to the management of the festival. This circumstance also enables us to fix with certainty the period of his reign, since, in the Elean registers, the 8th Olympiad was marked as having been celebrated by him (747 B.C.). But it was this usurpation that united the Eleans and Lacedæmonians against him, and thus caused his overthrow. While the undertakings of Pheidon thus remained without benefit to his successors, he has been denounced by posterity as the most rapacious of tyrants in Greece; but, had he succeeded in establishing a permanent state of affairs, he would have received equal honours with Lycurgus. Yet, notwithstanding his failure, some of his institutions survived him, which adorn his memory. He is known to have equalized all weights and measures in Peloponnesus, which before his time were different in each state; he was also the first who coined money. He was enabled to undertake both with the greater success, since the only two commercial towns at that time belonging to Peloponnesus lay in his dominions, viz. Corinth (whence he is sometimes called a Corinthian) and Ægina. According to the most accurate accounts he first stamped silver-money^a in Ægina (where at that time forges doubtless existed), and, after having circulated these, he consecrated the ancient and

^a Æginetica, p. 57. cf. Addenda, p. 199.

then useless bars of metal to Here of Argos, where they were exhibited in later times to strangers.^b — Many of the most ancient drachmas of Ægina, with the device of a tortoise, perhaps belong to this period, since the Greek coins struck before the Peloponnesian war appear to indicate a progress of many centuries in the art of stamping money. Those however which we have are sufficient to show that the same standard was prevalent throughout Peloponnesus,^c a difference in weight, measure, and standard not having been introduced till after the Peloponnesian war. This again was a second time abolished by the Achæan league, and an equality of measures restored.^d

16. After the fall of Pheidon the old dispute with Lacedæmon still continued.^e In the 15th Olympiad (720 B.C.) the war concerning the frontier territory of Cynuria broke out afresh;^f the Argives now maintained it for some time,^g and secured the possession of this district chiefly by the victory at Hysie in Olymp. 27. 4. (669 B.C.^h) And they kept it until the time of Croesus (Olymp. 58.), when they lost it by the famous battle of the three hundred, in which Othry-

^b And *only* silver (not τό τε ἄλλο καὶ τὸ ἀργυροῦν, as Strabo says), since copper was not coined till a much later period, and gold was first coined in Asia. In the Etymologicum Gudianum, p. 549. 58. it is stated inaccurately that Phido reduced the measures.

^c See book III. c. 10. § 12. The ancient Macedonian coins were struck according to the same standard.

^d Polyb. II. 37. 10.

^e See in general Julian. Epist. ad Arg. 35. p. 407.

^f According to Eusebius, p. 1297. ed. Pont. Pausanias places τὸν περὶ τῆς Θυρεάτιδος ἀγῶνα at the end of the reign of Theopompus, at the same date; Solinus, c. 13. in the seventeenth year of Romulus.

^g Otherwise Herodotus could not have said of the Cynurians, ἐκδεδωρίενται ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου. Compare Æginetica, p. 47.

^h Pausan. II. 24. 8.

adas, though faint with his wounds, erected the trophy of victory for Sparta:ⁱ a history the more fabulous, since it was celebrated by sacred songs at the Gymnopædia.^k Inconsiderable in extent as was the territory^l for which so much blood was shed, yet its possession decided which should be the leading power in Peloponnesus. It was not till after this had taken place that Cleomenes, in whose reign the boundary of Lacedæmon ran near the little river Erasinus, was enabled to attack Argos with success.

The power of Argos in the neighbourhood of the city was very insecure and fluctuating. Towards the end of the second Messenian war Argos had conquered the neighbouring town of Nauplia; the Lacedæmonians gave Methone in Messenia to the expelled inhabitants.^m The temple of Nemea, in the mountains towards Corinth, was, from its situation, the property of the independent Doric town Cleonæ; the Argives took it from them before Olymp. 53. 1. 568 B.C.ⁿ

ⁱ In addition to the passages in Æginetica ubi sup. see the Epigrams of Simonides VIII. 431. of Dioscorides VII. 430. Damagetus 432. Nicander 526. Chæremon 720. Gætulicus 244. in the Palatine Anthology. According to Isocrates Archid. p. 136. D. 300 Spartans destroyed all the Argives. It is a remarkable continuation of the legend, that Perilaus, the son of Alcenor, who went away too soon (Herod. I. 82.), a conqueror at the Nemean games, slew Othryadas, Pausan. II. 20. 6.—The offerings of the Argives for the battle of Thyrea, as well as those of the Tegeatans for a victory over Sparta, at Delphi (Pausan. X. 9. 3, 6.), cannot, from the dates

of the artificers, have been made before the 100th Olympiad (380 B. C.).

^k Hence their institution (according to Eusebius, Olymp. 27. 3. 678 B. C.) is derived from that event. See Athen. XIV. p. 631. Ruhnken ad Tim. p. 54. Hesychius in Θυρεατικοὶ στέφανοι. Apostolius VI. 56. —Compare Manso, Sparta, I. 2. p. 211.

^l Lucian Icaromenipp. c. 18. calls Cynuria, taking indeed a bird's-eye view, a χωρίον κατ' οὐδὲν φακοῦ Αἰγυπτίου πλατύτερον, "not wider than a bean."

^m Pausan. IV. 24. 1. IV. 35. 2.

ⁿ According to Eusebius in Olymp. 51. 6. ed. Pontac. comp. Corsini Dissert. Agon. p. 51.

and henceforth celebrated the games of Zeus. The Argives however again lost it; and some time before the 80th Olympiad the Cleonæans again regulated the festival,^o a privilege which they probably did not long retain. It is likely that about 580 B.C. the town of Orneæ, between Argos and Sicyon, which had anciently carried on wars with the latter city, was rendered subject to the former, from which circumstance the Perioeci of Argos obtained the general name of *Orneatans*; to which class the Cynurians also belonged before the battle of Thyrea.^p But these events properly belong to the period, on the history of which we are now about to enter, and which we will designate in general as *the time of the tyrants*.

CHAP. VIII.

- § 1. The Doric principles of government opposed to despotic (or tyrannical) power. § 2. Tyrants of Sicyon. § 3. Of Corinth. § 4. Of Epidaurus and of Megara overthrown by Sparta. § 5. Other tyrants overthrown by Sparta. § 6. Expedition of Cleomenes against Argos. § 7. Internal history of Argos. § 8. Contests between Megara and Athens.

1. The subject of this chapter may be best expressed in the words of Thucydides:^a "The tyrants of Athens, and of the rest of Greece, of which many

^o As Dissen has shown, ad Pind. Nem. IV. p. 381.

^p From this I have explained Herod. VIII. 73. in my *Ægnetica*, p. 47, where however the *σύννοικοι* after the Persian war are not different from the former Perioeci.

^a I. 18. and compare I. 76. and I. 122. See also Herodotus V. 92. 1. ἄπειροι τυράννων καὶ φυλάσσοντες δεινότερα τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μὴ γενέσθαι, Sosicles the Corinthian says to the Spartans, "Heaven and earth will be changed, before you abolish

"states had been governed by tyrants before the Athenians, were, with the exception of those in Sicily, in most instances, and especially in later times, overthrown by the Lacedæmonians, whose state was never under a despotic government, and who, having become powerful through the early establishment of their own constitution, were enabled to arrange to their own liking the governments of other states." It is a remarkable circumstance in the history of Greece, that at the same period of time tyrants everywhere obtained the supreme authority in Doric, Ionic, and Æolic cities; a proof that, although these nations were derived from different races, the same stage in the progress of social life was everywhere attended with the same phenomena. Those states alone in which the features of the Doric character were most strongly marked, viz., Sparta and Argos, resisted this influence; and we shall in general find that it was by a subversion of the Doric principles that the tyrants obtained their power. This will be made evident by a consideration of the absolute monarchies in the Doric states of Peloponnesus.

2. The inhabitants of SICYON appear in ancient times to have been distinguished from other Dorians by a lively and excitable temperament, and by a disposition which they had at an early period transferred to their mythical hero Adrastus, whose "tongue was softly persuasive."^b This very disposition, however, under the actual state of circumstances, opened the way to tyranny. In this instance of

"free governments (*ισοκρατίαι*) in order to introduce tyrannies." See also Dionys. Halicarn. Lys. 30. p. 523. The Syracusans also overthrew many

tyrants, before they had one of their own, Aristot. Polit. V. 8. 18.

^b Tyrtæus Fragm. 3. v. 8. Gaisford.

Sicyon, as in many others, the tyrant was the leader of the lower classes, who were opposed to the aristocracy. It was in this character that Orthagoras came forward, who, not being of an ancient family, was called by the nobles a cook.^c But, notwithstanding its low origin, the family of this person maintained the supremacy for a longer period than any other, according to Aristotle^d for a century, as they did not maltreat the citizens, and upon the whole respected the laws. Their succession is Orthagoras, Andreas, Myron, Aristonymus, and Cleisthenes,^e of whom, however, the second and fourth never ascended the throne, or only reigned for a short time. Myron was conqueror at Olympia in the chariot-race in the 33d Olympiad (648 B. C.), and afterwards built a treasury, in which two apartments were inlaid with Tartessian brass, and adorned with Doric and Ionic columns.^f Both the architectural orders employed in this building, and the Tartessian brass, which the Phocæans had then brought to Greece in large quantities from the hospitable king Arganthonius,^g attest the intercourse of Myron with the Asiatics; we shall presently see that this same correspondence was of considerable importance for the measures of other tyrants. Cleisthenes appears to have employed vio-

^c Libanius in Sever. vol. III. p. 251. Reisk.

^d Polit. V. 9. 21.

^e The series is not, however, quite certain, as Herodotus VI. 126. only goes down as far as Andreas. Aristotle merely says, Ὀρθαγόρου παῖδες καὶ αὐτὸς Ὀρθαγόρας, and Plutarch. de sera Num. Vind. 7 (see Wyttenbach. p. 44). Ὀρθαγόρας καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον οἱ περὶ Μύρωνα καὶ

Κλεισθένην. From the new Excerpta of Diodorus, VII—X. 14. Script. Vet. Nov. Coll. vol. II. p. 11. Mai, it appears that Andreas and Orthagoras are probably the same person: for Andreas is stated also to have been a cook, by whom the dynasty was first raised.

^f Pausan. VI. 19. 2. II. 8. 1. where for Πύρρων write Μύρων.

^g Herod. I. 163. and others.

lence in obtaining the sovereignty,^h which he held undisturbed, partly by creating terror through his military fame and exploits in arms, and partly by gaining the support of the people by the introduction of some democratic elements into the constitution. With regard to the latter measure, the singular alterations which he made in the tribes of Sicyon will be explained hereafter.ⁱ We will here only remark that Cleisthenes himself belonged to the subject tribe, which was not of Doric origin; and while he endeavoured to raise the latter, at the same time he sought to depress, and even to dishonour the Doric tribes, so that he entirely destroyed and reversed the whole state of things which had previously existed. For this reason Cleisthenes was at enmity with Argos, the chief Doric city of this district.^k For the same reason he proscribed the worship of the Argive hero Adrastus, and favoured in its place the worship of Dionysus, a deity foreign to the Doric character; and lastly, prohibited the Homeric rhapsodists from entering the town, because Homer had celebrated Argos, and, we may add, an aristocratic form of government. These characteristic traits of a bold and comprehensive mind are gathered from the lively narrative of Herodotus. The same political tendency was inherited by his son-in-law Megacles, the husband of the beautiful Agariste, to obtain whose hand many rival youths had assembled in the palace of Cleisthenes, like the suitors of

^h Aristot. Pol. V. 10. 3. For what Aristotle says, μεταβάλλει καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα τυραννίς, ὥσπερ ἡ Σικυῶνος ἐκ τῆς Μύρωνος εἰς τὴν Κλεισθέωνος, implies that the tyranny did not pass

quietly from Myron to Cleisthenes, but that the latter re-acquired it by force.

ⁱ Book III. ch. 4. § 3.

^k Herod. V. 67. Ἀργεῖοισι πολεμήσας.

old, for that of Helen;¹ and it was particularly manifested in Cleisthenes of Athens, who changed the Athenian constitution by abolishing the last traces of separate ranks. With regard, however, to the war-like actions of Cleisthenes, he must have been very celebrated for his prowess; since in the war of the Amphictyons against Cirrha, although denounced as a stone-slinger (that is, a man of the lowest rank),^m by the Pythian priestess, he shared the chief command of the army with the Thessalian Heraclid, Eurylochus, and helped to conquer the city.ⁿ This took place in the third year of the 47th Olympiad, or 592 B. C.^o Out of the plunder of the town Cleisthenes built a portico for the embellishment of Sicyon;^p he was also conqueror in the chariot-race at the second Pythiad (Olymp. 49. 3. 584 B. C.)^q It may perhaps be possible from the scattered accounts concerning this prince to form a notion of his character. Cleisthenes was undoubtedly a man who was able to seize the spirit of the time, which aimed at great liberty and excitement—the very contrary of the settled composure of the Dorians; and, combining talents and versatility with the love of splendour and pageantry, ridiculed

¹ See, besides Herodotus, Diodor. Exc. 2. p. 550. with Wesseling's Notes.

^m Herodotus, followed by Dio Chrysost. III. p. 43 B. I would now in this passage of Herodotus (V. 67.) retain *λευστήρα*, where Casaubon proposed *ληιστήρα*; not, however, in a passive sense, but according to its grammatical form, for a stone-slinger, i. e. a *γύμνης* or *ψιλός*, the great mass of light-armed soldiers being furnished with slings. Compare e. g. Thuc. I.

106. *οἱ ψιλοὶ κατέλευσαν.*—"Adrastus is king of the Argives, but thou art a common bond-slave," says the oracle to Cleisthenes.

ⁿ Pausan. II. 9. 6. X. 37. 4. Schol. Pindar. Nem. IX. 2. Polyæn. III. 5. It is remarkable that Sparta took no part in this war.

^o See Boeckh Explic. Pindar. Olymp. XII. p. 206.

^p Pausan. II. 9. 6.

^q Pausan. X. 7. 5.

many things hitherto looked upon with awe, and set no limits to his love of change. Notwithstanding these qualities, he was, as is probable from the general testimony of Thucydides, overthrown by Sparta, perhaps soon after 580 B. C.;^r nor was the ancient state of things restored at Sicyon till 60 years afterwards,^s during which interval another tyrant named Æschines reigned, belonging however to a different family.

3. The CORINTHIAN tyrants^t were nearly allied with those of Sicyon; since the former, not belonging to the Doric nobility, were placed in the same situation as the latter with regard to this class. In Corinth, before the commencement of the dynasty of tyrants, the ruling power was held by the numerous^u Heraclide clan of the Bacchiadæ, which had changed the original constitution into an oligarchy, by keeping itself distinct, in the manner of a caste, from all other families, and alone furnished the city with the annual prytanes, the chief magistrates. Cypselus the son of Aëtion, the grandson of Echecrates, from a Corinthian borough named Petra,^v and not of Doric descent, although connected on his mother's side with the Bacchiadæ, overcame, with the assistance again of the lower classes,^w the oligarchs, now become odious through their luxury^x and insolence, the larger part of whom, either voluntarily or by compulsion, quitted Corinth;^y and Cypselus became tyrant about the 30th

^r For the tyranny lasted, according to Aristotle and Diodorus, p. 11. Mai, 100 years, i. e. from about the 26th to the 51st Olympiad, 676—576 B. C.

^s Herod. V. 68.

^t Herod. VI. 128.

^u Strab. p. 378. About 200 men according to Diodorus ap.

Syncell. Cronograph. p. 178. Par.

^v Herod. V. 92. 2.

^w Aristot. Pol. V. 8. 4. V. 9. 22.

^x Ælian. V. H. I. 19.

^y Concerning a stratagem of Cypselus on this occasion, see Polyænus V. 31. 1. That a Bacchiad, Demaratus, should

Olympiad (660 B.C.),^b from the inability of the people to govern itself independently. However violently the Corinthian orator in Herodotus accuses this prince, the judgment of antiquity in general was widely different. Cypselus was of a peaceable disposition, reigned without a body-guard,^c and never forgot that he rose from a demagogue to the throne. He also undertook works of building, either from a taste for the arts, or for the purpose of employing the people. The treasury at Delphi, together with the plane-tree, was his work.^d To him succeeded his son Periander, who was at first equally or more mild than his father.^e Soon, however, his conduct became sensibly more violent, and, according to Herodotus, he was instigated by his correspondence with Thrasybulus, the tyrant of Miletus, who counselled him by every method to weaken, or even to exterminate, the nobility of his city.^f Many of his actions were evidently prompted by the wish of utterly eradicating the peculiarities of the Doric race, which were closely connected with an aristocratic spirit. For this reason he abolished the public tables, and prohibited the ancient education.^g He awed the people by his military splendour, and maintained triremes on both coasts of the

have gone at this time to Italy, is very probable; but that the Tarquins were descended from him is a fiction. See Niebuhr's History of Rome, vol. I. p. 215.
^b According to Eusebius, which agrees with the 447 years in Diodorus (Fragm. 6. p. 635. Wessel.), from the return of the Heraclidæ until Cypselus. It is not easy to see what were Strabo's grounds for reckoning the dominion of the Bacchiadæ at 200 years, VIII. p. 378. Ac-

ording to Diodorus they were Prytanes for only 90 years.

^c Aristot. ubi sup.

^d Plutarch. Sept. Sapient. 21. cf. Sympos. Qu. VIII. 4. 4. p. 361.

^e Herod. V. 92. 6. according to Schol. Plat. Hipp. Maj. p. 135 Ruhnke. he was *πρώτον δημοτικῶς*, as should be read in Apostol. XX. 47.

^f Herod. ubi sup. Aristot. Pol. III. 8. 3. V. 8. 7. V. 9. 2.

^g Aristot. Pol. V. 9. 2.

Isthmus;^h his person he protected by three hundred body-guards.ⁱ To maintain the city at peace, and to avoid all violent commotions, was a principle, on the observance of which the security of his dominion depended, and upon which a complete system of regulations was founded. With this view he abolished a criminal court^k for the condemnation of such as wasted their patrimony, inasmuch as persons in this situation were likely to become innovators. He interdicted immoderate luxury, and an extravagant number of slaves. Idleness he considered as especially dangerous. So little true did he remain to the democratic principles of his father, that he expelled the people from the city;^l and in order the more readily to accustom them to agricultural and mechanical labour, only permitted them to wear the dress of peasants.^m His own expenses were trifling, and therefore he required no other taxes than harbour-dues and market-tolls. He also avoided, where his projects did not require it, all violence and open injustice; and was even at times so strict a maintainer of public morality, that the numerous procuresses of the luxurious Corinth were by his orders thrown into the sea;ⁿ the hospitable damsels of Aphrodite^o being protected by religion. He, as well as his father, made the construction of

^h Nicolaus Damascenus.

ⁱ Aristot. Pol. V. 9. 22. Heraclid. Pont. 5. Nicol. Damasc.

^k Βουλὴν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων, Heraclides. Compare Aristot. Pol. V. 6. γίνονται δὲ μεταβολαὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ ὅταν ἀναλώσῃσι τὰ ἴδια, ζῶντες ἀσελγῶς. καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι καινοτομεῖν ζητοῦσι, καὶ ἡ τυραννίδι ἐπιτί-

θενται αὐτοὶ, ἢ κατασκευάζουσιν ἕτερον.

^l Ibid.

^m Book III. ch. 3. § 3.

ⁿ Heraclides. Perhaps for προαγωγοὶ should be written προσαγωγοὶ (like the ποταγωγίδες of Sicily, book III. ch. 9. § 7. note).

^o See Book II. ch. 10. § 7.

splendid monuments of art^p a means of taxing the property of the rich, and of employing the body of the people; though indeed his own refined taste took pleasure in such works. And in general, if considered in reference to the cultivation of taste and intellect, and the interests of agriculture and trade, the age of the tyrants was productive of a very great advancement in the Grecian states. The unpliant disposition, strict in the observance of all ancient customs and usages, was then first bent and subdued, and more liberal and extended views became prevalent. The tyrants were frequently in intimate connexion with the inhabitants of Asia Minor, whom Sparta despised for their luxury and effeminacy; and from the Lydian sultan in his harem at Sardes, a chain of communication, most important in its consequences, was established through the princes of Miletus and Samos with the countries in the immediate neighbourhood of Sparta. Periander was in correspondence not only with Thrasybulus, but also with Halyattes, the king of Lydia, and sent to the latter prince some Coreyræan youths to be castrated according to the oriental custom.^q The names of his kinsmen, Psammetichus and Gordias, the latter Phrygian, the former Egyptian, are proofs of an hospitable intercourse with those countries. On the other side of Greece, the policy of the Cypselidæ led them to attempt the occupation of the coast

^p Concerning the Colossi and offerings of the Cypselidæ, see Aristot. Polit. V. 9. 2. Theophrast. ap. Phot. in *Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα*. Ephorus ap. Diog. Laërt. I. 96. Pausan. V. 2. 4. Plato Phædr. p. 236 et Schol. p. 313. ed. Bekker. Strabo VIII. p. 353. 378. Plutarch de

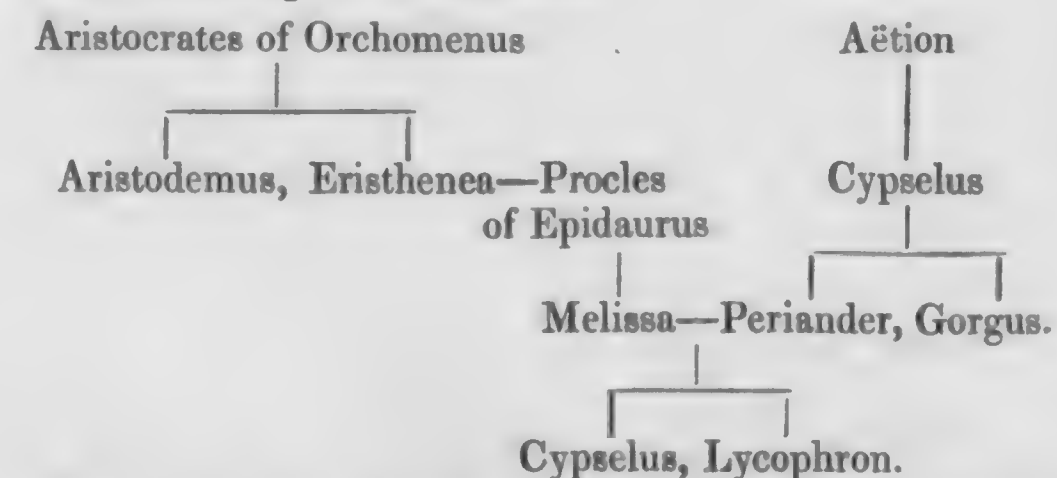
Pyth. orac. 13. See book III. ch. 10. § 12.

^q Herodotus. Compare Antenor and Dionysius of Chalcedon, in Plutarch. de Malign. Herod. 22. p. 302. and the elegant legend in Pliny H. N. IX. 41.

of the Ionian sea as far as Illyria, and to establish a connexion with the barbarous nations of the interior.' Periander was of a daring and comprehensive spirit, and rivalled by few of his contemporaries, bold in the field, politic in council, though misled by continual distrust to undertake unworthy measures, and having too little regard for the good of the people when it interfered with his own designs; a friend of the arts, of an enlightened mind, but at the same time overcome by the strength of his passions; and, although devoid of awe for all sacred things, yet at times a prey to the most grovelling superstition. After the death of Periander, Psammetichus^r the son of Gordias, of the same family, succeeded to the sovereignty, but only reigned three years, having been, without doubt, overthrown by the Spartans in Olymp. 49. 3. 582 B.C.^t

^r See above, ch. 6. § 8. Besides Gorgus, there was also at Ambracia a tyrant named Periander, Aristot. Polit. V. 8. 9. Plutarch. Amator. 23. p. 60. perhaps the son of Gorgus. (ap. Strab. VIII. p. 347.) sent as a bride, but she was killed out of jealousy. That it was the Ionic Samos is proved against Strabo by Pausan. VII. 5. 6.

^t There is some difficulty in the chronology of this family; the following is a genealogical table:—



There are also Gordias and Psammetichus, as to whom nothing is known. See *Ægine-tica*, p. 64. sqq. Periander ruled from Olymp. 38. 1. (Eusebius) to Olymp. 48. 4. (Sosicrates ap. Diog. Laërt. I. 74.), 44 years according to Aristotle. This is not inconsistent with the fact mentioned by Herodotus V. 95.

4. Periander was married to the fair Melissa, whose beauty had captivated him in the house of her father, the tyrant Procles, while she was distributing wine to the labourers in a thin Doric dress.^u Procles was ruler of EPIDAUROS and the island of Ægina, which were at that time still closely united; he himself was related by marriage to the princes of Orchomenus, and appears from this circumstance, and from his connexion with the family of Cypselus, to belong to the number of tyrants, who, being hostile to the Dorian aristocracy, obtained their power by the assistance of the lower ranks.

And when we also add that Theagenes of MEGARA, the father-in-law of Cylon the Athenian,^{*} precisely resembled the princes already mentioned in his conduct (since he likewise obtained his power by at-

and Apollodorus (p. 411. Heyn. comp. Timæus ap. Strab. 13. p. 600. A. Aristot. Rhet. I. 15. 14.) that he decided between Athens and Mytilene concerning Sigæum, since Phrynon of Athens (victor in the 36th Olympiad, Afric.) had contended on this same point with Pittacus in Olym. 43. 1. (Eusebius), before the time of Pisistratus. Compare Polyænus I. 25. Plutarch de Herod. Malign. 15. Diog. Laert. i. 74. Festus in Retiarii. Schol. Æsch. Eumen. 401. The narrative of Herodotus is not arranged *entirely* in a chronological order. Periander, however, was reigning, according to Herodotus I. 20. in the fifth year of the reign of Halyattes (Olymp. 41), and before his death sent him a present of Corcyrean boys, in the third generation (i. e. in the 16th

Olympiad), before the siege of Samos by the Lacedæmonians (Olymp. 63.), as Panofka (*Res Samiorum*, p. 30.) has rightly corrected in Herod. III. 48. (γ' γενεῇ πρότερον) from Plutarch. de Malign. Herod. 22. Cypselus, according to Herodotus, reigned thirty years, and therefore ascended the throne in Olymp. 30. 3.; the Cypselidæ ruled altogether 76½ years (according to my emendation of Aristot. Pol. V. 9. 22); Procles reigned from about the 35th to the 49th Olympiad; Aristocrates goes as far back as the 25th Olympiad.

^u Æginetica, p. 64.

^{*} Who himself had aimed at the tyranny of Athens so early as the 42d Olympiad. Thucyd. I. 126. Heinrich, Epimenides, p. 83.

tacking the rich landed proprietors, and had killed their flocks upon the pastures of the river),^y and that like the others he endeavoured to please the people by embellishing the city, by the construction of an aqueduct, and of a beautiful fountain;^z it is easy to perceive in the dynasties of the Sicyonian, Corinthian, Epidaurian, and Megarian tyrants, a powerful coalition against the supremacy of the Dorians, and the ancient principles of that race, the more powerful, as they knew how to render subservient to their own ends the opinions which had lately arisen; and it is a matter of wonder that Sparta should have succeeded in overthrowing this combination.

5. If, indeed, it is also borne in mind that the Ionic, as well as the Æolic and Doric^a islands and cities of

^y Aristot. Rhet. I. 2. 19. Polit. V. 4. 4.

^z Like the Enneacrunus of the Pisistratidæ. Pausan. I. 40. 1. I. 41. 2. Theognis v. 894. ὡς κυψελλίζον Ζεὺς δλέσειε γένος cannot well refer to a *factio Cypselidarum*, especially if it has any connexion with what precedes, concerning the Persian war; but *κυψελλίζειν* must mean "to be deaf," "to have the ears closed," from *κυπέλη*.

^a I will only mention the tyrants in Doric states.—Cleobulus at Lindos, who was similar to Periander, Plutarch. de EI 3. p. 118. comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. IV. p. 523 B. (the Diagoridæ however still continued at Ialysus). Cadmus in the island of Cos, whose history must, from Herod. VI. 23. and VII. 164. be as follows. Scythes, the tyrant of Zancle, being driven out by the Samians (Olymp. 70.

4. 497 B.C.), fled to the king of Persia, and remained chiefly at his court. To Scythes' son, Cadmus, the king of Persia probably gave the island of Cos. For though it might be objected that Cadmus could not have been the son of Scythes of Zancle, since the latter, according to Herodotus, died in Persia (ἐν Πέρσῃσι), whereas Cadmus inherited the tyranny from his father (παρὰ πατρός); it may be answered that Scythes, notwithstanding that the king had given him the government of Cos, yet did not reside there, but at the Persian court, as we know to have been the case with Histæus. Afterwards, however, before the 75th Olympiad (480 B.C.), having made a treaty with the Samians, he returned to his ancient country. He was followed by Epicharmus the comic poet, Suidas, in v.

Asia, and also Athens, together with Phocis, Thessaly, and the colonies in Sicily and Italy, were all in the hands of tyrants, who doubtless assisted one another, and knew their common interest; and that Sparta alone, in most instances at the instigation of the Delphian oracle, declared against all these rulers a lasting war, and in fact overthrew them all, with the exception of the Sicilian tyrants; it must be confessed, that in this period of Grecian history no contest took place either greater, or, by its extent as well as its principles, of more important political and moral consequences. The following tyrants are stated by ancient historians to have been deposed by the Spartans:^b the Cypselidæ of Corinth and Ambracia, the former in Olymp. 49. 3. (584 B.C.), the latter probably somewhat later; the Pisistratidæ of Athens, who were allied with the Thessalians, in Olymp. 67. 3. (510 B.C.);^c their adherent Lygdamis of Naxos,^d probably about the same time; Æschines of Sicyon, about the

^a *Ἐπίχαρμος*. At his departure from Cos he gave the state its liberty, and instituted a senate (*βουλή*). He was a contemporary of Hippolochus the Asclepiad, and the ancestor by the mother's side of Thessalus. See the 7th Epistle of Hippocrates. In Sicily, Cleander and the family of Hippocrates, Gelon and Hieron, at Gela and then at Syracuse; Phalaris, and afterwards Theron, and Thrasidæus at Agrigentum; Anaxilas at Rhegium and Zancle; Panætius (Olymp. 41. 3. 614 B.C.) at Leontini. See Aristot. Pol. V. 8. 1. V. 10. 4. Perhaps also Aristophilidas of Tarentum (Herod. III. 136.) was a tyrant.

Tyrants also existed in Italy, in Croton, Sybaris, and Cyme.

^b Ap. Plutarch. de Herod. Malign. 21. p. 308. Compare Manso, Sparta, I. 2. p. 308.

^c Although they were the guests of Sparta, τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιούντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, Herod. V. 63. 90. Thuc. VI. 53. Aristoph. Lysist. 1150, &c.

^d See Aristot. Pol. V. 5. 1. and his *πολίτεια Ναξίων* in Athenæus VIII. p. 348. According to Herod. I. 61. 64. Lygdamis was established in his government by Pisistratus, about the 60th Olympiad (540 B.C.). Comp. Heyne Nov. Comment. Gott. II. Class. Phil. p. 65.

65th Olympiad^e (520 B.C.); Symmachus of Thasos; Aulis of Phocis; and Aristogenes of Miletus, of whom we know only the names;^f the larger number were dethroned under the kings Anaxandridas and Ariston, Cleomenes and Demaratus. Of these tyrants, some they deposed by a military force, as the Pisistratidæ; but frequently, as Plutarch says, they overthrew the despotism without "moving a shield," by despatching a herald, whom all immediately obeyed, "as, when the "queen bee appears, the rest arrange themselves in "order."^g In the time of Cleomenes also (525 B.C.) Sparta sent out a great armament, together with Corinthian and other allies, against Polycrates of Samos, the first Doric expedition against Asia, not, as is evident from the trivial reason stated by Herodotus, (viz. in order to revenge the plunder of a cauldron and a breastplate,) but with the intent of following up their principle of deposing all tyrants.^h But the besieging of a fortified town, situated upon the sea, and at so great a distance, was beyond the strength of Peloponnesus. The last expedition of Sparta against the tyrants falls after the Persian war, when king Leotychidas, the conqueror at Mycale, was sent for the purpose of ejecting the Aleuadæ of Thessaly, who had delivered up the country to the Persians in 470 B.C. or somewhat later. Aristomedes and Angelus were actually dethroned, but the king suffering himself to be bribed by others, the expedition did not completely succeed.ⁱ

We may suppose with what pride the ambassador

^e See above, § 2. Sicyon gave ships to Cleomenes about the 65th Olympiad, or 520 B.C.

^f Before the time of Histæus. ^g Lycurg. 30.

^h Herod. III. 54. Plutarch. de Herod. Malign. 21.

ⁱ This follows from Plutarch ubi sup. and Cimon c. 16. Herod. VI. 72. Pausan. III. 7, 8.

of Sparta answered Gelon the tyrant of Syracuse (however brilliant and beneficial his reign may have been), when he required the command in the Persian war: "Truly the Pelopid Agamemnon would lament, "if he heard that the supremacy was taken from the Spartans by Gelon and the Syracusans!"^k

6. To these important changes in the political history of that time we may annex the subordinate events in the interior of Peloponnesus.

Sparta, by the conquest of Cynuria, had obtained the key of the Argive territory. Soon after this, Cleomenes, the eldest son of Anaxandridas the Eurysthenid, succeeded to the throne, a man of great boldness and strength of mind, sagacious, enterprising, accustomed, after the manner of his age and country, to express himself in a concise and emphatic language, only too much inflated by family and personal pride, and in disposition more nearly resembling his contemporaries the tyrants than beseeemed a king of Sparta. The first exploit of this prince^l was the expedition against Argos. He landed in some vessels of Sicyon and Ægina on the coast of Tiryns, overcame the Argives at the wood of Argos,^m slew the greater part of the men able to bear arms, and would have

^k Herod. VII. 159.

^l According to Pausan. III. 4. 1. Therefore *before* Olymp. 65. 1. or 520 B. C. for Cleomenes was then king, as is evident from a comparison of Herod. VI. 108. with Thucyd. III. 68. He was in that year in the neighbourhood of Platæa. According to Plutarch. Lacon. Apophth. p. 212. Cleomenes was regent in the 63rd Olympiad (525 B. C.), when the Samians came to Sparta: this

however would give too great a length to his reign, (which Herodotus states to have been of *short* duration,) viz., from about 525 to 491 B. C.

^m It appears that this wood was near Sepea in the territory of Tiryns. Apostolius IV. 27. states that the battle took place on the "Ἀργονος λόφος." The stratagem of Cleomenes is narrated after Herodotus by Polyænus I. 14.

succeeded in capturing their city, had he not, from an inconceivable superstition, dismissed the allied army without making any further use of the victory, and contented himself with sacrificing in the temple of Here." At the same time Argos, in consequence of this defeat, remained for a long time crippled, and it was even necessary that a complete change in her political condition should take place, in order to renovate the feeble and disordered state into which she had fallen.

7. For after the bond-slaves or *gymnesii*^o of Argos had for a time governed the state thus deprived of its free inhabitants, until the young men who had in the mean time arisen to manhood overcame and expelled them, the Argives, as Aristotle^p relates, saw themselves compelled, in order to restore the numbers of their free population, to collect about them the surrounding subjects of their city, the Perioeci, and to

ⁿ The marvellous narrative of Herodotus VI. 77 sqq. is also unconnected, from there being no explanation of the two first verses of the oracle, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια, which however must have referred to some real event. Or does Herodotus refer θήλεια to Juno? Pausanias II. 20. doubts whether Herodotus understands it. But the story of Telesilla in Pausanias, Plutarch. de Mul. Virt. 5. p. 269. and Polyænus VIII. 33. is very fabulous. The festival Ὑβριστικά could not have had this historical origin, but must have belonged to the mystical rites of some elementary deities. The number of the Argives who were slain

is stated by Plutarch and Polyænus to have been 7777; by others 6000 (also a tradition of a seven days' armistice in Plut. Lac. Apoph. p. 211.). This is the battle ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἱσταμένου, but of *what* month we are ignorant, Pol. V. 2. 8. Plut. Mul. Virt. ubi sup. Others placed it at the *νομήνια* of the fourth month, anciently Hermæus, but only because the Ὑβριστικά were then celebrated, See Clem. Alex. Strom. IV. p. 522. ed. Sylb. Suidas in ν. Τελέσιλλα.

^o Concerning these slaves, see book III. ch. 3. § 2.

^p Polit. V. 2. 8. Plutarch confounds bond-slaves and Perioeci.

distribute them in the immediate neighbourhood.^a The completion of this plan took place one generation after the fatal battle with Cleomenes, at the time of the Persian war, in which Argos, whose attention was wholly occupied with strengthening her affairs at home, took no part. At that time the Argives, in order to increase their own numbers, dispeopled nearly all the large cities in the surrounding country, and transplanted the inhabitants to Argos;^b particularly Tiryns, Mycenæ, Hyseæ, Orneæ, and Midea.^c Tiryns and Mycenæ were in the time of the Persian war free, and even independent communities, which followed the command of Sparta without the consent of Argos; the latter town indeed contested with Argos the right to the administration of the temple of Here, and the presidency at the Nemean games.^d The destruction of their city, which the Argives undertook in concert with the Cleonæans and Tegeates,^e was effected in the year 464 B. C. (Olymp. 79. 1). But of the Mycenæans, a few only followed the Argives, as the larger number either took refuge at Cleonæ (which city was at that time independent, and had for some time the management of the Nemean games)^f, at Ceryneia in Achaia, and even in Macedonia.^g Of the Tirynthians

^a See Schol. Ven. ad Il. B. 108. concerning the nine hamlets (islands) near Argos.

^b Pausan. VIII. 27. 1.

^c Strabo VIII. p. 376. distinguishes Orneæ *κώμη τῆς Ἀργείας* from the city near Sicyon, as also in the same place a *κώμη* named Asine, p. 373 B.

^d Diod. XI. 65.

^e Strabo p. 377. Yet Cleonæ soon occurs again as a

friendly state.

^f Ch. 7. § 15. Cleonæ was at that time engaged in a war with Corinth, Plutarch. Cimon. 17.

^g Pausan. VII. 25. 3. Comp. Diodorus XI. 65. It is remarkable how rapidly Mycenæ fell into oblivion among the Athenians. Æschylus does not once mention it; succeeding poets frequently confound it with

also some fled to Epidaurus, and some to Halieis in the territory of the Dryopians, in which place the expelled Hermioneans also found an asylum.^a For Hermione, which Herodotus during the time of the Persian war considers as a Dryopian city,^b was subsequently taken by the Argives.^c The other cities which have been mentioned, had however, as we know of Orneæ and also Hysiaæ, previously belonged to Perioeci, being subjects of Argos, and were only then incorporated for the purpose of enlarging the metropolis.^d The Argives, by these arbitrary proceedings, secured themselves as well against external foes as against their former enemies the bond-slaves, and also acquired a large number of laborious and industrious inhabitants, who, by the continuance of peace, soon re-established the prosperity and wealth of Argos.^e The oracle has well marked out the principles which were then expedient for the welfare of that state, when it recommended it, as "*the enemy of its neighbours, and friend of the gods, to draw in its arms, and*

Argos. In the Electra of Sophocles there is throughout the play the most confused notion of the locality; compare Elmsley ad Eurip. Heraclid. 188. Concerning the destruction of Mycenæ, see Brunck Analect. tom. II. p. 105. n. 248.

^a Pausan. II. 25. 7. cf. II. 17. 5. VIII. 46. 2. Concerning the emigration, see Strabo VIII. p. 373 B. and Ephorus lib. VI. ap. Steph. Byz. in v. Ἀλκίς. ὅτι οὗτοι Τυρύνθιοι εἰσιν, &c. In Stephanus in v. Τίρυνς, as well as in Strabo ubi sup. the Hermioneans in Halieis are spoken of. There is much that is very singular in the oracle, ποῖ τὸ

λαβὼν καὶ ποῖ τὸ καθίξω καὶ ποῖ τὸ οἰκῆσιν ἔχων ἀλκία τε κεκλησθαι. See App. V. § 11.

^b Herod. VIII. 43. The Hermioneans however maintained their ancient connexions at a later period; see above, ch. 7. § 13.

^c Pausan. II. 34. 5. Strabo adds the destruction of Asine; but this took place at a much earlier period. The statement of Strabo (p. 373 D.) that the Mycenæans used Eiones as their ναύσταθμον, must, if it is correct, refer to some time before the 75th Olympiad, or 480 B. C.

^d Pausan. II. 25. 1.

^e Diod. XII. 75.

"remain in watchful quiet, guarding its head; for that the head would save the body."^e At the same time, however, by these proceedings, a complete change in the constitution was brought about, and Argos, as we shall see hereafter, gradually lost the peculiar features of the Doric character.

The other actions of Cleomenes of which we have any knowledge refer to the political changes at Athens, and could only be connectedly related in a history of the Athenian constitution, or in reference to the events in Ægina, which we have narrated elsewhere.

8. It is remarkable that during this whole time, in which Sparta founded her empire, we read of no serious contest between Dorians and Ionians. For although the border-states, Megara and Ægina (the latter after its revolt from Epidaurus), carried on a continued war with Athens, the whole race took no part in the contest, and Sparta herself fulfilled the office of an impartial arbitrator between Athens and Megara. Even before the time of Solon, the Athenians and Megarians fought in the territory of Eleusis.^f The chief struggle was for the island of Salamis, which Solon is supposed to have gained by the well known stratagem,^g a fact however which was denied by Daimachus of Plataea.^h According to the Megarian account, some refugees from their own city (named *Δορύκλειοι*) betrayed the island to the Athenians.ⁱ So much is certain, that five Spartan arbitrators (Critolaidas, Amompharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas,

^e Herod. VII. 148.

^f Herod. I. 30. where the *Ἀστυγείτορες* are the Megarians, not the Eleusinians.

^g Pausan. I. 40, 45. Strabo IX. p. 271. Herod. Vit. Ho-

mer. c. 28. Polyæn. Strateg. I.

20. 1, 2. Diogen. Laërt. I. 48.

Quinctil. V. 11.

^h Plutarch. Comp. Solon. et

Public. 4.

ⁱ Pausan. I. 40. 4.

and Cleomenes), in obedience to ancient traditions and fables respecting the original owners of Salamis, adjudged the possession of Salamis to the Athenians. Yet in the troubles which succeeded the banishment of Megacles, this island was again lost, as well as the harbour Nisæa, which had been before conquered.^k They soon however regained it, and Megara appears from that time forth to have given up all hopes of recovery: as in this age the power of Athens increased so rapidly, that Megara could no longer think of renewing her ancient contests.

Since it is not my object to give a continuous and general narration of facts, but only to extract what is most instructive for the condition of the Doric race, I shall not carry on the history of the Dorians out of Peloponnesus to a lower point, as their local connexions would lead us far astray into other regions. For the same reason I will only touch upon a few events of the Persian wars, confining myself to the internal affairs of Peloponnesus during that period, among which the supremacy of Sparta is the most important and remarkable.

^k Plutarch. Solon. 10. 12. Pausan. X. 15. 1. which was confirmed by Ælian. V. H. VII. 19. There was at Delphi a statue of Apollo armed with a lance, mentioned by Plutarch Pyth. Orac. 16. p. 273. and offered up by the Megarians after a victory over Athens, i. e. after that gained in Olymp. 83. 3. see book III. ch. 9, § 10.

CHAP. IX.

§ 1. Sparta the head of the Peloponnesian confederacy. Its members and their order of precedence. § 2. Mode in which the supremacy of Sparta was exercised. § 3. Congress of the confederacy. § 4. Non-interference of the confederacy with the internal affairs of the confederate States. § 5. Sparta the head of the confederacy by general acknowledgment. § 6. Hellenic league during the Peloponnesian war. § 7. Sparta withdraws from the command of the Allied Army. § 8. Ionia never completely liberated by Athens from the power of Persia. § 9. War between Sparta and Arcadia. § 10. Revolt of the Helots; third Messenian war. § 11. Dissolution of the alliance between Sparta and Athens. Battles of Tanagra and Ænophyta. Five years' truce. Thirty years' truce. § 12. Origin of the Peloponnesian war. § 13. Opposite principles of the contending parties in the Peloponnesian war. § 14. Its influence upon Sparta.

1. SPARTA, by the conquest of Messenia and Tegea, had obtained the first rank in Peloponnesus, which character she confirmed by the expulsion of the tyrants, and the overthrow of Argos. From about the year 580 B. C. she acted as the recognised commander, not only of Peloponnesus, but of the whole Greek name. The *confederacy* itself however was formed by the inhabitants of that peninsula alone, on fixed and regular laws; whereas the other Greeks only annexed themselves to it temporarily. The order of precedence observed by the members of this league may be taken from the inscription on the footstool of the statue of Zeus, which was dedicated at Olympia after the Persian war, the Ionians, who were only allied for a time, being omitted.^a It is as follows: Lacedæmon,

^a Pausan. V. 23. 1. compare *Æginetica*, p. 126.

Corinth, Sicyon, Ægina, Megara, Epidaurus,^b Tegea, Orchomenus, Phlius, Trœzen, Hermione, Tiryns, Mycenæ, Lepreum, and Elis; which state was contented with the last place, on account of the small share which it had taken in the war. The defenders of the Isthmus are enumerated in the following order;^c Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, Eleans, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Trœzenians, and Hermionians, nearly agreeing with the other list, only that the Arcadians, having been present with their whole force, and also the Eleans, occupy an earlier place; and the Megarians and Æginetans are omitted, as having had no share in the defence. This regular order of precedence is alone a proof of a firm union. The Tegeates, since they had joined the side of Lacedæmon, enjoyed several privileges, and especially the place of honour at the left wing of the allied army.^d Argos remained excluded from the nations of Peloponnesus, as it never would submit to the command of Sparta; the Achæans, indifferent to external affairs, only joined themselves momentarily to the alliance;^e but the Mantineans, though latterly they followed the policy of Argos,^f were long attached to the Peloponnesian league; for at the end of the Persian war they sent an army, which arrived too late for the battle of Platæa;^g having before, together with the other Arcadians, helped to defend the Isthmus;^h they had also been engaged in the first days of the action at

^b They occur in the following order; Corinth, Sicyon, Megara, and Epidaurus, at a later period, after the destruction of Ægina.

^c Herod. VIII. 72.

^d Καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα καὶ — IX. 26. Thucyd. V. 67.

Concerning the fidelity of Phlius towards Sparta, see Theodoret. Græc. Affin. IX. 16.

^e Thuc. II. 9.

^f Thuc. V. 29.

^g Herod. IX. 77.

^h Herod. VIII. 72.

Thermopylæ;ⁱ and they were at this time still the faithful allies of the Lacedæmonians.^k Their subsequent defection from Sparta may be attributed partly to their endeavours to obtain the dominion of Parrhasia, which was protected by Lacedæmon;^l to their hostility with Tegea,^m which remained true to Sparta after the great war with Arcadia, which began about 470 B.C. and to the strengthening of their city (συνοικισμός), and the establishment of a democratic government, through the influence of Argos.ⁿ

2. The supremacy of Sparta^o was exercised in the expeditions of the whole confederacy, and in transactions of the same nature. In the first, a Spartan king—after it had been thought proper never to send out two together—was commander-in-chief, in whose powers there were many remains of the authority of the ancient Homeric princes. Occasionally, however, Sparta was compelled to give up her privilege to other commanders, especially at sea, as, for instance, the fleet at Salamis to Eurybiades. When any expedition was contemplated, the Spartans sent round to the confederate states,^p to desire them to have men and stores in readiness.^q The highest amount which each state could be called on to supply was fixed once for all, and it was only on each particular occasion to be deter-

ⁱ Herod. VII. 202.

^k παραστάται, Diod. XV. 12. See also Xen. Hell. V. 2. 3.

^l Thuc. V. 29. 33.

^m Thuc. IV. 134. Concerning this internal war, see below, § 9.

ⁿ Thuc. V. 29. See book III. ch. 4, § 7.

^o Ηγεῖσθαι, ἡγεμονεύειν, Thuc.

I. 71. The Corinthian orator says to the Spartans, τὴν Πελοπόννησον πειρᾶσθε μὴ ἐλάσσω ἐξηγεῖσθαι (*ad finem*) ἢ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῖν παρέδοσαν.

^p Thuc. II. 10. περιήγγελλον κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

^q Likewise ships, implements for sieges, &c. Thucyd. III. 16. VII. 18.

mined what part of that was required.^r In like manner, the supplies in money and stores were regularly appointed;^s so that an army, with all its equipment, could be collected by a simple summons. But agricultural labour, festivals, and the natural slowness of the Doric race, often very much retarded the assembling of this army. The contributions, chiefly perhaps voluntary, both of states and individuals, were registered on stone: and there is still extant an inscription found at Tegea, in which the war supplies of the Ephesians, Melians, &c., in money and in corn, are recorded.^t But the Lacedæmonians never exacted from the Peloponnesian confederacy a regular annual contribution, independent of circumstances; which would have been in fact a tribute: a measure of this kind being once proposed to king Archidamus, he answered, "that war did not consume according to rule."^u Pericles, however, properly considers it as a disadvantage to the Peloponnesians that they had no paid troops, and that neither in common nor in the several states they had amassed any treasure.^v The object of an expedition was publicly declared: occasionally however, when secrecy was required, it was

^r For expeditions without Peloponnesus τὰ δύο μέρη, i. e. two thirds of the whole, appear to have been the common proportion, Thuc. III. 15. Demosth. in Neær. p. 1379.

^s Ἀργυρίον ῥητόν. Thuc. II. 7.

^t Boeckh Inscript. No. 1511. It is probably of the time of Ly-sander.

^u Ὡς οὐ τεταγμένα σιτέται πόλεμος, Plutarch. Cleomen. 27.

(Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ παλαιός, i. e. the second, ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου.) Compare Plutarch. Demosth. 17. Crassus 17. Reg. Apophth. p. 126. and Lacon. Apophth. p. 202. Hutten. In this passage the apophthegm is incorrectly attributed to Archidamus the Third, although the Peloponnesian war is mentioned in connexion with it.

^v Thuc. I. 141.

known neither to the states nor to their army.^y The single allied states, if necessity demanded it, could also immediately summon the army of the others:^z but it is not clear to what extent this call was binding upon them. The Spartan military constitution, which we will explain hereafter, extended to the whole allied army; but it was doubtless variously combined with the tactics of the several nations.^a To the council of war, which moreover only debated, and did not decide, the Spartan king summoned the leaders of the several states, together with other commanders, and generally the most distinguished persons in the army.^b

3. According to the constitution of the Peloponnesian league, every common action, such as a declaration of war, or the conclusion of a peace or treaty, was agreed on at a congress of the confederates. But, as there was no regular assembly of this kind, the several states sent envoys (ἀγγελοι), like the deputies (πρόβουλοι) of the Ionians, who generally remained together only for a short time.^c All the members had legally equal votes;^d and the majority sometimes decided against a strong opposition;^e Sparta was often

^y Thuc. V. 54. Cleomenes also, Herod. V. 74. conceals the real object; but the army is soon separated.

^z Thuc. ubi sup.

^a See book III. ch. 12. The army of the 10,000, although composed entirely of mercenaries, was in many respects like an allied army, and was under Spartan discipline.

^b Thucyd. II. 10.

^c I. 141.

^d Ibid.

^e Thucyd. I. 125. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐψηφίσαντο. V. 30. κύριον εἶναι ὅτι ἂν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ξυμμάχων ψηφίσῃται ἢν μὴ τι θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων κώλυμα ᾖ. V. 17. the Megarians, Eleans, Corinthians, and Boeotians are outvoted. But, according to I. 40, 41, the vote of the Corinthians alone prevented the Peloponnesians from succouring the Samians, i. e. they gave the preponderance to the party opposed to war.

outvoted, Corinth being at all times willing to raise an opposition.^f We have however little information respecting the exact state of the confederacy; it is probable indeed, from the aristocratic feelings of the Peloponnesians, that, upon the whole, authority had more weight than numbers; and for great undertakings, such as the Peloponnesian war, the assent of the chief state was necessary, in addition to the agreement of the other confederates.^g When the congress was summoned to Sparta, the envoys often treated with a public assembly (ἐκκληται)^h of the Spartans; although they naturally withdrew during the division. Of these envoys, besides Sosicles the Corinthian, we also know the name of Chileus of Tegea, who prevailed upon the ephors, after a long delay, to send the army to Plataea, and who did much to allay the differences existing between the members of the then numerous confederacy.ⁱ

4. But upon the *internal* affairs, laws, and institutions of the allied states, the confederacy had legally no influence. It was a fundamental law that every state (πόλις) should, according to its ancient customs (κατὰ πάτρια), be independent and sovereign (αὐτόνομος καὶ αὐτόπολις);^k and it is much to the credit of Sparta, that, so long as the league was in existence, she never, not even when a favourable opportunity offered, deprived any Peloponnesian state of this independence. Nor were disputes between

^f Besides Herodotus V. 93. ever he is distinguished from the ἀγγελοι. Compare Plutarch de Malign. Herod. 41. p. 459. 15.

^g Thucyd. I. 67.

^h Thuc. ubi sup. Xenoph. Hell. V. 2. 11. 20.

ⁱ Herod. IX. 9. where how-

the ἀγγελοι. Compare Plutarch de Malign. Herod. 41. Polyæn. V. 30. 1. Plutarch Themistocl. 6.

^k See the treaty in Thucyd.

V. 77, 79.

individual states brought before the congress of the allies, which, on account of the preponderance of Sparta, would have endangered their liberty; but they were commonly either referred to the Delphian oracle, or to arbitrators chosen by both states.¹ When Elis claimed an ancient tribute from Lepreum, both states agreed to make Sparta their arbitrator by a special reference. In this character Sparta declared that Lepreum, being an independent member of the confederacy, was not bound to pay the tribute: and Elis acted unjustly in refusing to abide by her agreement, on the plea that she had not expected the decision.^m For disputes between citizens of different states there was an entirely free and equal intercourse of justice (*commercium juris dandi repetendique*).ⁿ The jurisdiction of the states was also absolutely exempt from foreign interference (*ἀντὶδίκαι*).^o These are the chief features of the constitution of the Peloponnesian confederacy; the only one which in the flourishing times of Greece combined extensive powers with justice, and a respect for the independence of its weaker members.

5. Sparta had not become the head of this league by agreement, and still less by usurpation; but by tacit acknowledgment she was the leader, not only of this, but of the whole of Greece; and she acted as such in all foreign relations from about the year 580 B. C. Her alliance was courted by Croesus: and the Ionians, when pressed by Cyrus, had recourse to the Spartans,

¹ Thucyd. I. 28. cf. V. 79.

^m V. 31.

ⁿ V. 7, 9. κατὰ πάτρια δίκας διδόναι τὰς ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας. The expression κατὰ πάτρια does not at all refer to ancient treaties of the Dorians. The πα-

τρόποι σπονδῶν in Pausan. III. 5. 8. probably refer to the tradition mentioned above, ch. 5. § 16.

^o Thucyd. ubi sup. τοῖς δὲ ἔταις κατὰ πάτρια δικάζεσθαι.

who, with an amusing ignorance of the state of affairs beyond the sea, thought to terrify the king of Persia by the threat of hostilities. It is a remarkable fact, that there were at that time Scythian envoys in Sparta, with whom a great plan of operations against Persia is said to have been concerted; which it is not easy to believe.^p In the year 520 B. C. the Platæans put themselves under the protection of Cleomenes,^q who referred them to Athens; a herald from Sparta drove the Alcmaeonidæ from their city:^r afterwards Aristagoras sought from the protector of Greece^s aid against the national enemy: and when the Æginetans gave the Persians earth and water, the Athenians accused them of treachery before the Spartans: and lastly, during the Persian war, Greece found in the high character of that state the only means of effecting the union so necessary for her safety and success.^t

6. In this war a new confederacy was formed, which was extended beyond Peloponnesus; the community of danger and of victory having, besides a momentary combination, also produced an union destined for some duration. It was the assembly of this league—a fixed congress at Corinth during, and at Sparta after, the war—that settled the internal differences of Greece, that invited Argos, Corcyra, and Gelon to join the league, and afterwards called upon Themistocles to answer for his proceedings.^u So much it did for the present emergency. But at the same

^p Herod. VI. 84.

^q VI. 108. ἐδίδουσαν σφέας αὐτοῖς.

^r V. 70.

^s V. 49. 70.

^t According to Justin XIX.

1. the Sicilian states also applied to Leonidas for assistance

against Carthage. How general the respect for Sparta was at that time in Greece, is shown by several passages in Pindar, which are not otherwise intelligible, e. g. Pyth. V. 73.

^u See Appendix IV.

time Pausanias, the regent of Sparta, after the great victory of Platæa (at which, according to Æschylus, the power of Persia fell by the Doric spear),^x prevailed upon the allies to conclude a further treaty. Under the auspices of the gods of the confederacy, particularly of the Eleutherian (or Grecian) Zeus, they pledged themselves mutually to maintain the independence of all states, and to many other conditions, of which the memory has been lost. To the Platæans in particular security from danger was promised.^y The Ionians also, after the battle of Mycale, were received into this confederacy.^z

7. The splendid victories over the Persians had for some time taken Sparta, which was fitted for a quiet and passive existence, out of her natural sphere; and her king Pausanias had wished to betray his country for the glitter of an Asiatic prince. But this state soon perceived her true interest, and sent no more commanders to Asia, "that her generals might not be "made worse:" she likewise decided to avoid any further war with the Persians, thinking that Athens was better fitted to carry it on than herself.^a The decision of the Spartans was doubtless influenced by the defection of the Ionians from Pausanias, and their refusal to obey Dorcis, whom the Spartans had sent with a small body of men in his place. Nevertheless, the chief motives which determined them must have lain deeper; for without the Greeks of Asia Minor, they could, by the assistance of the naval powers of Peloponnesus, Corinth, Ægina, &c., have continued a

^x Pers. 819.

^y Thuc. II. 71. III. 58. 68.

^z Herod. IX. 106.—These σπονδαί are also probably the ξυνθήκαι, according to which

the Athenians wished δίκας δοῦναι at the beginning of the war, Thuc. I. 144, 145.

^a Thuc. I. 95.

war which promised more gain and plunder than trouble and danger. If the speech were now extant in which Hetoëmaridas the Heraclid proved to the councillors that it was not expedient for Sparta to aim at the mastery of the sea,^b we should doubtless possess a profound view, on the Spartan side, of those things which we are now accustomed to look on with Athenian eyes. Nor is it true that the supremacy over the Greeks was in fact transferred at all from Sparta to Athens, if we consider the matter as Sparta considered it, however great the influence of this change may have been on the power of Athens. But Sparta continued to hold her pre-eminence in Peloponnesus, and most of the nations of the mother-country joined themselves to her: while none but the Greeks of Asia Minor and the islands, who had previously been subjects of Persia, and were then only partially liberated, perhaps too much despised by Sparta, put themselves under the command of Athens.^c

8. But the *complete* liberation of Asia Minor from the Persian yoke, which has been considered one of the chief exploits of Athens, was in fact never effected. Without entering into the discussion respecting the problematical treaty of Cimon,^d we will merely seek to ascertain the actual state of the Asiatic Greeks at this period. Herodotus states, that Artaphernes, the satrap at Sardes under Darius, fixed the tribute to be paid by the Ionians as it remained until the time of the

^b Diod. XI. 50.

^c Thuc. VI. 82. αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ πρότερον ὄντων ἡγεμόνες καταστάντες.

^d Of this Eichstädt has treated in his Notes to the translation of Mitford's History of Greece; also Mosche in a Dissertation

De eo quod in Cornelii Vitis faciendum restat. Francof. 1802; and lastly, Dahlmann in his *Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der Geschichte*, vol. I. p. 1—148. with great clearness and accuracy.

writer,* i. e. about the end of the Peloponnesian war. It is evident that this was a tribute to be paid to the king of Persia: the exactions of the Athenians were clearly not regulated by any Persian register of property. Again, in the nineteenth year of the war, Tissaphernes sought for assistance against Athens, that he might be able to pay to the king of Persia the tribute due from the Grecian maritime towns, which the Athenians had prevented him from collecting.^f From this it is plain that the shah of Susa was ignorant that the majority of those cities had for more than sixty years paid to the Athenians and not to him, and attributed the arrears only to the negligence of his viceroys. I say only the majority; for the Athenians had been far from completing the glorious work of the great Cimon; and after the war-contributions had become a most oppressive tribute, these cities might not themselves be very desirous to change their master. Hence Themistocles, as a vassal of Persia, possessed undisturbed, at the accession of Artaxerxes, the beautiful towns of Magnesia on the Mæander, Lampsacus, Myus, Percote, and ancient Scepsis.^g At a still later period the descendants of king Demaratus, Eurysthenes, and Procles, ruled by the same title over Halisarna in Mysia.^h The neighbouring towns of Gambrium, Palægambrium, Myrina, and Grynium had

* Herod. VI. 42. See my Review of a work of Kortüm's, *Göttingische Anzeigen*, 1822. p. 117.

^f Thuc. VIII. 5. cf. 46. ὅσοι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἕλληνες οἰκοῦσι, an official expression of frequent occurrence.

^g Plutarch. Themist. 29. Thucyd. I. 138. Diod. XI. 57. His sons also appear to have

possessed them, according to Pausan. I. 26. 4.

^h Xenoph. Hell. III. 1. 6. To this family Procles also belongs, who married the daughter of Aristotle (when the latter was at Atarneus), and had by her two sons, Procles and Demaratus, Sextus Empiricus adv. Mathem. p. 51 B. ed. Col.

been given by Darius to Gongylus, and his descendants still dwelt there after the Peloponnesian war.ⁱ When Athens unjustly expelled the Delians from their island, they found a place of refuge at Adramyteum, on the coast of Æolis, which was granted them by the satrap Pharnaces.^k Thus the Athenian empire did not prevent the vassals and subjects of the king of Persia from ruling over the Greeks of Asia Minor, even down to the very coast. We need not go any further to prove the entire falsehood of the account commonly given by the panegyrical rhetoricians of Athens.

9. Peloponnesus took the less concern in these proceedings, as internal differences had arisen from some unknown cause, which led to an open war between Sparta and Arcadia. We only know, that, between the battle of Plataea (in which Tegea, as also later still, showed great fidelity towards Sparta) and the war with the Helots (i. e. between 479 and 465 B. C.), the Lacedæmonians fought two great battles, the one against the Tegeates and Argives at Tegea, the other against all the Arcadians, with the exception of the Mantineans, at Dipæa in the Mænalien territory. Tisamenus, an Elean, of the family of the Iamidæ, was in both battles in the Spartan army; and in both Sparta was victorious.^l Yet, in an epigram of Simonides, the valour of the Tegeates is praised, who by their death had saved their city from destruction;^m probably after the loss of the first battle. As we find that Argos had a share in this war,ⁿ it is pos-

ⁱ Xenoph. ubi sup.

^k Thucyd. V. 1.

^l Herod. IX. 35. Pausan. III. 11. Isocrat. Archid. p. 136 A. Hence also Leotychides in 469 B. C. went to Tegea in exile, Herod. VI. 72. Herodo-

tus IX. 37. also mentions a dissension between Tegea and Sparta before the Persian war.

^m Fragm. 21. Gaisford.

ⁿ At that time also Tegea assisted Argos against Mycenæ; above, ch. 8. § 7.

sible that the views of that state were directed against the ascendancy of Sparta; perhaps also the independence of the Mænalians, Parrhasians, &c. had been, as was so often the case, attacked by the more powerful states of Arcadia, and was defended by the head of the Peloponnesian confederacy.

10. This war had not been brought to a termination, when, in the year 465 B. C., in the reign of Archidamus^o and Pleistoanax, a tremendous earthquake (which is said to have been predicted by Anaximander^p) destroyed Sparta, and a sudden ruin threatened to overwhelm the state of Greece. For, in the hope of utterly annihilating their rulers, many Helots (perhaps doubly excited by the late outrage on the suppliants at the altar of the Tænarian god),^q especially the ancient inhabitants of Messenia, and two cities of the Perioeci, revolted from Sparta; these rebels were all named Messenians, and the war was called the third Messenian war.^r The circumstances of this terrible contest are almost unknown to us; and we can only collect the few fragments extant of its history. Aëimnestus the Spartan, who had killed Mardonius, fought with 300 men at Stenyclarus against a body of Messenians, and was slain with all his men.^s This was followed by a great battle with

^o Polyænus I. 41. 5. confounds Archidamus III. and II. Plato Leg. III. p. 692. has not an accurate idea of the time of this war, of which Diodorus XI. 64, has given altogether an incorrect and inconsistent representation.

^p Plin. H. N. II. 79, 81. Cicero de Divin. I. 50.

^q The ἄγος Ταϊνάριον. See

Thucyd. I. 128. Ælian. V. H. VI. 7. Suidas in Ταϊνάριον κακόν. Apostolius XVIII. 92. Prov. Vat. IV. 12. Plutarch. Prov. Al. 54. Pausan. IV. 24. 2. who mentions Lacedæmonians instead of Helots.

^r Thucyd. I. 101. ἦ καὶ Μεσσηνιοὶ ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες.

^s Herod. IX. 64.

the same enemy at Ithome,^t in which the Spartans were victorious. Most of the conquered Messenians then intrenched themselves on the steep summit of Ithome, which was even then sacred to Zeus Ithomatas; and they probably restored the ancient walls and defences which had fallen down. Upon this the Lacedæmonians, foreseeing a tedious siege, called in the aid of their allies; and this call was answered among others by the Æginetans,^u the Mantineans,^v the Platæans,^w and the Athenians, who, at the request of the Spartan envoy Pericles, sent 4000 hoplites^x under the command of Cimon; the Spartans, however, dismissed them before the fortress was taken, in which they expected to be aided by the superiority of the Athenians in the art of besieging, not without showing their suspicion of the innovating spirit of their ally.^a In the tenth year of the siege, 455 B.C., Ithome surrendered on terms; and the Messenians, together with

^t If in Herod. IX. 35. the alteration πρὸς Ἰθώμῃ may be ventured. The expression of Pausanias III. 11. πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἰοθμοῦ Ἰθώμην ἀποστήσαντας is compounded of the passage of Herodotus, which he reads as we now have it, and Thucyd. I. 101. οἱ Εἰλωτες—ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν.

^u Thucyd. II. 27. IV. 56.

^v Xenoph. Hell. V. 2. 3.

^w Thucyd. III. 54.

^x Aristoph. Lysistr. 1139. The 4000 hoplitæ, here mentioned by Aristophanes, were about the third part of the disposable forces of Athens (Thuc. II. 13); and since the Platæans likewise sent τὸ τρίτον μέρος of their numbers to the assistance of the Spartans

(ib. III. 54. ἰδίᾳ as opposed to the rest of Bœotia), this was probably a contingent fixed for such cases. Platæa, it should be observed, had been on friendly terms with Sparta after the time of Pausanias, and been connected with that state by προξενία, to which the son of the Platæan general Arimnestus owed his name of Lacon, Thuc. III. 52, where we should read Ἀριμνήστον, or vice versa in Plutarch Aristid. 11. and 19. Ἀείμνηστος should be read for Ἀρίμνηστος.

^a Thucyd. Compare Manso, Sparta, vol. I. p. 377. They must also at that time have been angry with the Athenians on account of Thasos.

their wives and children, quitted Peloponnesus, under a promise of never again entering it. It appears that the war between Lacedæmon and Arcadia was concluded upon conditions, of which one was, that no person should be put to death for the sake of the Lacedæmonian party at Tegea; and another, that Sparta was to expel the Messenians from the country, but not kill them—which were inscribed on a pillar on the banks of the Alpheus.^b The Athenians, however, gave the fugitives the town of Naupactus, which they had shortly before conquered, and which was conveniently situated for tempting them, against their promise, to make inroads and forays in Peloponnesus. The Messenians still continued, in the Peloponnesian war, to be distinguished from the neighbouring people by their Doric dialect.^c

11. Immediately after the dismissal of the Athenians from Ithome, the people of Athens, in order to resent the affront, annulled the alliance with Sparta, which had subsisted since the Persian war;^d entered into a treaty with Argos, the enemy of Sparta, and also with the Thessalians; and even joined to itself Megara, which was dependent on its commercial intercourse. Then followed the war with the maritime towns of Argolis, in which Athens, after many reverses, at length succeeded in destroying the fleet of

^b These *συνθήκαι* may, I believe, be safely referred to this time; from which Aristotle, quoted in Plutarch, Qu. Rom. 52. p. 343. and Qu. Gr. 5. p. 380. cites the passages in the text on account of the expression *χρηστὸν ποιεῖν*, for "to kill." Compare Hesychius: *χρηστοὶ οἱ καταδικασμένοι*. That the Arcadians in a certain

manner carried on war for the Helots is also implied in Zenobius Prov. I. 59.

^c Thucyd. III. 112. IV. 3. cf. VII. 57. *οἱ Μεσσήνιοι νῦν καλούμενοι*.

^d Thucyd. I. 102. The *σπονδαὶ Πανστανίου* still, however, remained in force (the *συνθήκαι* in cap. 144).

Ægina, and subjugating that island (457 B.C.).^e Sparta was compelled to be a quiet spectator of the subjection of so important a member of her confederacy, as she was still occupied with the siege of Ithome, and in the same year had sent out an army to liberate her mother country, Doris, from the yoke of the Phocians. But when, after the execution of this object, the Spartans were hastening back to Peloponnesus, they were compelled to force their passage home by the battle of Tanagra, which, with the assistance of the Thebans, they gained over an army composed of Athenians, Ionians, Argives, and Thessalians. This aid was afforded to them on the condition that they would help the Thebans to regain their supremacy in Boeotia, which the Thebans had lost by their defection from the Grecian cause in the Persian war.^f Sparta, however, after so decisive a victory, concluded a four months' armistice with Athens, during which that state conquered the Thebans at Oenophyta, finished the blockade of Ægina, subdued all Boeotia with the exception of Thebes, and Phocis, and extended its democratical constitution, which after the battle of Tanagra was nearly threatened with destruction,^g even to the city of Thebes. The inactivity of Sparta during these astonishing successes of her enemy (for when she concluded the armistice with Athens she must have partly foreseen its consequences) seems to prove that she was entirely occupied with the final capture

^e Æginetica, p. 179, and see Boeckh ad Pind. Pyth. VIII. Dissem ad Nem. VIII. 15.

^f See the excellent explanation of Boeckh ad Pind. Isthm. VI. p. 532.

^g On the oligarchical trou-

bles in Olymp. 80. 4. (457 B.C.) and the probable share of Cimon in them, see the accurate discussion in Meier's *Historia Juris Attici de Bonis damnatis*, p. 4. n. 11.

of Ithome, and the settlement of her interests in Arcadia.^b But that the war, which was now renewed by Athens, nevertheless extended to the whole Peloponnesian league, is shown by the connected attacks of Tolmides on the Spartan harbour Gytheium, and the cities of Sicyon and Corinth, and also by the expedition of Pericles in the Corinthian gulf. The five years' truce in 451 B.C. was only an armistice between Athens and the Peloponnesian confederacy, which left Bœotia to shake off the Athenian yoke by its own exertions. This was also the time of the Sacred war, in which a Spartan and an Athenian army, one coming after the other, the first gave the management of the temple to the Delphians, and the second, against all ancient right,¹ to the Phocians. At the end of these five years Megara revolted from the Athenians, and in consequence an invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians took place, which, though it did not produce any immediate result, was soon followed by the thirty years' truce, in which Athens ceded her conquests in Megaris and Peloponnesus,^k and on the mainland returned within her ancient boundaries; but she preserved the same power over her other confederates. For when the Athenians soon afterwards attacked the revolted island of Samos, the

^b Thuc. I. 118. τὸ δὲ τι καὶ πολέμοις οἰκείοις ἐξεργόμενοι.

ⁱ See Boeckh's Public Economy of Athens, vol. II. p. 396, note.

^k Thucyd. I. 115. Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἀχαΐαν; for in this order the words should be read. Achaia therefore is the district on the north of Peloponnesus, which indeed did not belong to Athens,

but was enumerated in the lists of the contending parties as belonging to the Athenian side (concerning these lists see Thucyd. I. 31, 40.), and at this time passed over to that of the Lacedæmonians. See Thucyd. IV. 21. Compare the very confused account in Andocides *Περὶ εἰρήνης*, and that of Æschines borrowed from it.

Peloponnesians indeed debated whether they should protect it, but the proposal of Corinth was adopted, that Athens should be allowed to deal with her allies as she pleased.¹

12. If now we consider the events which have been briefly traced in the foregoing pages, it will be perceived, that the principle on which the Lacedæmonians constantly acted was one of self-defence, of restoring what had been lost, or preserving what was threatened with danger; whereas the Athenians were always aiming at attack or conquest, or the change of existing institutions. While the Spartans during this period, even after the greatest victories, did not conquer a foot of land, subjugate one independent state, or destroy one existing institution; the Athenians, for a longer or for a shorter time, reduced large tracts of country under their dominion, extended their alliance (as it was called) on all sides, and respected no connexion sanctioned by nature, descent, or antiquity, when it came in conflict with their plans of empire. But the astonishing energy of the Athenian people, which from one point kept the whole of Greece in constant vibration, almost paralysed Sparta; the natural slowness of that state became more and more apparent: which having been, as it were, violently transplanted into a strange region, only began by degrees to comprehend the policy of Athens.

But when Athens saw the Peloponnesian confederacy again established, and as she could not, on account of the truce, attack it directly, she looked to the colonial law, which rested rather on hereditary feelings than on positive institution, for an opportunity of an

¹ Thucyd. I. 40. See above, p. 200. note ^c.

indirect attack. This was soon found in the defensive treaty with Coreyra, which state was engaged with its mother country Corinth in a war, according to ancient Greek principles, wholly unlawful and unjust. Besides this, however, it was an actual breach of the thirty years' truce.^m And the same principles were expressed in the demand that Potidæa should, for the sake of the Athenian confederacy, give up its original connexion with the parent state. In both these cases it is manifest that the maxims of the Athenian policy were directly at variance with the general feeling of justice entertained by the Greeks, and especially with the respect for affinity of blood; and this fundamental difference was the true cause of the Peloponnesian war.

13. As it would not be consistent with the plan of this work to give a detailed account of the influence of the Peloponnesian war upon the political and private character of the Greeks, we must be content to point out the following obvious points of opposition between the contending parties. In the first place, then, *Dorians were opposed to Ionians*; and hence in the well-known oracle it was called the Doric war.ⁿ The individual exceptions are for the most part merely apparent;^o also when the Athenians attacked Sicily, all the Doric cities were opposed to them.^p On the side of Athens were ranged all the Ionians of Europe,

^m The meaning of the article in the thirty years' truce, Thucyd. I. 35. can only be, States not included in the alliance may join whichever side they please, by which means they come within the treaty, and the alliance guarantees their safety. But if a state already at war with another state party to the treaty (*ἐνσπονδος*) is assisted, a war of

this description is like one undertaken by the confederacy of the assisting state.

ⁿ Thucyd. II. 54. ✓

^o The Asiatic cities are not exceptions; in Rhodes also the Doric spirit rose against Athens in the person of the noble Doriaus.

^p Thucyd. III. 86. with the exception of Camarina.

of the islands, and of Asia, not indeed voluntarily, but still not altogether against their inclination. *The union of the free Greeks against the evil ambition of one state.* At the beginning of the war the general voice of Greece was in favour of Sparta^q (which was heard through the Delphian oracle, when it promised that state assistance);^r nor did she compel any one to join in it. The allies of Athens, having previously been Persian subjects, were accustomed to obey; and on the present occasion forced to submit; the public assembly of Athens was the only free voice in so large a combination. *Land-forces against sea-forces.* According to the speech of Pericles, Peloponnesus was able, in an action with heavy-armed troops, to resist all the rest of Greece together; and Athens avoided coming to this mode of engagement with singular ingenuity. The fleet of the Peloponnesians, on the other hand, was at the beginning of the war very inconsiderable.^s Hence it was some time before the belligerent parties even so much as encountered one another. The land was the means of communication for one party, the sea for the other: hence the states friendly to Athens were immediately compelled to build *long walls* for the purpose of connecting the chief city with the sea, and isolating it from the land; as Megara before, and Argos and Patræ during the war.^t *Large bodies of men practised in war against wealth.* The Peloponnesians carried on the war with natives: whereas Athens manned her fleet—the basis

^q Thucyd. II. 8. cf. 11.

^r Thucyd. I. 118. 123. Plutarch. Pyth. Or. 19. p. 276.

^s The Spartans were at first quite contemptible by sea; Al-

cidas in particular was destitute of all talent, Thucyd. III. 30, 31. sq.

^t Thucyd. I. 103. V. 82.

of her power—chiefly with foreign seamen; so that the Corinthians said justly that the power of Athens was rather purchased than native.^a It was the main principle of Pericles' policy, and it is also adopted by Thucydides in the famous introduction to his History, that it is not the country and people, but moveable property, (χρήματα, in the proper sense of the word,) which makes states great and powerful. *Slow and deliberate conviction against determined rashness.* This is evident both from the different direction taken by the alliances of the two parties, and from their national character. It was with good reason that the oracle admonished Sparta to carry on the war with decision and firmness; for that state was always cautious of undertaking a war, and ready for peace.² *Maintenance of ancient custom as opposed to the desire of novelty.* The former was the chief feature of the Doric, the latter of the Ionic race. The Dorians wished to preserve their ancient dignity and power, as well as their customs and religious feelings: the Ionians were commonly in pursuit of something new, frequently, as in the case of the Sicilian expedition, but obscurely seen and conceived. *Union of nations and races against one arbitrarily formed.* As has been already shown, this difference was the cause of the war; and indeed Athens in the course of it hardly recognised any duty in small states to remain faithful to cities of the same race, and to their mother countries; otherwise, why was Melos so barbarously punished, for remembering rather that it was a colony of Sparta than an island? Thus also in the interior

^a I. 121. cf. Isocrat. de Pace, p. 174, E. οἱ συνάγοντες ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς ἀργαστάους— πληροῦντες τούτων τὰς τριήρεις.
² See particularly Thucyd. II. 11. V. 6.

of states the Athenians encouraged political associations or clubs (ἑταιρίαι), while the Spartans trusted to the ties of relationship.⁷ *Aristocracy against democracy.*⁸ This difference was manifested in the first half of the war by Athens changing, while Sparta only restored governments; for in this instance also the power of Sparta was in strictness only employed in upholding ancient establishments, as an aristocracy may indeed be overthrown, but cannot be formed in a moment.

14. These obvious points of difference are sufficient to substantiate the result which we wish to arrive at. It is manifest that the second of the two forces, which in each of these instances came into collision, must necessarily have always overcome the first. The slow, cumbrous, unwieldy body of the Spartan confederacy was sure to suffer under the blows of its skilful, forward, and enterprising antagonist. The maxims which, according to Thucydides, were current at this time,^a that rashness was to be called courage in a friend's cause, provident foresight hidden cowardice, moderation a cloak for pusillanimity, and that to be prudent in every thing was to be active in nothing, necessarily impeded and shackled the beneficial effects of the measures of the Doric party. The "honesty and openness" of the Doric character, the noble simplicity of the ancient times of Greece, soon disappeared in this tumultuous age.^b Sparta therefore and

⁷ Thucydides has with great ingenuity, but with the most bitter coldness, laid down the principles of the Athenian policy in the Melian conference. ^a Ubi sup.

⁸ According to Thucyd. III. 82. πλήθους ἰσονομία πολιτικὴ and ἀριστοκρατία are ὀνόματα. ^b Τὸ εὐθεῖς, οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετέχει, is the beautiful expression of Thucydides, ib. 83.

the Peloponnesians emerge from the contest, altered, and as it were reversed; and even before its termination appear in a character of which they had before probably contained only the first seeds.

But in the second half of the war, when the Spartans gave up their great armaments by land, and began to equip fleets with hired seamen; when they had learnt to consider money as the chief instrument of warfare, and begged it at the court of Persia; when they sought less to protect the states joined to them by affinity and alliance, than to dissolve the Athenian confederacy; when they began to secure conquered states by harmosts of their own, and by oligarchs forced upon the people, and found that the secret management of the political clubs was more to their interest than open negotiation with the government; we see developed on the one hand an energy and address, which was first manifested in the enterprises of the great Brasidas, and on the other a worldly policy, as was shown in Gylippus, and afterwards more strongly in Lysander; when the descendants of Hercules found it advisable to exchange the lion's for the fox's skin.^c And, since the enterprises conducted in the spirit of earlier times either wholly failed or else remained fruitless, this new system, though the state had inwardly declined, brought with it, by the mockery of fate, external fame and victory.^d

^c Plutarch, Reg. Apophth. p. 127.

^d In conclusion, I remark, that the possessions of the Peloponnesian states in this war, as they had agreed with one

another at the commencement of it, and as Sparta maintained them (Thucyd. V. 31. cf. V. 29.), are represented in the accompanying map of Peloponnesus.

BOOK II.

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY OF THE DORIANS.

CHAP. I.

- § 1. Apollo and Artemis the principal deities of the Doric race.
 § 2. Traces of the worship of Apollo in Tempe. § 3. Route of the Theoria from Tempe to Delphi. § 4. Establishment of the worship of Apollo at Delphi; § 5. Crete; § 6. And Delos.
 § 7. Early history of Crissa. § 8. Doric population of Delphi.
 § 9. Opposition to the worship of the Delphian Apollo.

1. IN turning from the history of the external affairs of the Dorians to the consideration of their intellectual existence, our first step must be to enquire into their religion; and for this purpose we will proceed to analyse and resolve it into the various worships and ceremonies of which it was composed, and to trace the origin and connexion of these as they successively arose.

Now it may with safety be asserted, that the principal deities of the Dorians were Apollo and Artemis, since their worship is found to have predominated in all the settlements of that race; and conversely the Doric origin can be either proximately or remotely traced wherever there were any considerable institutions dedicated to the worship of Apollo; insomuch that the adoration of this god may be shown from the most ancient testimonies of mythology to have gradually advanced with the extension of the Doric

nation. Yet we are not to understand that the worship of Apollo and the Doric race were so exactly co-extensive that the presence of the latter always proves either the previous or actual existence of the former. Indeed it is certain that in ancient as well as in modern times the worship of particular gods was not only propagated by migration and conquest, but that religious belief was also extended by peaceful intercourse, and, as it were, by moral contact.

In order to rest the claims of the Doric race to the worship of Apollo on a secure foundation, it is necessary first to give a direct contradiction to all those statements which assert its connexion with any race not of Hellenic descent. In the first place, then, Apollo was not a national deity of the aboriginal *Pelasgic* nations of Greece.^a Had this been the case, he would certainly have enjoyed frequent and distinguished honours in those countries where the numbers of that race remained undiminished; for example, in Arcadia. Now there were very few temples of Apollo in Arcadia; and moreover, the founding of most of these was either connected with a foreign hero, or else attributed to some external influence.^b Secondly, it

^a Against Myrtilus in Dionysius Halic. I. 23. who however was probably deceived by confounding a Cabirus with Apollo (see *Orchomenos*, p. 455).

^b The temples are, first, that of Apollo Oncaeus at Thelpusa, in connexion with Hercules, Pausan. VIII. 25. 3. Antimach. p. 65. ed. Schellenberg. The native gods are in this case Demeter, Erinyes, and Poseidon. Secondly, to the north of Pheneus the temples of Apollo Pythius and Artemis; they were

said to have been built by Hercules after the conquest of Elis, Pausan. VIII. 15. 2.: compare Aristot. *Mirab. Auscult.* 59. and below, ch. 12. § 3. Thirdly, in Tegea the temple of Apollo Agyieus, in connexion with Crete, Pausan. VIII. 53. 1. Fourthly, the temple of Apollo Epicurius at Phigalea, built at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, Pausan. VIII. 41. 5. Fifthly, the Pythian or Parrhasian Apollo, near mount Lycæum, Paus. VIII. 38. 6. (the

has been supposed that the worship of this god was introduced from the *East* (an opinion founded chiefly on the establishments of his religion in Lycia); but we shall presently show that its institution in this quarter was in fact derived from the Dorians. To this we may add, that amongst none of the *half-Grecian* nations, for example, the Leleges, Carians, Ætolians, Phrygians, and Thracians, the worship of this god can be proved to have been national. The same may be affirmed of the *Italian* nations. Apollo never occurs in the ancient *Etruscan* religion. Nor was *Rome* acquainted with this worship, until it was introduced by the Sibylline oracles; a sacred spot was then allotted on the Flaminian meadow; and the temple erected there (324 A.U.C.) was, up to the time of Cicero, the only one in Rome.^c Nay, that the Italians adopted Apollo altogether as a foreign deity is proved by the circumstance of their not having united him with their native Jupiter, or Mercury, as they did the Grecian Zeus, Hermes, &c. In our inquiries therefore into the origin of the worship of Apollo, we are limited to the races of purely Greek offspring. It remains only to be shown why we have selected the *Dorians* in particular from all these different tribes. And we merely make this preliminary remark, that the

temple Πύθιον in Paus. *ibid.* Πέρσιον in an Arcadian inscription, Boeckh, N^o. 1534.) would doubtless more properly be called Aristæus. Sixthly, Apollo Cereatas in Æpytis, near Carnium, probably came from Messenia, Paus. VIII. 34. 3.

^c Liv. III. 63. IV. 25, 29. Asconius in Cicer. *Orat. in toga cand.* vol. II. p. 1. p. 525. ed. Orelli. The *sacra* of the Falisci

on mount Soracte were, as well as others of that city, half Grecian, Virg. *Æn.* XI. 785. Plin. H.N. VII. 2. compare Spangenberg de Rel. Latin. p. 38. The Salian priests did not mention the name of Apollo, Arnobius *adv. Gent.* II. 73. *Aplu* upon Etruscan Pateras (Demster *Etrusc. Reg. tab.* 3. 4. Gori II. p. 93.) is the Thessalian name.

mythical genealogy, in which Dorus is called the son of Apollo,^d was a simple expression for this fact.

2. The most ancient settlements of the Doric race, of which any historical accounts are extant, were, as we before ascertained,^e the country at the foot of Olympus and Ossa, near the valley of TEMPE. In this district there were two sanctuaries, bearing the character of the highest antiquity, viz., the Pythium, on the ridge of Olympus, near a steep mountain-pass leading to Macedonia; and the altar in the ravine of the Peneus,^f from which the god himself was called Τεμπεΐτας; and in an inscription discovered near this spot, on the banks of the river between Tempe and Larissa, are the words ΑΠΛΟΥΝΙ ΤΕΜΠΕΙΤΑ, "To Apollo of Tempe."^g From another inscription found in this district we gather an account of certain native Thessalian festivals, at which branches of laurel were carried round, that were doubtless procured from the groves in the valley of Tempe; whither also the Delphians every eight years, at the expiration of the sacred period, sent the Pythian theori, who, after the performance of a sacrifice, broke the expiatory branch

^d Apollodorus I. 7. 6.

^e Book I. ch. 1.

^f The valley of Tempe was a favourite place of Apollo; see Callimachus Hymn. in Del. 152. Horat. Carm. I. 21. 9. Melisseus also, in his historical work on Delphi, appears to have derived the worship of Apollo from the borders of Macedonia, as may be conjectured from the fragment cited by Tzetzes ad Hesiod. Op. 1. p. 29. ed. Gaisford. On account of the vicinity of this great temple, the worship of Apollo was very prevalent in

Macedonia, on the coins of which country his symbols frequently occur.

^g Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. N°. 1767. The other inscription, found near the ancient Atrax (Turnovo) may be thus written in the common dialect: Ἀπόλλωνι Κερδ. . . . Σωσίπατρος Πολεμαρχιδάιος ὁ θύτης ἀνέθηκε ἱερομνημονήσας καὶ ἀρχιδάφνηφόρῃσας. See Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. N°. 1766. and Expl. Pind. p. 336. Classical Journal, vol. XXVI. p. 393.

from the sacred laurel-tree.^h According also to the admission of the Delphians themselves, the temple of Apollo at Tempe was more ancient than their own, since a perfect expiation could only be performed in that sanctuary. In accordance with the tradition that Apollo himself, after having slain the Python, fled to the altar at Tempe to be purified from the pollution, the sacred boy, at each return of the appointed day, went to Tempe by a certain path,ⁱ in imitation of the god whom he honoured, in order to return home amidst the joyful songs of the choruses of virgins, as δάφνηφόρος, or laurel-bearer. The religious usages at this festival will be investigated hereafter; here we will only consider the route which the procession took. It led through Thessaly and Pelasgia (that is, through the plain of the Peneus, which stretches to the south as far as Pheræ); then through the country of the Malians and Ænians, over mount Cēta, through Doris and the western part of Locris;^k avoiding in a remarkable manner the shorter and more frequented road from Thessaly through Thermopylæ, over Phocis, and through the pass of Panopeus and Daulis to Delphi. The reasons of this deviation may have been the opposition offered in early times by hostile tribes from the eastern side of Delphi to the peaceable march of sacred processions; and also that the theoria might in its progress pass through the second settlements of the Dorians, between Cēta and Parnassus, where

^h Δανάειρα ἡ ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεσι δάφνη. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Δηλία, καλοῦμεν, Plut. Quæst. Græc. 12.

Hesychius p. 1040. ed. Alberti. Laurus Penei filius, Fulgent. 13.

ⁱ Κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν νῦν ἱερὰν

^k Ælian V. H. III. 1. mistakes the succession of the districts.

doubtless the worship of Apollo had likewise prevailed.¹

3. The first half of the Pythian road, which goes through Thessaly, is very accurately determined by a combination of different testimonies. Its first stage was from Tempe to Larissa. Near this place was a village named Deipnias, where the boy who carried the laurel-branch first broke his long fast;^m as Apollo himself was reported also to have done. That the place received its name from this circumstance is a sufficient proof of the antiquity of the usage. The theoria next proceeded to Pheræ, where the boy, on his way to Tempe, and before his purification, represented the servitude of Apollo when a refugee at the palace of Admetus. This use of slavery as a preparative for the expiation of guilt, is doubtless taken from some very ancient tradition; and it is alluded to by the earliest epic poets; in the Iliad the horses of Eumelus, the son of Admetus, are stated to have derived their excellence from having been under the care of Apollo at Pheræ.ⁿ The harbour of Pheræ was Pagasæ, in the furthest recess of the Pagasæan bay, in which place there was a celebrated altar of the

¹ A temple of Apollo and Diana at Libæa, Pausan. X. 33. 2.

^m Steph. Byz. in Δειπνιάς, with a fragment of Callimachus. The connexion of Larissa and Delphi is proved by the ancient offering mentioned by Pausan. X. 16. 4. It is not known whether Phyllus, with its temple of Apollo Phyllæus, and Ichne, with a temple of Themis, both towns in Thessa-

liotis, were situated on this road, Strabo IX. p. 435.

ⁿ Iliad. II. 766. cf. XXIII. 383 sqq. Πηρεΐη is mentioned as a place of pasturage; and is cited by the Scholia to this passage, Stephanus Byz. and Hesychius, as a place in Thessaly, but probably only from this passage. In the Orphic Argonautics the pastures are placed on the banks of the Amphrysus, which is near Pheræ.

Pagasæan Apollo, situated in an extensive grove,^o where there were large numbers of sacred ravens.^p This sanctuary is the theatre of Hesiod's poem of the Shield of Hercules; and at no great distance the river Anaurus runs into the sea,^q which stream, swollen by violent storms of rain carried away the tomb of Cycnus, the son of Mars; "*for thus Apollo, the son of Latona, willed it, because Cycnus had plundered the hecatombs which the nations brought to the temple of Pytho.*"^r Hence it is evident that the Pagasæan sanctuary was situated on the road consecrated by the processions to and from Delphi; and we may perceive also in these words of Hesiod an allusion to a fable perhaps much celebrated by early poets, viz., that Cycnus was slain for having profaned the temple of Apollo.^s Moreover, the legend related by Heraclides Ponticus, that Trophonius founded the temple of Apollo at Pagasæ,^t points to the connexion with Delphi; the same Trophonius, a renowned

^o Hesiod, Scut. 17, 58. Παγασίτης Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν Παγασαῖς καὶ παρὰ Θεσσαλοῖς, Hesychius. In Apollon. Rhod. I. 404, 411. the Argonauts are represented as building a temple of Apollo Actius and Embasius at Pagasæ.

^p Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 133. where for ἡλίου write Ἀπόλλωνος, a common corruption, as both words were denoted by the same abbreviation. See Gaisford ad Hesiod. Theog. 709.

^q Scut. 477. Eurip. Herc. Fur. 389. Compare Orchomenos, p. 251. Cycnus dwelt ἐν παρόδῳ τῆς θαλασσίας, according to Stesichorus ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. X. 19. (Mus. Crit. vol.

II. p. 266.) Schol. II. Ψ 346. from the Cyclic poets, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Παγασαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ, ὃ ἐστὶ πρὸς Τροίῳ (read with Heinrich Τραχίῳ, see Scut. 469). Pausanias places the battle on the Peneus, I. 27. 7. See also Schellenberg's Antimachus, p. 67.

^r Scut. Herc. ad fin.

^s It is fair to suppose that Stesichorus so far altered the fable as to make Cycnus build Apollo a temple of skulls; and it is not necessary with Heyne ubi sup. to substitute Mars for Apollo. See also Sturz ad Hellanic. Fragm. 121. p. 137.

^t Tzetzes ad Hesiod. Scut. p. 194. ed. Heins.

architect of the mythical age, is also said to have built the most ancient temple of Pytho.

4. We thus arrive at DELPHI, the second grand station of the worship of Apollo, and, as it were, a focus, from which it diverged in numberless directions, and to which it was again partially reflected. Now although from early times the singular and striking character of the place might often have raised the feelings to ecstasy, and excited in the spectator dim and shadowy forebodings of the future; yet the establishment of a *fixed* institution, with its sacred regulations and rights, was intimately connected with the introduction of the worship of Apollo. At what time, however, did this first obtain a footing at Delphi? Probably when the Doric race came from Hestiaeotis to Parnassus, and settled above Delphi, which event took place at a very early period. [This supposition, to which we are led by the preceding inquiry, is not inconsistent with the celebrated tradition that Cretan navigators landed on this coast in the time of Minos, and there introduced the worship of Apollo. In order, however, to reconcile these two accounts, we must first examine the Cretan worship of that god.

5. [The population of CRETE having been in early times composed of a heterogeneous mixture of different nations,] it was natural that the worships of many different gods should prevail there; yet in many cases it is possible to ascertain the nation from which they severally originated. Amongst these, the Dorians, whose chief settlement was on the north-eastern coast near Cnosus (from which point, however, they very soon spread over other parts of the island), had brought over the worship of Apollo from their settlements under Olympus. According to a tradition preserved

in the Homeric hymn to Apollo, the ship, which Apollo in the shape of a dolphin conducted to Delphi, set out from the city of Cnosus. Of this city the chief temple was that of Apollo Delphinus.^a In its territory was situated a place called Apollonia; and the remarkable town of Amnisus, with the grotto of Eileithyia, where it was supposed that this goddess, who assisted at the birth of Apollo, was herself born.^{*} On the same coast are Miletus, where (as will be mentioned hereafter) the worship of Apollo prevailed, and Lato (Camira), whose name reminds us of the goddess Latona. It cannot be doubted that the same worship also prevailed in the ancient Doric town of Lyctus, in the interior of the island.[†] Nearer to the southern coast was Gortyna, which, though founded by a different race, yet in later times recognised the dominion and worship of the same nation as Cnosus: accordingly, the most central point of this city was called *Pythium*.[‡] Immediately bordering on it was Phæstus, the birth-place of Epimenides, which town was said to have derived its origin and name from a Heraclid of Sicyon.[§] Here, together with Hercules, Apollo and Latona received particular honours.^b Further on towards the

^a Chishull Antiq. Asiat. p. 134. Æginetica, p. 154. The coins of Cnosus have the head of Apollo. The Omphalian plain near Cnosus (Callim. Hymn. Jov. 45.) is connected with the stone of the Omphalos at Delphi, but *both* belong to the worship of Zeus.

^{*} Odys. XIX. 188. Pausan. I. 18, 5. Strabo X. p. 476. See Boettiger's *Ilithyia*, p. 18. Einatus, whence Ilithyia Einatinè, was probably in the neighbourhood.

[†] Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 33. The geographical position of the places is partly founded on the investigation in Hoeck's *Kreta*, vol. I. ch. 1.

[‡] Steph. Byz. in Πύθιον. Its coins have on them the head of Apollo.

[§] See book I. ch. 5. § 2.

^b The latter under the title of *φωρία*, with a festival named *Ἐκδόσια*, Antonin. Liberal. 17. The wolf on its coins also refers to Apollo.

west, in the mountains, was Tarrha, one of the most ancient and considerable temples of Apollo.^c Here, according to the Cretan tradition, dwelt Carmanor the father of the minstrel Chrysothemis, a priest who was said to have purified Apollo himself from the blood of the Python;^d which legend, when compared with the account of his expiation at the altar in the valley of Tempe, shows how the legends connected with the worship of Apollo crossed over to Crete, and there again took root. With the residence of Apollo when a refugee in the house of Carmanor, there is connected a tradition of his amour with Acacallis, who bore him Naxos,^e or Miletus,^f or Phylander and Phylacis, who, in a sacred offering of the Elyrians at Delphi, were represented as sucking the teat of a she-goat.^g This Elyrus, like most of the ancient towns of Crete, was situated in the mountains of the interior, probably not far from Tarrha.^h Although there have not been pre-

^c Steph. Byz. in *Tappa*. Compare Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* II. 2. An oracle (preserved by Oenomaus, Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* p. 133. ed. Steph.) calls upon the inhabitants of Phæstus, Tarrha, and Polyrrhum, to make expiations (*καθαρμοὶ*) to the Pythian Apollo.

^d Pausan. II. 7. 7. X. 16. 3. comp. Tibullus IV. 1, 8.

^e Alexander's *Κρητικά*, lib. I. ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. IV. 1492 comp. Pausan. VIII. 53. 2.

^f Antonin. Liber. 30. comp. Verheyk.

^g Pausan. X. 16. 3. Hence the goat upon the coins of Elyrus. Also a she-wolf upon the coins of Cydonia, suckling the little Cydon.

^h Tarrha is the parent state of *Zappa*, the coins of which city have therefore Apollo or a lyre. Perhaps this place derived from this worship the right of asylum: see Spanheim de *Præst. Num.* p. 342. There are also other traces of the worship of Apollo in Crete, e. g. the temple of Allaria. Chishull. *Ant. Asiat.* p. 137. Oaxus was called the son of Apollo, Servius ad Virg. *Ecl.* I. 66. Upon the ancient coins of Eleutherna Apollo is holding in his right hand a ball (viz. an apple, *μῆλα ἱερὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, Luc. *Anach.* 9), and in the left a bow. Also the coins of Rhitymna. On those of Tylissus is a youth with a goat's head in the right, and a bow in the left hand;

served accounts sufficient to lead to any general conclusion, yet those which we have adduced establish the position that it was not the original inhabitants of mount Ida or any supposed colonists from Phœnicia, but the Dorian invaders alone who made Crete the head-quarters of the worship of Apollo: we therefore assert that this worship (as originally founded in Crete) had not the slightest connexion with the enthusiastic (and probably Phrygian) orgies of the Idæan Zeus, with the Corybantes, &c. Yet from these ceremonies being celebrated at so short a distance from each other, confusions soon arose; so that in later times the Curetes were called the sons of Apollo.ⁱ According to some writers, Corybas was the father of Apollo, and he was reported to have disputed the sovereignty of Crete with Zeus.^k

6. From Crete, we will now proceed to DELOS. Virgil, on the authority (as it appears) of some ancient epic poet, calls the Cretans ministers of the Delian altars.^l The voyages of Theseus from Cnosus to Delos is also founded on the same connexion, as will be more fully explained hereafter.^m We must not, however, too hastily conclude, that in the age of Minos, when the Cretans were the dominant nation in the Greek Archipelago, Delos received the worship of Apollo from a Cretan colony.ⁿ It may with greater

which is certainly an Apollo. The same god is also on the coins of Præsus, Aptera, Chersonesus, and Rhæucus.

ⁱ According to Apollodorus I. 3. 4, by Thalia; according to Strabo X. p. 473. by Rhytia (which refers to the city of Rhytium under mount Ida).

^k The statement of the *Theo-*

logi in Cicero de Nat. Deor. III. 23. p. 616. ed. Creuzer.

^l *Æn.* IV. 146. compare Heyne, vol. II. p. 736.

^m Ch. 2. § 14.

ⁿ Anius, the son and priest of Apollo, is called the viceroy of Rhadamanthus at Delos. Diod. V. 62. 79. Comp. Phercydes *Fragm.* 74. ed. Sturz.

probability be conjectured, that the Dorians in their first expedition to Crete (which could hardly have traversed so great a distance without leaving behind some traces of its existence) had founded the sanctuary at Delos; since the tradition of the transmission of sacred presents from the country of the Hyperboreans to that island, is most simply explained as a memorial of a religious connexion, which had once been long maintained, by means of sacred processions, with the northern settlements of the Dorians.

7. Now respecting the presence of Cretans at Delphi, it was nothing more than an attempt of these islanders, who dwelt on the very verge of the Grecian territory, to gain for themselves the credit of a reciprocal influence upon the early settlements of their own race and religion. We find in the Hymn of Homer, that Apollo, descending from Olympus, himself founded his temple at Pytho, and afterwards obtained experienced priests, minstrels, and prophets^o from Cnosus; for which purpose he, in the shape of a dolphin, conducted a Cretan vessel to Crissa. Crissa, or Cirrha (for that the same place was originally signified by both names I consider as certain^p), a fortified town in the inmost recess of the Crissæan bay, was probably a settlement of this Cretan colony, as the name Κρῖσα seems to signify nothing else than a *Cretan* city (Κρησία πόλις).^q Although the Pythian sanctuary itself was situated in the territory of Crissa,^r

^o ὀργίονας, οἱ θεραπεύονται Πυθοῖ ἐν πετρήσσει, ἱερά τε ῥέξουσι καὶ ἀγγελεύουσι θέμιστας. *ex qua profectus erat (Cretæ,) subjacentes campos Crisæos vel Cretæos appellasse.*

^p See *Orchomenos*, p. 493.

^q This etymology was known to ancient mythologers, Cornificius Longus ap. Serv. ad *Æn.* III. 332. *In memoriam gentis* ^r In the Homeric Hymn to the Pythian Apollo, in vv. 90. 103. and other passages, Pytho is stated to be ἐν Κρῖσσει, that is, "in the territory of Crissa,"

yet the town of Crissa possessed, besides an altar of Apollo Delphinus on the shore, in early times one of the chief temples of Apollo:^s hence in Homer's Catalogue the *sacred* Crissa is mentioned, together with the rocky Pytho; and the Pythian sanctuary is called *Crissæa templa*, on the faith of some ancient tradition, by a Roman poet. This expression must have been borrowed from poems anterior to the destruction of Cirrha (about 585 B.C.) before this town had by its extortions and oppression of pilgrims deserved the wrath of the Amphictyonic confederacy; nor is it probable that it retained a share in the management of the Delphian temple up to the very last moment of its political existence, when it was visited with a destruction so complete, as nearly to deprive us of all knowledge of its previous history. The unfortified town of Delphi, which, with the Amphictyons, obtained after that war the sole management of the temple, previously perhaps had not been a place of any importance; at least it is not mentioned in any earlier writings than one of the most recent hymns of Homer, and by Heraclitus of Ephesus.^t

8. In ancient times the service of the temple, as appears from the Homeric Hymn, was performed both at Delos and Delphi by Cretans; but it is scarcely possible that they should have constituted the whole population of the country. For, in the first place, the extensive territory of the temple was

^s "within the Crissæan boundaries."

^t It is to this that verse 265 of the hymn probably refers. Concerning the tripod in the adytum at Crissa, see *Epist. Hippocrat.* VIII. There were

statues of Latona, Artemis, and Apollo remaining in the time of Pausanias, X. 37. 6.

^u Hymn. XXVII. 14. Heraclitus ap. Plutarch. *Pyth. Orac.* p. 404.

cultivated by a subject people, of whom we shall speak hereafter, and who were certainly not of Doric, and probably in few cases of Cretan descent;^u besides whom there was a native nobility, whose influence over the temple was very considerable. These are the persons who, according to Euripides, "*sat near the tripod, the Delphian nobles, chosen by lot*;"^x called also "*the lords and princes of the Delphians*." They also formed a criminal court, which, by the Pythian vote, sentenced all offenders against the temple to be hurled from a precipice.^y To the same persons also doubtless belonged the permission and superintendence of the ancient rite of expiation; and it was their duty (as it was that of the court of the Samothracian priests) to determine whether a homicide was expiable or not. Their influence over the oracle was so great, that they may be considered to have been the actual managers of it. Their political bias may be inferred from the fact, that Timasitheus the Delphian distinguished himself by his boldness and resolution among the aristocratical party of Isagoras at Athens.^z It appears that these families originally came to Delphi from the mountainous country in the interior. Thus the chief-priests of the god, the five *Ὀσίοι*, were chosen by lot from a number of families who derived their descent from Deucalion,^a by which they probably meant to denote their origin

^u Below, ch. 3. § 3.

^x Ion v. 418. (Matthiæ). οἱ πλησίον θάσσουσι τρίποδος . . . Δελφῶν ἀριστεῖς οὓς ἐκλήρωσεν πάλος.

^y Κοίρανοι Πυθίκοι, v. 1219. Δελφῶν ἄνακτες, v. 1222. Πυθία ψῆφος, v. 1250. cf. v. 1111. ἀρχαὶ αἰπιχώριοι χθονός.

^z Herod. V. 72. Compare VI. 66. Κόβωνα τὸν Ἀριστοφάντον, ἄνδρα ἐν Δελφοῖσι δυναστεύοντα μέγιστον. Δυναστεύειν is also used by Herodotus of the Attic Eupatridæ (VI. 35.); compare VII. 141.

^a Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. 9. p. 380.

from Lycoreia on the heights of Parnassus, founded (as was supposed) by Deucalion, the father of Hellen;^b from which town it is known that great part of the population of Delphi had proceeded.^c Now this place, of which traces still remain in the village of *Liacura* (now only inhabited in summer by mountain shepherds),^d was in all probability of Doric origin, since it formed the communication between the Tetrapolis and Delphi.^e The language spoken at Delphi was likewise a Doric dialect.^f

If then this was the case, Doric mountaineers from the heights of Parnassus, and Cretan colonists on the sea-coast, met together (according to a very uncertain computation about 200 years before the Doric migration into Peloponnesus), in order to establish the Delphian worship. / The Doric dialect, it may be observed, which prevailed at Delphi, was common to both parties. It is known from many traditions and historical traces, that the connexion established by the Cretans continued for a long time.^g The ancient tents made of feathers, and a wooden statue of

^b Pausan. X. 6. 2.

^c Strabo IX. p. 418. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II. 711. Compare Callimachus ap. Steph. Byz.

^d Dodwell's Travels, vol. I. p. 189.

^e Lycorea appears to have taken its name from the worship of Apollo Lyceus, or Lycoreus; see Callimach. Hymn. Apoll. 19. Λυκωρέος ἔντρα Φοίβου, frequently in the Anthology, Suidas, &c.

^f See Appendix V. ad fin.

^g Concerning this connexion see Zoëga, Bassirilevi, tom. I. on tav. 81. Æginetica, p. 154.

Raoul-Rochette, Etablissement des Colonies Grecques, tom. II. p. 164. The name of Coretas also, the supposed discoverer of the oracle (κώρης for κούρης Dorice) is Cretan, Plutarch. de Defect. Orac. 21. 46. It appears that the names Κώρης (otherwise Κώρης, Κούρης,) Κορησσός in Ceos, with a temple of Apollo Smintheus, Κορησία λίμνη, in Crete (Steph. Byz.), Κορησσός, a sacred hill near Ephesus, Κρησος, an Ephesian hero (Paus. VII. 2. 4.), and the name of Crete itself, are all etymologically connected.

Apollo, perhaps one of the most ancient specimens of rude carving, were also reported to have been brought from Crete. The fabulous series of Delphic minstrels began with Chrysothemis, the son of Carmanor, the above-mentioned priest of Tarrha.^h Crete, however, did not merely send works of sculpture and hymns to Delphi, but sometimes even men,ⁱ for the service of the Pythian Apollo.

9. I know not whether these accounts are sufficient to afford an intelligible description of a time when the worship of Apollo, being established at the foot of Olympus, Parnassus, and in the distant island of Crete, and producing a certain degree of communication between these points, had not as yet penetrated to any part of Greece which lay to the south of Æta and Parnassus.

It is evident, moreover, that the extension of this worship met with a long opposition. Apollo is in ancient traditions represented as himself protecting his own temple.^k The Phlegyans to the east, and the Ætolians to the west, appear to have been particularly adverse to the worship of the Delphian Apollo. That there was a national opposition caused by the Phlegyans possessing the stronghold of Panopeus in the mountain-passes towards Bœotia, is shown by the legends, that Phorbas their leader wrestled there with Apollo; that Phlegyas burned the temple to the ground; and lastly, that Apollo exterminated their whole race with thunder and lightning.^l The same people is here represented as waging war with the

^h Pausan. X. 7. 2.

ⁱ ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχή, Plutarch, Thes. 16.

^k Orac. ap. Pausan. X. 6. 6.

^l According to the Cyclic poets, see *Orchomenos*, pp. 188. sqq.

great deity of the Dorians, which, under the name of Lapithæ, opposed the Dorians themselves in Thesaly. And on the other side, Apollo was related in the Poems of Hesiod, and the Minyad, to have assisted the Locrian Curetes against the Ætolians, and slain their prince Meleager.^m

CHAP. II.

§ 1. Propagation of the worship of Apollo from Crete. § 2. in Lycia. § 3 and 4. in the Troad. § 5. in Thrace. § 6 and 7. on the Coast of Asia Minor. § 8. at Trœzen, Tænarum, Megara. § 9. Thoricus. § 10. and Leucatas. § 11 and 12. in Bœotia. § 13. 14. and 15. and in Attica.

1. BUT whilst the worship of Apollo was experiencing so much opposition in the north of Greece, the sea, with the neighbouring coasts and islands afforded ample opportunities for its propagation from the shores of Crete. This serves to account for the singular fact, that the most ancient temples of Apollo throughout the south of Greece, are found in maritime districts, and generally on promontories and headlands.

The colonies of Apollo branched out in various directions from the northern coast of Crete, carrying every where with them the expiatory and oracular ceremonies of his worship.ⁿ The remarkable regularity with which these settlements were established cannot, however, be regarded as the work of missions

^m Cited by Pausan. X. 31. 2.

ⁿ Κρητίδαι: μάντεις ἀπὸ Κρήτης, Photius.

systematically carried on, or as part of the policy of Minos.^b They are to be accounted for by the natural desire of the tribes of Crete, whilst migrating along the coast of the Ægean sea, to erect, wherever they touched, temples to that god, whose worship was blended with their spiritual existence.

We shall first advert to those settlements which (taking the coast of Crete as our centre) were founded in the direction of LYCIA, MILETUS, CLAROS, and the TROAD; the first and last of which were the most ancient, the others being perhaps a century later.^c

2. It is stated by Herodotus that Sarpedon migrated with some *barbarous* nations from Crete to Lycia or Milyas.^d This unsupported and singular account is however probably not founded on tradition, the popular idea being that he was a brother of Minos the Cnosian, whom it represented as a prince of purely Hellenic blood. By these means the Cretan laws (that is, the Doric customs, which had been first fully developed in Crete), and also the Doric worship of Apollo, were spread over Lycia. For the situation of the chief temples is a sufficient proof that the settlers of Lycia came, not from the inland countries of Asia, but over the sea to the coast. Xanthus, a city renowned for the valour of its inhabitants,^e and situated on the river of the same name, was a Cretan settle-

^b As Raoul-Rochette supposes, although his work contains very valuable materials for this inquiry, *Histoire de l'Etabl. des col. Grecques*, tom. II. p. 137—173.

^c On the connexion of Crete and Asia, see Heyne, *Excurs. ad* Æn. III. 102.

^d I. 173. cf. VII. 92. According to Herodotus, Europa also came to Lycia (IV. 45.), i. e. the tradition.

^e Herod. I. 173. Comp. Boeckh *ad* Platon. Min. p. 55. Heraclicid. Pont. 15.

ment.^f It seems to have been a Lycian tradition, that Xanthus was the father of Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Sarpedon:^g in this town was a temple sacred to Sarpedon;^h but it is uncertain whether to the elder Sarpedon, the brother of Minos, or to the younger, a hero of the same family mentioned in Homer, whose corpse Apollo rescued from the Greeks, and conveyed to his native country.ⁱ Apollo was also worshipped under the title of Sarpedonius.^k Sixty stadia below the town, and ten from the mouth of the river Xanthus, was a grove sacred to Latona, near an ancient temple of the Lycian Apollo.^l To this spot the goddess had been conducted by wolves; here also she had bathed her new-born babes in the river,^m and been hospitably received by an old woman in a wretched hovel.ⁿ These are the only remains of the national tradition, which in its general character was perhaps only another version of that prevalent at Delos. But the chief temple was one at Patara, in the southern extremity of Lycia,^o the winter habitation of the god, where he also gave out oracles through the mouth of a priestess.^p The oblations of cakes in the shape of lyres, bows and

^f See Steph. Byz. in v. cf. Herod. I. 176.

^g Augustinus de Civ. Dei XVIII. 12.

^h Appian, Bell. Civ. IV. 78.

ⁱ Il. XVI. 666.

^k Transplanted to Cilicia, Zosimus I. 57. Diodorus ap. Phot. Biblioth. cod. 244. p. 377. ed. Bekker.

^l On the former see Strabo XIV. p. 666. cf. p. 651., on the latter Diod. V. 56.

^m Menecrates in Lyciacis ap. Antonin. Liber. c. 35.

ⁿ Σύεσσα καλύβη τις ἐν Λυκίᾳ

ἀπὸ Συέσσης γραῶς τινος ὑποδείξαμένης τὴν Λητώ. Steph. Byz.

^o Both the derivations of the name Patara, the one from a son of Apollo (Hecatæus ap. Steph. Byz. in v. Cf. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 129. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 920.), and the other from πατάρα, κιστὶς, refer to the worship of Apollo.

^p Callim. Hymn. Del. 1. and Spanheim's note. Herodotus says indefinitely, ἐπεὶ γέννηται, I. 182. Cf. Serv. ad Æn. IV. 143.

arrows, which were made to Apollo at Patara, remind us of similar customs at Delos, and furnish a fresh proof of the close connexion between the worships of these two countries.^a

Further to the east was the oracle of Apollo Thyrsus, near the Cyanean islands;^b to the west lay Telmissus, with its interpreters of dreams, who attributed their origin to Apollo.^c Not only the towns just mentioned, but almost every other on the coast of Lycia, honoured the god, from whom even the name of the country was derived.^d

Amongst these settlements we must probably also reckon that on the promontory of Coryeus in Cilicia, since we find in its vicinity the temple of Zeus Sarpedon. The name of the place, if compared with that of the Corycian grotto on Parnassus, is of itself sufficient evidence that the worship of Apollo prevailed there, which is still further proved by the tradition that stags swam over from thence to Curium in Cyprus.^e Here also stood an altar of Apollo, of particular sanctity, which no one was allowed to touch on pain of being thrown from the rocks of the neighbouring promontory. In this punishment we shall presently

^a Alexander ap. Steph. Byz. in v. Eustath. ubi sup. On the temple, see the inscriptions in Walpole's Travels, p. 541. and Beaufort's Caramania.

^b Pausan. VII. 21. 3.

^c Herod. I. 78. Apostolius XVIII. 25. from Dionysius ἐν κρίσειν, Herodian. ap. Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg. 860.

^d The coins of Patara, Phaselis, Xanthus, Cydna, Cragus, Apollonia, Corydalla, Limyra, and Olympus, have a head of

Apollo, the tripod, lyre, the deer, and similar symbols. Cf. Steph. Byz. Δάφνη ἐν Λυκίᾳ. Apollo Ἐπεθύμιος among the Lycians, Hesych. in v. Perhaps this is a corruption of Ἐπεθύβιος, as Apollo was called in Rhodes, Strabo XIII. p. 613. See below, ch. 5. § 4.

^e See Strabo XIV. p. 683. from Hedyllus, or some other poet. On the sacred deer of Apollo at Curium, see Ælian. Nat. Anim. XI. 7.

recognise one form of the expiatory rites, which every where accompanied the worship of Apollo.

3. No place contained so many temples of Apollo within so small a space as the coast of Troy; Cilla, in the recess of the Adramyttian gulf; Chryse, in the territory of the Hypoplacian Thebes;^a the Smintheum, in its immediate neighbourhood;^b the island of Tenedos (whose religious ceremonies were by some unaccountable means transplanted to Corinth and Syracuse),^c are all mentioned in a few verses of the Iliad.^d No less celebrated was Thymbra, situated at the confluence of the Thymbrius and Scamander, where Cassandra was reported to have been brought up in the temple of Apollo, and thus to have learnt the art of prophecy.^e On the Trojan citadel of Pergamus itself was a temple of Apollo, with Artemis and Latona; and hence Homer represents these three deities as protecting the falling city.^f It is however important to remark, that the inhabitants of Zelea, a town on the

^a Strabo XIII. p. 611. Scylax, p. 26. Compare the obscure gloss of Hesychius in Πυθίων ἀνακτόρων.

^b On this temple, see Heyne ad II. A. 39. According to Strabo XIII. p. 604. there were Sminthea near Hamaxitus in Æolis, near Parium, at Lindus in Rhodes, and elsewhere. A certain Philodemus, or Philomnestus, wrote a treatise on the Σμινθεῖα in Rhodes, Athen. III. p. 74 F. 445 A.

^c The inhabitants of Tenea, a village near Corinth, were said to have been transplanted by Agamemnon from Tenedos. That they really worshipped Apollo in the same manner as

the Tenedians, is testified by Aristotle ap. Strab. p. 380. Paus. II. 5. 3. And the worship of Apollo was carried by means of Archias from Tenea to Syracuse, Strabo, ibid. See book I. ch. 6. § 7.

^d A. 37—39.

^e Strabo XIII. p. 591. Hesych. in Θύμβρα. Schol. II. X. 430. Servius ad Æn. III. 85. compare Choiseul Gouffier, Voyage Pittoresque, tom. III. to pl. 25. Walpole's Memoirs, p. 609. The fable of Pan, the son of Thymbris, and teacher of Apollo in divination (Apollodor. I. 4. 1.), has also reference to this story.

^f II. V. 446. VII. 83.

northern foot of mount Ida, and the native place of the archer Pandarus, the son of Lycaon, worshipped Apollo under the title of Lycius, or Lycegenes; and that Zelea was also called Lycia;^d for these facts show that there was a real connexion between the name of Lycia and the worship of Apollo, and that it was the worship of Apollo which gave the name to this district of Troy, as it had done to the country of the Solymi. In Chryse also Apollo was called Lycæus.^e The origin of this worship can neither be attributed to the native Trojan and Dardan race, nor yet to the later Æolians, although these for the most part adopted it into their religious ceremonies.^f It is however certain, from an ancient tradition, that the Cretans also colonized this coast; though we are not aware what was the precise account of Callinus, the ancient elegiac poet,^g who preserved it. It was however the popular belief that Apollo Smintheus, and indeed the whole Trojan nation, were derived from Crete.^h The last notion, that all the Trojans were of Cretan origin, is in the highest degree improbable; but it will hardly

^d Il. II. 827. IV. 119. V. 105. with the Schol. Min.

^e Hesychius in *Λυκαῖον*. There are likewise many other signs of the worship of Apollo on this coast, Strabo XIII. p. 618; in Priapus, Schol. Lycophr. 29; Apollo Πασπάριος in Parium and Pergamum (Hesych. in v.); on the coins of Gargara, Germe, Lampsacus, Atarneus, Neandria, Abydos, and New Troy.

^f The Æolians built a temple to the *Cyllæan* Apollo at Colonæ, Strabo XIII. p. 613. from Daes of Colonæ.

^g Strabo XIII. p. 604. τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἀφιγμένοις

Τεύκροις, οὓς πρῶτος παρέδωκε Καλλίνος, &c. It does not appear that this can, with Frank, Callinus, p. 31, be understood only of a mention of the name of the Teucrians.

^h The latter fact is supported by the ancient name of Cephalion, an inhabitant of the Teucrian city of Gergis (ap. Steph. Byz. in *Ἀπιδβη*. Eustath. ad Il. p. 894.): but his *Τρωικὰ* was the forgery of an Alexandrine writer named Hegesianax (Athen. IX. p. 393 B). Lycophron, v. 1302. calls Teucer, Scamander, and Arisbe, Cretans.

be denied that there came to Troy a Cretan colony in connexion with Apollo Smintheus. Indeed the Cretans who inhabited the district of Troy must often have been mentioned in ancient traditions, as a strange account of their strict administration of justice has been preserved.ⁱ Could we but obtain a more authentic source of traditions relating to the religious worship than the deceitful accounts of poets, we might perhaps discover in it many confirmations of the historical traces to which we have just adverted. Even now we may perceive that the servitude of Apollo under Laomedon^k is the same fable as that of Admetus at Pheræ, the locality alone being changed.

4. By observing Homer's accounts of the worship of Apollo in different Trojan families, we may discover a remarkable consistency and connexion in the ancient tradition.

In the first place he represents it as belonging chiefly to the family of the Panthoidæ. Panthus (from whom a tribe in modern Ilium derived its name Πανθαῖς)^l was a priest of the god,^m and hence his sons were protected by Apollo in battle.ⁿ Hence also Euphorbus, the descendant of Panthus, is selected to kill Patroclus, who, as well as all the other Æacidæ, was in the heroic mythology represented as odious to Apollo.^o

ⁱ In the fragments of Nicolaus Damascenus, p. 442. ed. Vales.

^k Iliad. VII. 452. XXI. 442. which passages do not agree. Hesiod in Her. Geneal. ap. Schol. Lycophr. 393. Hellanicus ap. Schol. Il. XX. 145. Coluthus v. 309.

^l Inscription in Walpole's Memoirs, p. 104.

^m Æneid. II. 318. 430.

ⁿ Iliad. XV. 522.

^o Achilles was slain by Apollo, according to Homer; Arctinus and Æschylus in the *Ψυχοστασία* (Heyne ad Il. XXII. 359. Tychsen ad Quint. Smyrn. Comment. p. 61); Neoptolemus was killed at Pytho. For the same reason Achilles slays Tennes, the son of Apollo (Tzetzes ad

The other family, described in the Iliad as connected with Apollo, is that of Æneas, whom, when wounded by Diomed, the god himself conducted to his temple on the citadel of Troy, and delivered over to the care of Latona and Artemis.^p Now that this history was not a mere arbitrary fiction of the poet may be distinctly proved. For we know that, after Troy had fallen, the remaining Trojans still maintained themselves in the mountains; they are mentioned by Herodotus as a separate state existing in the stronghold of Gergis, in the defiles of Ida;^q and, even after the Peloponnesian war, Dardan princes reigned here and at Scepsis.^r It can, we think, be shown that Homer's prophecy^s respecting the future dominion of the descendants of Æneas over the remnant of the Trojan nation, refers solely to the town of Gergis, and perhaps to the neighbouring valleys. Now the chief temple at Gergis was that of Apollo,^t and in the same town there was an ancient Sibylline oracle, known by the name of the *Hellespontine* or *Mermessian*. We now see that the ancient poet, being well acquainted with the existence of the Æneadæ at Gergis, their festivals and sacrifices, felt himself bound, according

Lycophr. 232.), in whose temple it was forbidden to pronounce the name of the Phthian hero (Plutarch Quæst. Gr. 28. p. 933).

^p Iliad. V. 446.

^q Herod. V. 122. VII. 43.

It was situated in the territory of Lampsacus (Strabo XIII. p. 589.), in mount Ida (Athen. VI. p. 256 C.), opposite Dardanus (Herod.); the village of Mermessus, 240 stadia from Alexandria Troas (Pausan. X. 12. 2), was a *κώμη Γεργιθία*,

Suidas in v. Also in Schol. Plat. Phædr. p. 61. Ruhnken. p. 315. Bekker. write, *ἐν κώμῃ Μερμήσσῳ—περὶ τινὰ πολίχνην Γεργίθα* or *Γεργίθον*, for *Μαρμύσσῳ* and *Γεργετίωνα*.

^r Xenoph. Hell. III. 1. 10.

^s Iliad. XX. 307. Compare the remarks of A. W. Schlegel on this point in his celebrated Review of Niebuhr's Roman History.

^t Steph. Byz. in *Γεργίε*, from Phlegon.

to the spirit of mythology, to represent Apollo as the ancient guardian of that family.

We shall seize this opportunity of briefly pointing out the results which may be drawn from these facts, in illustration of the fable of Æneas. We must first assume that the above oracle of Apollo at Gergis announced to the Trojan Gergithians the re-establishment of their nation under the dominion of the descendants of Æneas. Such a prophecy, in fact, agrees so exactly with the spirit and system of the ancient oracles, that its existence can scarcely be doubted. The hopes, the longing after a restoration of their ancient power, must necessarily have assumed this form among the distressed and conquered Trojans. Now a colony of Gergithians also inhabited the territory of the Æolian Cume,^u where Apollo possessed a magnificent temple;^x and if these oracles had been known to the Cumæans, they would readily have passed over to their kinsmen the Cumans of Campania. At this last place there was, on the summit of a rock, a temple of Apollo (one of the most ancient in the whole settlement, and, as it was pretended, built by Dædalus);^y underneath was the grotto of the sibyl. Here it was said that Æneas landed; and here, according to Stesichorus, he remained, and never went further to the north.^z Nothing was more probable than that these oracles should in both cases have been applied locally, and that a new Troy should in consequence have been

^u This may be collected from the confused account of Clearchus of Soli *ἐν Γεργίθῳ*, in Athen. VI. p. 256. cf. XII. p. 524 A. Strab. XIII. p. 589 D.

^x Plin. H. N. XXXIV. 8.

^y Heyne Exc. ad Æn. VI. 3.

The rock was called *Ζωστήρεια κλισίη* (Lycoph. 1278), as the Attic promontory with the temple of Apollo.

^z See the *tabula Iliaca*, MI-SHNOZ.

founded both in Asia and Italy. Hence, when the Greek sibylline oracles, in connexion with the worship of Apollo, became the state-oracles of Rome, all that had been prophesied of districts near the Hellespont was, without scruple or ceremony (though not without the ingenuity of commentators and interpreters), applied to Rome. It is evident that the origin of the strange fable of Æneas, the father of Romulus, and all that was afterwards added to it, may be explained in this simple manner.

5. The most ancient temple of Apollo in THRACE was also founded by Cretans, as well as that at Ismarus or Maroneia;^a Maron its priest being, according to tradition, a Cretan adventurer.^b With this sanctuary was probably connected the ancient oracular temple of Apollo at Deræa near Abdera,^c alluded to in the device on the coins of Abdera; on one side of which Apollo is seen with the arrow in his hand; and on the reverse is a griffin, a symbol which appears to have been adopted by the Teians in consequence of their having resided for some time in their colony of Abdera.

6. The Cretan worshippers of Apollo also established some considerable temples on the Ionian coast. The principal of these was the Didymæum, in the territory of Miletus. Before the Ionic migration, Miletus was a Cretan fortress, on the coast, in a country at that time called Caria.^d The disagreement of traditions as to whether Sarpedon or Miletus (the Cretan) was the founder, confirms, rather than weakens, the

^a Od. IX. 197.

^b Diod. V. 79. compare Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 160.

^c Pindar. in Pæan. ap. Tzetz.

ad Lycophr. 445.

^d Ephorus ap. Strab. XIV. p. 634 D.

principal fact of its settlement from Crete, both traditions describing the same fact in a different manner. With the founding of this stronghold was connected that of a temple, which is ascribed to Branchus, an expiatory priest^e of Delphi, whose name (which was well fitted for a prophet),^f moulded into a patronymic form, was afterwards adopted by the priests of the temple;^g the temple itself, and even the place (which was also called Didyma). Thus we here again see a fresh connexion between the Delphians and Cretans, there being indeed hardly any distinction between them before they were dispersed by the different migrations of the Doric race. The worship at Didyma was in fact the same with that of Crete and Delphi; expiatory ceremonies and prophecies being united, and the latter delivered with rites very similar to those observed at the Pythian oracle. Apollo was here called *Philesius* and *Delphinus*, which names were afterwards adopted by other Ionians:^h with him was connected Zeus, both, according to Callimachus, being the ancestors of Didyma; and also Artemis, who, in an ancient hymn ascribed to Branchus, is with Apollo addressed under the titles of *ἐκάεργος* and *ἐκαέργη*.ⁱ The ruins of this temple, so highly honoured in Asia, still bear witness to its ancient fame and splendour. From the temple

^e Callimachus apud Clem. Alex. Strom. V. p. 570. Strab. IX. p. 421. Conon Narr. c. 33, 44. Stat. Theb. VIII. 198. Gesner Comment. Soc. Gotting. vol. IV. p. 121. Ionian Antiquities, vol. II. new ed.

^f Quintilian. Inst. Orat. XI. 3. p. 305. Bipont. *Est interim et longus et plenus et clarus satis spiritus, non tamen firmæ*

intentionis, idemque tremulus. Id βράγχεον Græci vocant. This is exactly the voice of enthusiastic priests and prophets.

^g There was likewise a family of diviners named *Ἐθαγγελίδαι*, Conon Narr. c. 44.

^h Strabo IV. p. 139 B. *Æginetica*, p. 151.

ⁱ Clem. Alex. Strom. V. 8.

to the harbour^k Panormus there was a sacred road adorned on both sides with more than sixty statues in a very ancient style of workmanship: amongst these, an Egyptian lion attests the connexion of king Necho with the oracle.^l The Ionians of Miletus, however, acknowledged the god of Branchidæ as the principal deity in their town, and introduced him into their numerous colonies, from Naucratis^m to Cyzicus,ⁿ Parium,^o Apollonia Pontica,^p and the distant Taurica: the coins and inscriptions of which place agree in representing him as the guardian deity (προστάτης).^q

7. The twin brother of the Didymæan god, both in origin and in the similarity of worship, is the Clarian Apollo. However fabulous the particular circumstances of its foundation, still it was impossible in ancient times to invent a religious colonial connexion where none in fact existed. The traditions manifestly imply a double dependence of the establishment at Claros: viz., upon Delphi and Crete. Manto, the daughter of Teiresias the Theban soothsayer, was, according to the epic poets, consecrated by the Epigoni to the Delphian Apollo after the

^k On this see D'Orville ad Chariton. p. 349. and Quintus Smyrnæus I. 283.

^l Herod. II. 159.

^m Pythius and Comæus, Athen. IV. p. 149 E. Ammian. Marcellin XXIII. 6.

ⁿ Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 966. Hence the offerings of the Cyziceni in the Didymæum, Chishull Ant. Asiat. p. 67. In the character of Ἐκβάσιος, Apollo has on coins his foot resting on a fish.

^o A coin of Parium, in the cabinet of M. Allier de Haute-

roche, shows the statue of Apollo on the seashore, with the circumscription, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΑΚΤΑΙΟΥ ΠΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ, agreeing with Strabo XIII. p. 588.

^p Strabo VII. p. 319 B. Apollo Ἥφρος on the island of Thynias (Apollonia, Daphnusa). Apoll. Rhod. II. 686. Schol. ad l. Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. 12. is probably Milesian: also Apollo Φιλήσιος at Trapezus on the Euxine sea, Arrian. Peripl. p. 2.

^q Collected in Raoul - Rochette's Antiquités Grecques du Bosphore Cimmérien, pl. 5, 7, 8.

taking of Thebes,^r and she was afterwards sent by Apollo to the spot on which the Ionians at a later period founded the city of Colophon; having, in obedience to the commands of the oracle, married on her way Rhacius the Cretan, whose name, according to the dialect of Crete, had the double form Rhacius and Lacius.^s Augias, the Cyclic poet, mentioned the tomb of her father Teiresias at Colophon,^t which was generally supposed to be in Bœotia. The offspring of this marriage was Mopsus, who was probably called the progenitor of the family from which, even in the Roman time, the priests of the oracle were selected.^u The forms of prophecy were in this temple also similar to those at Delphi.

The other temples of Apollo on the coast of Asia Minor were generally connected with some one of the four already mentioned. The temple of Leucæ, between Smyrna and Phocæa (where the Cumæans celebrated a festival),^v was probably a member of the Trojan family, to which the Grynean Apollo, in the territory of Myrina near Cume (where there was also an oracle), appears to be related.^w Apollo

^r The Cyclic Thebaid in Schol. Apoll. Rh. IV. 308. Apollod. III. 7. 4. Diod. IV. 66. Pausan. VII. 3. 1. IX. 33. 1.

^s He was called both Πάκιος and Λάκιος, because in the Cretan dialect πάκος and λάκος were exchangeable forms, Schneider ad Nicand. Alexipharm. 11. p. 83. Compare book I. ch. 6. § 5.

^t Proclus Chrestomath.

^u Strabo XIV. p. 675. Conon Narr. 6. Tacit. Ann. II. 54. On the temple see Locella. ad

Xenoph. Ephes. p. 128. ed. Peerlkamp.

^v Diod. XV. 18. Strabo ubi sup.

^w Hecataeus ap. Steph. Byz. in Γρῦνοι. Strabo XIII. p. 622. Hermeias of Methymna wrote a treatise on the Grynean Apollo, Athen. IV. p. 149. E. Hence the temple of Apollo, the sibyl, and the Apollo δαφνηφόρος, on the coins of Myrina, which city also sent χρυσᾶ θέρη to Delphi, Plutarch. de Pyth. Orac. 16. p. 273.

Malloeis, in the territory of Mytilene, in Lesbos, was an off-shoot of the Clarian worship:^a to the same branch also belonged the oracle of Apollo at Mallus in Cilicia,^a inasmuch as it was said to have been founded by Mopsus the son of Manto.

8. The worship of Apollo also penetrated to several parts of European Greece, where it was established by Cretan adventurers on capes and headlands—particularly at Trœzen, Tænarum, Megara, and Thoricus.

TRŒZEN, as has been above remarked,^b shared with Athens both the race of her inhabitants and her worship, together with the connexion between Athens and Crete; the meaning of which will be explained hereafter.^c Hence we may conjecture the Cretan origin of the nine families, which were in existence at a late date at Trœzen, and in early times performed the rites of atonement and purification (of which Orestes was said to have been the first subject) near a laurel-tree in front of the temple of Apollo, and a sacred stone in front of the temple of the Lycean Artemis.^d

^a Malus the son of Manto, Hellanicus *ἐν Λεσβικοῖς* apud Steph. Byz. in *Μαλλόεις*. Thucyd. III. 3. Likewise in Lesbos, Apollo *Ναπαῖος* (Hellanicus ap. Steph. Byz. in *Νάπη*. cf. Strab. IX. p. 429. Suid. in *Ναπαῖος*. Macrob. Sat. I. 17. coins of Nape with the image of Apollo in Mionnet's work), *Λεπεθύμνιος*, Antigon. Caryst. 17. and *Ἐρέσιος*, Hesych. in v. In Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 144. for *ΓΟΝΝΑΠΑΙΟΥ Ἀπόλλωνος* write *ΤΟΥ ΝΑΠΑΙΟΥ Ἀπόλλωνος*.

^a Strabo XIV. p. 675 C. Arrian. II. 5. Hence perhaps the worship of Apollo came to Tarsus, Osann. Syllog. Inscr. p. 141.

^b Book I. ch. 5. § 4.

^c Pausan. II. 32. 2. *Ἀρτεμις σῶτειρα*, brought from Crete to Trœzen, ib. 31. 1.

^d Paus. II. 31. 7. 11. The temple of Apollo Thearius at Trœzen was, according to Pausan. ib. 31. 9. the most ancient in Greece. Apollo joined with Leucothea, Ælian. V. H. I. 18.

The expiatory establishment^e on the promontory of TÆNARUM was also said to have been founded by Tettix, a Cretan,^f who is merely a personified symbol of Apollo, like Lycus, Corax, Cycnus, &c., in other places. Callondas is said to have purified the soul of the murdered Archilochus at this gate of the infernal regions. Considering the proximity of Delium in Laconia^g and of the little island of Minoa to this temple, we may conclude that the origin of the above sanctuary was connected with these places.

In front of the harbour of MEGARA was another island called Minoa, and numerous legends had been there preserved in which the Cretans of Minoa (though probably only by a corruption of the original tradition) were represented as enemies and plunderers. Megara had two citadels: the Carian with the temple of Demeter, and a more modern one towards the sea, surmounted by temples of Apollo. This is said to have been built by Alcathous the son of Pelops, while Apollo stood by and played upon his lyre. A sounding-block of stone was exhibited at the place where the god lay down his lyre.^h The same fable is also alluded to by Theognis of Megara.ⁱ Here then there is a worship and temples of an earlier date than the Doric migration, and which certainly pro-

^e Called *Ψυχοπομπεῖον*, like the institutions in Thesprotia, at Phigalea and Heraclea Pontica. See book I. ch. 1. § 6.

^f Plutarch. de sera Num. Vind. 17. p. 256. Hesych. in *τέττιγος ἔδρανον*.

^g Thus Strabo VIII. p. 368. the name being derived from Delos. Also called *Ἐπιδήλιον*.

^h Pausan. I. 42. 1. 2. conf. Epigram. Adespot. 3. p. 193.

Brunck. Analect. Meziriac ad Ovid. Epist. vol. I. p. 448.—Also, Megareus the son of Apollo, in Steph. Byz. in *Μέγαρα*. comp. Dieuchidas of Megara in Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 517.

ⁱ V. 773. *Φοῖβε ἄναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπύργωσας πόλιν ἄκρην, Ἀλκαθόφ Πέλοπος παιδὶ χαρίζομενος*.

ceeded from Crete. On the former citadel stood a statue of Apollo Decatephorus,^k "the receiver of tithes," whose name is explained by the fable that the daughter of Alcathous was once sent as a tribute to Crete, like the Athenian youths and maidens. Thus a fact which will be soon proved with respect to Athens, is also true of Megara—viz., that these missions always conveyed a sacred tithe.^l

9. The process of our investigation will shortly lead us to examine the Attic legends, consisting of a confused mass of tradition, with which the worship of all the gods, including that of Apollo, was in that country perplexed.

To commence then with the legends which are connected with the temple of Apollo at THORICUS. Thoricus, situated on the south-eastern coast of Attica, was one of the ancient twelve towns of that country,

^k Δεκατηφόρος, ὃς δεκάτην φέρει, i. e. here, "he who receives it," Paus. I. 42. 1. 5. Compare an Argive inscription (Boeckh No. 1142. Δεξιστράτος Ἀρχιπ. Ἀπολλωνι δεκατ—.) Apollo was likewise worshipped at Megara under the titles of Pythius (Schol. Pind. Nem. V. 84. Philostrat. Vit. Soph. I. 24. 3.), Archagetas, Prostaterius, Carnius and Agræus. The tripod and the Delphine on the coins of Megara see Pouqueville, tom. IV. p. 131. against Clarke, vol. II. sect. II. p. 768.

^l From Megara Calchedon (see the coins) derived its worship and oracle of Apollo (Dionys. Byz. p. 23.) Not far off was Demonesus; and an Apollo of Demonesian brass is

mentioned in Pseud. Aristot. de Mirab. 59. Jungermann ad Poll. V. 5. 39. Byzantium likewise, a Megarian colony, had a temple of Apollo on the promontory of Metopon, according to Dionysius de Bosp. Thrac. Byzantium, moreover, had evidently derived from its parent city, but in an exaggerated form, the tradition of the foundation of the city by Apollo, and that this god placed his lyre upon a tower. Hence the seven resounding towers (Hesych. Miles. ap. Codin. p. 2. 3. Dionys. Byz. p. 6. Dio Cass. LXXIV. 14): also the fable of the dolphin charmed by the sound of the lyre (Dionysius pag. 9. Gyllius de Constantinop. pag. 285.) evidently belongs to the Megarian worship.

and always remained a place of consequence, of which there are still extant considerable remains. Favoured by its situation, it soon became a commercial station; Cretan vessels were accustomed in ancient times to anchor in its harbour.^m The fable of Cephalus and Procris appears, from some poetical and mythological accounts, to have been connected with Crete and the worship of Apollo.ⁿ We know for certain that the Cephalidæ, who existed at a still later period in Attica,^o preserved some hereditary rites of Apollo: for when in the tenth generation Chalcinus and Dætus, the descendants of the hero, returned to the country which their ancestor had quitted in consequence of murder, they immediately built a temple to that god on the road to Eleusis.^p

10. But the fable of Cephalus was also connected with another great temple of Apollo, which in the west of Greece looked down from the chalky cliffs of the promontory of Leucatas over the Ionian sea, and of which there are ruins still extant.^q Now Cephalus, the hero of Thoricus, is said to have gained these regions in company with Amphitryon:^r he is also said to have first made the celebrated leap from the rock of Leucatas.^s This leap, doubtless, had originally a religious meaning, and was an expia-

^m Homer. Hymn. Cer. 126.

ⁿ See Pherecydes ap. Schol. Od. XI. 320. Apollod. II. 4. 7. Observ. ad Apollod. p. 333.

^o Κεφαλίδαι γένος Ἀθήνησιν, Hesychius.

^p Paus. I. 37. 4.

^q See Strabo X. p. 452. Thuc. III. 94. Propert. III. 9. ad fin. Servius ad Æn. III. 271. Dodwell, vol. I. p. 53. Hughes, vol. I. p. 402. has a Leucadian in-

scription, Ἀπολλωνιάται ἑκοδόμησαν.

^r Aristot. in Ithac. Rep. ap. Etymol. M. in Ἀρκείσιος, Heraclid. Pont. 17 and 37. ed. Koehler. Heyne ad Apollod. II. 4. 7.

^s Apollod. III. 15. 1. According to the ancient Charon of Lampsacus, Phobus of Phocæa was the first who took this leap, Plutarch. Virt. Mul. p. 289.

tory rite. At the Athenian festival of Thargelia, a festival sacred to Apollo, criminals, crowned as victims, were led to the edge of a rock, and thrown down to the bottom; and the same ceremony appears to have been performed on certain sacred occasions at Leucatas.¹ Here, however, the fall of the criminal was broken by tying feathers, and even birds, to his body; below, he was taken up, and conveyed to a distance, that he might carry away with him every particle of guilt. This was without doubt the original meaning of the leap of Cephalus, who was stained with the guilt of homicide, and on that very account a fugitive from his country. According to a legend noticed in an ancient epic poem, his purification took place at Thebes;² whereas the Leucadian tradition doubtless represented his leap from the rock as the act of atonement.

In later times, indeed, the object of this leap was totally altered; it was supposed to be a specific for disappointed love.³ This singular application of the ancient custom gave a romantic colour to the legend connected with it. Cephalus and Procris were also represented in after-times as tormented by love and jealousy. Probably the story partly obtained this form in Cyprus, the island of Aphrodite, whither the fable of Cephalus⁴ was early carried by Attic settlers. But in whatever manner it was perverted, we cannot doubt that the leap of Cephalus from the

¹ Κατ' ἐνίαντον, Strabo X. p. 452. Ovid. Fast. V. 630. Tristia *Leucadio sacra peracta modo*. Photius Lex. Λευκάτης. σκοπελὸς τῆς ἡπείρου, ἀφ' οὗ ῥίπτουσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πέλαγος οἱ ἱερεῖς.

² Photius in Τευμησία, from the ἐπικὸς κύκλος.

³ Stesichorus apud Athen. XIV. p. 619. D. and Sappho. Compare Hardion. *Sur le saut de Leucade*, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. VII. p. 245.

⁴ See Hesych. in Θόρικος. Ptolem. Hephaest. 7.

Leucadian rock was a part of the expiatory worship of Apollo.

These considerations refer to the Cretan rites solemnized at Thoricus. In Athens itself, the traditions of Crete and Delphi being found united together, it is necessary that we should first return to the latter place, and follow the Pythian worship through BÆOTIA.

11. This indeed is neither the time nor place to relate how the Pythian worship, in spite of the opposition of hostile races, traced the route of the procession through the passes of Parnassus. The fact is indeed evident from an almost unbroken chain of temples and oracles, the links of which, viz., Thurium, Tilphossium, the temple of Galaxius, the oracle of Eutresis, the Ismenium, Tenerium, Ptoum, and Tegyra, are all connected either by tradition or religious rites with Delphi. Delium is probably the only place on the eastern coast founded from Delos. Pindar represents the establishment of several such temples under the form of a migration of the god himself.⁵

I shall content myself with noticing a few of the temples above-mentioned.

The first in order is the oracle at the fountain of Tilphossa under Mount Helicon, famous for the grave of Tiresias and the monument of Rhadamanthus, who is said to have dwelt here with Alcmena the mother of Hercules.⁶ To this spot were attached some remarkable traditions of the Cretan worshippers of Apollo, forming a branch of the colonization of Cirrha; which is alluded to in Homer's account of

⁵ Fragment of the Παρθένια, ⁶ See below, ch. 11. § 8. p. 595. ed. Boeckh.

Thracians the Thracians' bringing Rhadamanthus to Eubœa for the purpose of seeing Tityus;^b—a remarkable passage, which I can only understand to mean that the Cretan hero was desirous to see Tityus, who was vanquished by Apollo.

Tegyra was a place of great importance in the Bœotian tradition, as being the birthplace of Apollo.* The Delphian oracle was more favourable to this tradition than to that of Delos. Pindar^d represents the youthful god as coming to take possession of Pytho from Tegyra, not, as the Attic poets, from Delos.

12. The identity of the Bœotian with the Delphian worship of Apollo was particularly striking in the temple of Ismene at Thebes. As at Delphi the Python was slain and the laurel broken anew every eight years, so at Thebes a procession of laurel-bearers took place at the same periods, the use of which, as a measure of time, is evident.* Here also, as at Delphi, the statue of Athene was placed in front of the temple (*πρόναος*).^f Tripods were the sacred vessels in both temples, though never employed in the latter for the purpose of prophecy. In later times the priests were contented with observing omens from the flame and ashes of sacrifices,^g like the *πυρκόοι* of Delphi;^h al-

^b Od. VII. 322.

^c Plutarch. de Def. Orac. 5.

^d According to the emendation *Τεγύρας* for *Τανάγρας* in fragm. incert. 14. Boeckh.

^e See *Orchomenos*, p. 220. Boeckh in the Berlin Transactions on the Oration against Midias, below, ch. 8. § 4.

^f Pausan. IX. 10. See Stanley ad Æsch. Eum. 21.

^g Herod. VIII. 134. Soph. Œd. T. 21. *μαντεία σκοδῶ*, Phi-

lochorus ap. Schol. ad l.

^h Hesych. in v. Also the lots burnt in the sacred fire, according to the same grammarian, *φρυκτὸς Δελφοῖς κλήρος*. Compare Boeckh Explic. Pind. Ol. VIII. 2. and Plutarch de Frat. Am. 20. To this custom likewise refer the *Φοῖβου ἑσχάραι* in Eurip. Phœn. 292, and the name of the ancient priest of the Delphic oracle *πύρκειον*. See the Eumolpia in Paus. X. 5. 3.

though the mode of delivering oracles, from a mental enthusiasm, was prevalent also in Thebes at an earlier period; at least Tiresias (whom we may consider as a prophet of the temple of Ismene)ⁱ does not, either in Homer or the tragedians, appear as a diviner from fire.

That, however, the whole worship of Apollo was not one of those originally instituted at Thebes, will be evident from the following observations. In the ancient legends respecting Cadmus, in which Demeter, Cora, Cadmus, and afterwards Bacchus, predominate in succession, Apollo never appears in a conspicuous character. For particular additions of the poets may be easily distinguished from the genuine popular tradition. The fable, that Cadmus, after the slaughter of the serpent, was, like Apollo, compelled to live *eight* years in slavery,^k must be considered as a poetical transposition. Cadmus and Apollo had originally no points of resemblance to each other. The situation of the temple of Apollo at Thebes is a most convincing proof that his worship was totally distinct from any other. Those of the ancient national gods were built on the citadel of Cadmeia, whilst Apollo was not only not worshipped in the citadel, but even without the gates, in the temple of Ismene,^l which, according to Pausanias, must have been situated opposite to the temple of Hercules and the house of Amphitryon. This proximity of the hero and god, as well as all other points of union between the two at Thebes, will

ⁱ The stone of Manto in front of the temple, Paus. IX. 10. *μαντίων θῶκος*. Pind. Pyth. XI. 6.

^k The serpent of Cadmus is also by later writers called Castalius and *Δελφίνιος*, Creuzer ad Nonni Narr. in Melet. vol.

I. p. 93.

^l Apollo Polius was also without the gates at Thebes, Paus. IX. 12. 1. Apollo was likewise worshipped in the village of Calydna near Thebes, Androtion ap. Steph. Byz. in *Κάλυδνα*.

be employed for the purpose of establishing further conclusions, when we explain the legend of Hercules.^m

To settle with any accuracy, from the traditions concerning Tiresias and Hercules, the time at which the Boeotian temples of Apollo were founded, seems hardly possible, since the former contain no chronological information, and the latter are entirely unconnected with the rest of the Theban mythology. A tradition respecting the establishment of the festival of the Daphnephoria places it at the time of the Æolian migration,ⁿ whence it might perhaps be inferred that the Æolians introduced the worship of Apollo into Boeotia. This hypothesis would however involve us in endless perplexities; and it is most probable that its diffusion was gradually effected, soon after the settlement at Cirrha, about the time at which the worship of Apollo rose to importance at Athens.

13. The introduction of this worship into ATTICA coincides exactly with the passage of the Ionians into that country. The traditions respecting the most ancient kings, Cecrops, Erichthonius, and Erechtheus, chiefly refer to the temples, symbols, and festival rites of Athene; and this goddess, together with the other deities of the Acropolis, plays the principal part in them, particularly in her connexion with the blessings of husbandry. But with the reign of Ion the Attic mythology assumes quite a different character.^o This seems to me a complete refutation of the assertion of the Ionians as to their identity with the aboriginal nation of the Pelasgians.^p Still more evident is it

^m Below, ch. 11. § 7.

ⁿ See *Orchomenos*, pp. 234. 393.

^o See the author's work *De*

Minerva Poliade, p. 2.

^p Herodot. I. 56. VII. 94. VIII. 44.

then, that in proportion as the Ionians, being a warlike nation,^q separated themselves from the original inhabitants, whose employment was agriculture and pasturing, their Hellenic worship deviated from the ancient one of the country. Aristotle indeed speaks of the paternal Apollo (Ἀπόλλων πατρῷος) as being a son of Athene and Hephæstus;^r but this is nothing more than an endeavour to create a family connexion between the principal gods of the same town: for where do we ever find a temple dedicated conjointly to Athene and Apollo? what ceremonies and sacrifices were offered to them in common? and in what legends are they found connected? Till such an union of the two deities is discovered, we must consider Athene as an ancient and native deity, Apollo as one of much later introduction. The Athenians, indeed, maintained that an ancient hero of their country, Erysichthon, a son of Cecrops himself, erected the first statue of Apollo at Delos:^s but it is easy to recognise in this account the attempt of the Athenians to fortify their claims to the dominion of the Delian temple, and to represent their rights as prior to all others. In all that is related of the Ionian princes (to whom Ægeus^t and Theseus belong) with reference to religious institutions, mention is seldom made of the ancient Athenian deities, Athene and Hephæstus. The whole is

^q Hence Ion is called the πολέμαρχος or στρατηγός of the Athenians, Herod. VIII. 44. Paus. I. 31. 2. II. 14. 2. VII. 1. 2. &c. hence also Euripides says (Ion 1319) that "the shield and spear was the whole patrimony of Xuthus."

^r Cicero de Nat. Deor. III. 22. 23. Lydus de Mens. p. 105.

^s See Phanodemus ap. Athen.

IX. p. 392. Plutarch. ap. Euseb. præp. ev. II. p. 99. fragm. 10. p. 291. ed. Hutten. Euseb. Canon. 497. comp. Paus. I. 18. 5. Legends of this kind were greatly amplified by Attic orators, who, like Hyperides before the Amphictyons, had to defend the claims of Athens upon Delos.

^t Μηδὲν προσήκων ἔρεχθεΐδαις, Plutarch Thes. 13.

taken up with accounts either of the establishment of the worship of Poseidon (which prevailed in the Ionian cities and in the places of their national assemblies), or the establishment and maintenance of an intercourse with the temples of Apollo at Delos, Delphi, and Cnosus.

14. In the second place, the fabulous history of these heroes also concerns the worship of Apollo, in so far as the origin of the Pythian Theorias is contained in it. Ion is even a real son or adopted disciple of the Pythian god; and in all probability there was no more difference originally between his two fathers, Apollo and Xuthus,^a than between the two fathers of Theseus, Ægeus and Poseidon. Theseus consecrated his hair to the same god; a place at Delphi was called Thesea.^x It is also related of Ægeus, that his kingdom, embracing the plain of Attica, stretched as far as Pythium, where it bordered on Megaris.^y This Pythium was situated in the "sacred Cenoë,"^z a fortified borough town of the tribe Hippothoontis, on the frontiers of Megaris, Bœotia, and Attica,^a to the north of the plain of Eleusis, and in a district of remarkable fertility.^b

This temple was manifestly built on the frontiers in

^a *Ξεῖνος* is the "bright" "shining" god, another form of *ξανθός*. See below, ch. 6. § 7. *Αἰγέως*, from *αἶγες*, "the waves of the sea," is equivalent to *Ποσειδῶν Αἰγαῖος*.

^x Plutarch Thes. 5.

^y Strabo IX. p. 392. after Sophocles and Philochorus. Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Lys. 58. Vesp. 1218. Schol. Eurip. Hipp. 35.

^z Philochorus apud Schol. Soph. CEd. Col. 1047. ed. Elmsl.

^a Compare Barbié du Bocage's *Histoire de la bourgade d'Énoë la sacrée* at the end of Stanhope's Plan of Plataea.

^b Hence Sophocles ubi sup. calls the district of Eleusis *Πυθίας ἀκτὰς*. The Scholiast confounds the Cenoë of the tribe Hippothoontis with that of the tribe Aiantis. The situation of the Pythium is correctly treated by Reisig Enarr. CEd. Col. p. 134.

order to afford a resting-place to the sacred procession, which in the beginning of the spring went from Athens to Pytho. For if favourable omens had been observed in the town itself, and it was intended to despatch the procession, the prophet in the Pythium at Cenoë performed sacrifices every day, in order to procure a favourable journey, just as the Delian procession was regulated by omens observed in the Delium at Marathon.^c The families charged with the preparations for sending the procession (probably all of ancient Ionian extraction) were called Pythaistæ and Deliaistæ.^d The omens looked for were the *Pythian lightnings*, a very unusual mode of divination in Greece. The Pythaistæ took their station in the town, near the altar of Zeus Astrapæus, between the Olympieium and Pythium, both of which were among the earliest sanctuaries, although they first owed their magnificence to Pisistratus.^e From this spot it was the custom to watch for nine nights, during three months, a lofty peak of mount Parnes,^f called Harma; and it was only in case the wished-for lightnings flashed favourably over the heights that the embassy could proceed along the Pythian road. This road led from Athens, near mount Corydallus (on which there was a temple of Apollo),^g through the Eleusinian

^c In the passage of Philochorus ubi sup. read *οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους Πυθιάδα καὶ Δηλιάδα*, for *οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους Πυθίαι δὲ καὶ Δηλιάδες*.

^d The *Δηλιασταὶ* occurred in the laws of Solon, Athen. VI. p. 234 E. the *Πυθαῖσται* are mentioned in Steph. Byz. in *Πυθῶ*.

^e Strabo IX. p. 404 C. Eurip. Ion. 285. On the Pythium,

see Thuc. II. 15. VI. 54. Isæus p. 113. 187. Suidas in *Πύθιον*. Suidas, Hesychius, Prov. *ἐν Πυθίῳ*.

^f Strabo IX. p. 404. Steph. Byz. in *ἄρμα*. Eustath. ad Il. β' 499. Hesych. in *ἀστράπτει*. Prov. in *ὅταν δι' Ἄρματος*.

^g Pausan. Dodwell vol. II. p. 170.

plain to Cēnoë; from thence through the pass of Dryoscephalæ to Bœotia, where it touched either Thespiæ or Thebes, then Lebadeia and Chæronea, and then passed on by Panopeus and Daulis through the defile between Parnassus and Cirphis to Delphi: a mountain road which the Athenians declared that they had themselves opened,^h and which Theseus is said to have freed from robbers,ⁱ in the same manner that he purified the road to the Isthmus from monsters. This was also the sacred road for the Peloponnesians, if we except that part of it which traversed Attica.^k

There still remains to be mentioned a remarkable fact respecting Cēnoë, which will greatly assist us in explaining the fable of the voyage of Theseus to Crete: I allude to the existence of a tomb of Androgeus, the son of Minos, whom the natives had put to death as he was passing on the Pythian road.^l A Cretan was murdered in the sacred way of the Cretan worship; Minos came to take vengeance for the violation of the sacred armistice; and hence Athens was obliged to send a tribute to Cnosus. Now the nature of this tribute may be perceived from a tradition preserved by Aristotle,^m that the boys who were sent to Crete by the Athenians lived at Cnosus as slaves; and that

^h See Æsch. Eum. 12. πέμπουσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ σεβρίζουσιν μέγα κελευθοποιὸι παῖδες Ἡφαίστου. Compare Ephorus ap. Strab. IX. p. 422 D. Aristid. Panath. vol. I. p. 329. Orchomenos p. 36. 188.

ⁱ This rare tradition is preserved in the Schol. Æsch. Eum. 13. Schol. Aristid. p. 107. ed. Frommel.

^k This explains Herod. VI. 34. ἰόντες δὲ οἱ Δόλογχοι τὴν ἱρὴν

ὁδὸν διὰ Φωκίων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἦσαν. καὶ σφεας ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐκάλεε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπ' Ἀθηνέων.

^l There is a trace of the correct tradition in Diod. IV. 60. cf. Serv. ad Æn. VI. 14. The funeral games of Laius were made by the poets the motive for this journey.

^m Ἐν πολιτείᾳ Βορτιαίων ap. Plutarch. Thes. 16. cf. Qu. Gr. 35. Conon. Narr. c. 25.

afterwards, when the Cretans, in consequence of an ancient vow, sent a tithe of men to Delphi, the descendants of these slaves went with them, and subsequently passed from thence to Italy. From this it appears that the Athenians were compelled to send sacred slaves to the chief temple at Cnosus, viz., that of Apollo. For this reason these missions took place every eight years (δι' ἐννέα ἐτῶν);ⁿ that is, probably at every Ennaëteris of the Cretan and Delphic festival; and for the same reason they consisted of seven young men and women, as this number was especially sacred to Apollo.^o

It is well known how much this tradition was disfigured by the Athenians (originally perhaps in their popular legends, and afterwards by the poets), in what an odious light it was represented, and so mixed up with extraneous matter, that we should only render the problem too difficult if we attempted to investigate the whole of its component parts.

We may however affirm with certainty that the voyage of Theseus to Crete had originally no other meaning than the landings at Naxos^p and Delos, which were connected with it—viz., a propagation of religious worship.

ⁿ Plutarch Thes. 15. Diod. IV. 61. Ovid. Metaph. VIII. 171.

^o The chief passage on the septenary number of the boys and girls sent to Crete is Servius ad Æn. VI. 21. *Septena quotannis (κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν) quidam septem pueros et septem puellas accipi volunt, quod et Plato dixit in Phædone (p. 58.) et Sappho in Lyricis (p. 255. in Wolf's Poetr. Gr.) et Bacchy-*

lides in Dithyrambis (p. 17. ed. Neue.) et Euripides in Hercule (v. 1331.), quos liberavit secum Theseus.

^p The visit to Naxos originally signified a transmission of the worship of Dionysus and Ariadne to that island, which rites had been kept up at the festival of the Ὀσχοφόρια, though confounded with the laurel-bearing procession of Apollo.

The landing at Delos is a mythical type of the theorias, which the Athenians, in common with all the Ionian islands, had from early times sent to this place;^a moreover, the ship which conveyed Theseus home was always regarded as a sacred vessel. It was sent out at the Thargelia, after the priest, on the sixth day of Thargelion, had crowned the poop.^r

Amongst other Delian rites the worship of Eilithyia was also at that time brought over to Athens, probably from the island of Crete, where an ancient cavern of the goddess, near Amnisus, has been already mentioned.^a One point at which the procession from Attica to Crete touched was the borough town and harbour of Prasîæ, on the eastern coast of Attica, where, besides the temple of Apollo, was the tomb of Erysichthon, the Delian and Athenian hero; and tradition represented the gifts of the Hyperboreans to have been transported from this port to that sacred island.^t

Lastly, the origin of the Delphinian expiatory festival from Delphi and Crete is as evident as its introduction by the Ionian princes; for Ægeus dwelt in the Delphinium, and was there buried. To him was also ascribed the establishment of the Del-

^a Boeckh Economy of Athens, vol. II. p. 150. Erysichthon is said to have sent the ξόανον with theorias to Delos, Plutarch Fragm. 10. p. 291. ed. Hutten.

^r This confirms a fact which we collected from other sources, viz., that the Thargelian Apollo was the same god as that worshipped at Delos and Crete.—There was an ancient writing on this subject preserved in the Daphnephoreum at Phyle in Attica, Theophrastus ap. Athen.

X. p. 424 F. The origin of the Thargelia is also referred to Crete by a tradition, that this festival arose from the expiatory rites for the murder of Androgeus, Helladius ap. Phot. in Gronov. Thes. Ant. Gr. vol. X. p. 978.

^a Paus. I. 18. 5. τὰ μὲν δὲ δύο ξόανα εἶναι Κρητικά. See above, ch. 1. § 5.

^t Pyth. I. 31. Compare Dodwell, vol. I. p. 532.

phinian tribunal. Theseus, previously to his expedition to Crete, here placed the olive-branch, bound with wool, on the sixth day of Munychion,^u and purified himself from the murder of the Pallantidæ.^x

15. The political situation of the worship of Apollo at Athens still requires to be noticed. From our previous observations it is clear that the Ionians had adopted it from the Dorians; hence Ion himself is called the son of the Pythian god. The paternal deity of Athens was, as Demosthenes says, no other than the Pythian Apollo.^y We may then assert, without hesitation, that the Ionians were the only race who had gentilitious rites of Apollo, and that they alone could properly be called γενῆται Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῶου. Thus, when the archons at the scrutiny swore, that besides Zeus Herceus, the household god, they worshipped also Apollo πατρῶος;^z this form of oath originated at a time when the Eupatridæ, that is, the noble Ionic and Hellenic families, were alone eligible to the dignity of the archonship. Nor was it till, by the timocracy of Solon and democracy of Aristides, the richer class in general and the whole

^u Plutarch Thes. 12. 14. 18. cf. Paus. I. 19. 1. On his return Theseus sacrifices to Apollo and Diana as οὐλίοι θεοί, Pherecydes ap. Macrob. Sat. I. 17. frag. 59. ed. Sturz. comp. Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 40. 46.

^x See Pollux VIII. 10. 119.

^y Demosth. de Coron. p. 274. cf. Aristot. ap. Harpocrat. in Ἀπόλλων πατρῶος. The Athenians had πατρῶοι θεοί at Delphi, Demosth. Epist. p. 1481. Apollo's Attic title of πατρῶος is explained from his being the πατὴρ of Ion; it is

possible, however, that he was so called as being the god of the πατῆραι of the Ionians. Apollo was also called λεσχηνόριος at Athens (Plutarch Ei 2. p. 217. Suidas in v.); perhaps as being the titular deity of the 360 Λέσχαι of the 360 γένη at Athens, Proclus ad Hesiod. Op. et Di. p. 116. Heins. Cleanthus ap. Harpocrat. in Λέσχαι, Meursius ad Lycophr. 543.

^z γενῆται Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῶου καὶ Διὸς ἱερκείου, Demosth. adv. Eubulid. p. 1315. 15. Pollux VIII. 85.

people were admitted to this office, that Apollo *πατρῷος* was considered as a deity common to all families.^a The democratical judges of Athens also yearly took an oath before this deity:^b this ceremony was at first perhaps only required of the criminal judges of aristocratical descent, viz., the Ephetæ. It is however clear that originally the religion of Apollo was adapted for the military caste alone, the ancient Hopletes; hence he was not a god of artisans and husbandmen, but of warriors. Hence also Ion or Xuthus adopted him as the Athenian god of war (*πολέμαρχος*) at the festival of Boedromia,^c the name of which is derived from the onset of armed troops in battle.

As originally the Eupatridæ alone cultivated the worship of Apollo, they alone possessed the ceremony of purification, which is here, as elsewhere, mixed up with the rites of the Cretan worship. According to Plutarch,^d Ion had instructed the Athenians in religion, i. e., in that of Apollo; and the same author relates,^e that Theseus established the Eupatridæ as administrators of the government, judges, and interpreters of the sacred rites (*ἐξηγηταὶ ὁσίων καὶ ἱερῶν*).

^a As appears from Plato, Euthyd. p. 302 B. cf. Schol. et Heindorf. p. 404.

^b Pollux VIII. 122.

^c Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 69. with the Schol. and Spanheim. Harpocrat. in *Βοηδρομία*. Suidas and Etym. M. in *βοηδρομεῖν*. Hence the archon Polemarchus administered justice in the Lyceum, the temple of Apollo Lyceus, near the statue of a wolf, Suidas in *ἄρχων*. Bekker Anecd. vol. I. p. 449. Hesych. in *ἐπιλύκιον*. Λυκαμβίς ἀρχὴ of

the polemarch, according to Cratinus, Hesych. in v. And in general all the courts at Athens were under the protection of the wolf, viz., Apollo, Eratosth. ap. Harpocrat. in *δέκάζων*. Lexic. and Paræmiogr. in *λύκων δέκας*. Etymol. M. in *δεκασαι*.

^d In Colot. p. 31.

^e Thes. 25. According to Plato Rep. IV. p. 427. Apollo is the *πάτριος ἐξηγητής* of the Athenians.

By this we are to understand that it was their duty to give information respecting every thing which regarded the *jus sacrum*; which in ancient times especially comprehended expiations and excommunications for homicide. The rites necessary at purification were also entirely in the hands of the Eupatridæ, and formed part of their hereditary rites (*πάτρια*);^f and this is the reason why in old times they took cognizance of every homicide, and in later times of manslaughter, the connexion of which duties with the worship of Apollo will be shown hereafter.^g

I have been induced to place these points in as strong a light as possible, from the democratical tendency of Athenian poetry, which endeavoured to obliterate all traces of the forcible occupation of Attica, and of the foreign extraction of the families of the Eupatridæ. On this account the vacant period between the times of the Erechthidæ and Ægidæ was notoriously supplied by arbitrary insertions, and the fable of Ion represented in a thousand various ways. This tendency is also recognised in the tragedy of Ion by Euripides, the artful and ingenious plan of which cannot be sufficiently admired. According to the ancient tradition, Ion was the son of the hero Xuthus, or of the Pythian Apollo (who were originally considered as identical), and probably of Creusa, a native of Attica, which was a mode of expressing his new settlement there. Euripides, on the other hand, separates Ion from Xuthus,^h who is always represented as somewhat rude and coarse, and

^f Hence Dorotheus (ap. Athen. IX. p. 410 A.) *ἐν τοῖς τῶν εὐπατριδῶν* (not *τῶν θυγατριδῶν*) *πατρίοις* treated of the purification of suppliants.

^g Below, ch. 8. § 6.

^h By representing the notion that Xuthus was the father of Ion as a mere deceit of Xuthus.

even tyrannical,¹ and so alters the whole story, that the hero does not appear as a new comer, but as the legitimate offspring of the female line of the race of the Erechthidæ. By this device the poet preserved the idea that the Athenians were an aboriginal nation, on which they so prided themselves,² and set aside, in a manner most agreeable to their feelings, the fable which contradicted this claim to antiquity. Ion himself in the tragedy gives utterance to some very popular sentiments; and of the power of aristocracy, once so firmly established, the last faint memorial is almost buried in oblivion.¹

CHAP. III.

§ 1. Diffusion of the worship of Apollo in Peloponnesus by the Dorians. § 2. His Introduction by the Dorians at the Olympic festival. § 3. Influence of the Delphian oracle of Apollo. Subjects of the oracle. § 4. Migrations caused by the oracle. § 5. Connexion of the temple of Delphi with the Amphictyons of Thermopylæ. § 6. Worship of Apollo in Asia Minor and the islands. § 7. In Italy and Sicily, in Apollonia and Cyrene.

1. WE now come to the *third* epoch of the propagation of the worship of Apollo. The first embraced the earliest migrations of the Doric nation, when the great temples at Delphi, Cnossus, and Delos were founded from Tempe. The second period is that of

¹ For example v. 668. Ὑμῖν δὲ σιγᾶν, δμῳτῖδες, λέγω τάδε, ἢ θάνατον εἰπύσαισι πρὸς δάμαρτ' ἐμήν.

² V. 591. Εἰναί φασι τὰς αὐτόχθονας Κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας οὐκ ἐπίστακτον γένος, &c.

¹ The view taken in the text on the Ion of Euripides has been approved, since the first publication of this work, by Hermann, in the preface to his edition of that tragedy, p. 32.

the maritime supremacy of Minos, when the coasts of Asia and Greece were covered with groves and expiatory altars of this god. The third comprehends the chief migration of the Dorians, and others occasioned by it. Through these means Apollo became the principal deity in Peloponnesus, where, in early times, we find few traces of his existence. That the Carnean Apollo of the Lacedæmonians, and the Apollo Nomius of the Arcadians, form no exceptions to our assertion, will be proved in a subsequent inquiry into the nature and origin of these worships.^a

After the Doric conquest of Peloponnesus, the chief temples were every where consecrated to Apollo. We have already spoken of the sanctuary of Apollo Pythæus, in which the Argive confederacy held their meetings;^b nor was the temple of Apollo Lyceus in the market-place less celebrated.^c The Spartans also worshipped this deity under the former name,^d and the inhabitants of Sicyon under the latter.^e Hecatus, it

^a Below, ch. 5, § 2. ch. 8. § 15.

^b Book I. ch. 5, § 3. comp. Pausan. II. 24. 1. He was also called Δειραδιώτης, from the height. There was likewise divination there, Telesilla ap. Pausan. II. 35. 2 — 36. 5. Πυθαεὺς and Κρηταεὺς are Doric forms; the hero Pythæus cannot be separated from the god. Zeus, Apollo, and Hercules, were the deities of the city of Argos, Liv. XXXII. 33.

^c Thucyd. II. 47. Sophocles. Electr. 7. Hence Λύκειος ἀγορά, Sophocles, Hesych. in v. The Argive coins with the wolf refer to this statue, comp. Pausan. VIII. 40. 3. Here was also an

oracle, Plut. Pyrrh. 31. 31. where write, ἡ τοῦ Λυκείου προφητείας Ἀπόλλωνος. At Argos also stood the statue of Apollo Ζωτειάρας, Hesych. in v. A temple of Latona, Pausan. II. 21.

^d Aleman Fragm. 35, 36. ed. Welcker. Herod. I. 69. comp. Bast. ad Gregor. Corinth. p. 187. At Sparta, according to Hesychius, Λυκιάδες κόραι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τριάκοντα αἱ τὸ ὕδωρ κομίζουσαι εἰς τὸ Λύκειον (a kind of Hydrophoria).

^e Pausan. II. 9. 7. Respecting the ancient temple of Apollo there, and a brass statue, see Pseud-Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. p. 59. Pausan. II. 11. 2. Polyb. XVII. 16. 2. The tradition

is pretended, was a soothsayer; who came with the sons of Aristodemus to Sparta; and his descendant, in the second Messenian war, held the same office:^f the name of this family refers to the worship of Apollo Hecatus (the far-darting god). At Sparta Apollo was the national deity; the kings sacrificed to him on the first and seventh days of every month;^g the influence of the capital city had also caused its general extension throughout the country.^h Corinth,ⁱ Epidaurus,^k Ægina,^l and Trœzen^m followed the same example.

The name of the Delphian god had now attained throughout Peloponnesus the universal respect which it so long enjoyed: it had even led the way to the set-

respecting its foundation by Epopeus is not worth notice. Cleisthenes was the person who instituted the Pythian games, Schol. Pind. Nem. IX. 49, 76. comp. Boeckh and Dissen Explic. p. 451. Apollo had there an *ιερά χώρα*, Polyb. ubi sup. Liv. XXXII. 40.

^f Pausan. IV. 15. 5. The Messenians at Naupactus had also a temple of Apollo (Thucyd. II. 91.); and the coins of the Messenians of Sicily afford proof of the same worship. Concerning the ancient temple at Æpea, Pausan. IV. 34. 4.

^g Herod. VI. 57.

^h Apollo Acreitas, Pausan. III. 12. 7. At Thornax Apollo Pythaëus, III. 11. 2. Hesych. in *Θόρναξ*, cf. in *Θοράτης*. Apollo Maleates, Pausan. III. 12. 8. Thucyd. VII. 26. Apollo *Λιθήσιος*, Steph. Byz. Suid. in v. comp. Pausan. II. 27. 8. Apollo at Geronthræ, Boeckh Inscript. N°. 1334.

ⁱ Herod. II. 32. Plutarch

Arat. 40. Pausan. II. 5. 4. Hesych. in *Ζωτελιστής*. At Corinth, Apollo, as at Argos, was *ἀγορῆς καλλίχορου πρύτανις*, Simonides in Palat. Anthol. VI. 212. On the temple of Apollo at Sicyon, likewise in the market-place, Ampel. Liber. Memor. 8.

^k Pausan. II. 26. 3. comp. the inscriptions of the temple of Æsculapius, Boeckh. Inscript. N°. 1175, 1176. The temple of Apollo Ægyptius belongs to the time of the Antonines.

^l In this island a temple of Apollo was connected with the Thearion (see Dissen ad Pind. Nem. III. p. 376.), with the worship of Apollo *Δελφίνιος*, *Οίκιστής*, and *Δωματίτης*, and the festival of the Hydrophoria. Æginetica, p. 150. cf. 135.

^m Above, ch. 2. § 8. The Pythian games, according to Pausan. II. 32. 2. founded by Diomed, are probably of a later date.

tlement and conquest of that peninsula, and hence Apollo was called by the Dorians their *leader* and *founder*.ⁿ It was not till a later period that the kings of Messenia (who upon the whole adhered less strictly to the Doric customs than the Spartans) entered into a connexion with the sanctuary at Delos, which had then already fallen into the power of the Ionians. About the fifth Olympiad (760 B.C.) Eumelus, the Corinthian poet, composed an ode for a Messenian chorus to that holy island.^o On the other hand, it was owing to the Dorians (particularly to the Spartans) that the Pythian sanctuary remained independent, in the hands of the Delphians; to preserve it in this state was one of the duties which they inherited from their fathers;^p and they protected it more than once, particularly against the Athenians.

2. The political power of the Dorians over the whole of Peloponnesus necessarily ensured the preponderance of their religious institutions; nevertheless we find that the Achæans and Arcadians possessed few temples of Apollo, and those not the principal ones in their cities.^q The worship of Apollo was however, through Spartan influence, held in great respect at Tegea (the customs of which town had indeed become almost entirely Doric), where there was also a tribe called Apolloneatis.^r The country moreover being intersected in every direction by roads to Olympia and Delphi (to which place Peloponnesus despatched her

ⁿ ἀρχηγέτης, δωματίτης, οἰκιστής (Æginetica, p. 150, note^k); for, as Callimachus says (Hymn. Apoll. 55.), Φοῖβος ἀεὶ πολεῖσσι φιληδεῖ Κτιζομένῃς.

^o Pausan. IV. 4. 1. 33. 3. cf. V. 25. 1.

^p Thucyd. V. 18. IV. 118.

^q Among the Achæans of Patræ. Pausan. VII. 21. 4.— of Ægira. id. VII. 26. 3. comp. the tradition respecting Bolina, id. VII. 23. 3.

^r Pausan. VIII. 53. 1.

hecatombs in the beginning of the spring),* must have been by this very circumstance induced to establish temples in honour of Apollo, an instance of which appears in that at Onceum.

The principal deity of the Doric name soon obtained a conspicuous place in the national festival, held equally sacred by all Peloponnesians; I mean that of Olympia. The establishment of this festival is probably of early date; perhaps it took place during the time when the dominion of the Pelopidæ spread from Pisa and Olympia over most parts of the peninsula. Hence the Elean Ætolians, when they seized upon the presidency of these games, were, by the command of the oracle, at the same time obliged to take one of the Pelopidæ from the Achæan town of Helice for their prince.[†] Moreover, the ancient rivalry between the Olympian and Isthmian worship, which occasioned the prohibition against any Elean contending at the Isthmus,[‡] can hardly have arisen at any other time than when (previously to the Doric usurpation) the Olympian Zeus was the chief god of the Achæans,[§] the Isthmian Poseidon of the Ionians.

But it was not till the Dorians, for the purpose of assembling all the Peloponnesians, at least every four years, under the protection of their god, had taken possession of the temple at Olympia; nor till Iphitus the Ætolian, and Lycurgus the Dorian, had renewed these contests, or given them a greater degree of importance, that Apollo and Zeus are found in connexion with each other, and even contending in the course at

* ἥρος ἐπερχομένου. Theognis V. 2. 4. VI. 16. 2. of Megara, v. 777.

† Pausan. V. 4. 2.

‡ On this enmity, to which so many legends refer, see Pausan.

§ That Zeus was the chief god of the Eleans is evident from the confederate temple at Ægium and elsewhere.

Olympia. And as a further instance of change, the sacred armistice of Olympia went by the local name of Therma;[†] and hence Apollo, as the patron and guardian deity of the institution, was called Thermius, and worshipped under that title in the grove of Altis.[‡] At this time Hercules (whose worship, once entirely unknown in Elis, was introduced by Iphitus)[§] is also reported to have brought the wild olive-tree from the Hyperboreans to the Alpheus, and planted the sacred grove of Altis with it.^{||} The important influence of the Delphian oracle on the Olympian games also occasioned the time of their celebration to be regulated by the Pythian cycle of eight years.[¶] For whereas the whole cycle of eight years consisted of ninety-nine lunar months, at the expiration of which time the revolutions of the moon and sun again nearly coincided; this period was at Olympia divided into two unequal parts of fifty and forty-nine months, so that the festival took place sometimes in the month of Apollonius, sometimes in Parthenius.

† Hesychius in v.

‡ Pausan. V. 15. 4.—τόν μὲν δὴ παρὰ Ἡλείοις θέρμιον καὶ ἀντὶ μοι παρίστατο εἰκάζειν, ὡς κατὰ Ἀτθίδα γλῶσσαν εἶη θέρμιον; for the last θέρμιον Buttmann corrects θέσμιον; and it is evident that θέρμα was Elean for θέσμα, "sacred ordinance or armistice." See Appendix V. § 2. Also Therma, the place of the Panætolia, derived its name from this word, which is probably of Ætolian-Elean origin. On its temple of Apollo, see Polyb. XI. 4. 2.

§ Pausan. IV. 4. 4.

|| Perhaps this was the beginning of the connexion with Crete, to which the name of the

Ἰδαῖον ἀντρον at Olympia (Pind. Olymp. V. 42. Demetrius ἐν νεῶν διακόσμῳ in the Scholia. Boeckh ad Schol. and Explic. p. 150.), and the tradition that Clymenus, a descendant of the Idæan Hercules, came to Pisa soon after the flood of Deucalion, and there founded a temple, refer; comp. Pausan. V. 8. 1. VI. 21. 5. V. 14. 6.

¶ Boeckh ad Pind. Olymp. III. 18. p. 138. Explic. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 41. does not speak of this event with the same exactness as the Schol. Pind. Olymp. III. 39. Comp. also Wurm de Ponderum, etc. § 90. p. 174.

The introduction of the worship of Apollo must have had no less influence on the families of the soothsayers, who ministered at the altars of the Olympic deities. These were the Clytiadæ, Iamidæ, and Telliadæ;^d of which the Clytiadæ considered themselves as belonging to a clan, which produced very many soothsayers, viz., the Melampodidæ.^e This explains the fable that Melampus received the gift of prophecy from Apollo on the banks of the Alpheus,^f in the place where it was exercised by his descendants the Clytiadæ.

3. The Doric migration gave rise to many others, which spread the worship of Apollo in various directions; no longer, however, as a peculiar deity of the Dorians and Cretans, but, in a more extended sense, as the national god of the Greeks. This was chiefly occasioned by the influence of Delphi, which seems to have given the chief stimulus to that great migration. In fact, it became from this time invested with a power which hardly belonged to any subsequent institution. Apollo is represented as governing nations with an arbitrary power, compelling them, however unwilling, to undertake distant expeditions, and pointing out the settlements which they are to occupy. In order to convey a more distinct idea of this singular phenomenon, it is necessary that the condition of the immediate subjects of the Pythian temple should be more closely examined.

When the district of the Cirrhæans had, by the Amphictyonic war, become forfeited to the temple of

^d See particularly Philostratus Vit. Apollon. V. 25. p. 208. Cic. de Divin. I. 41. concerning the Telliadæ. Herod. IX. 37. VIII. 27. These diviners are called the μάντις Ἑλλείων πρό-

πολοι at the altar of Olympia in the oracle in Phlegon p. 129. in Meursii Op. vol. VII.

^e Pausan. VI. 17. 4.

^f Pausan. V. 8. 1.

Delphi, the sacred lands belonging to it formed a very considerable territory. Two inscriptions contain surveys of the Hieromnemons respecting its boundaries: one relating to those towards Anticirrho in the east, the other to those in the direction of Amphissa to the west.^g Now it certainly appears that in ancient times, when Cirrho was in existence, none of these lands belonged to the temple, which must therefore have possessed little or no territory. But in spite of the generally received accounts of the Amphictyonic war, it can be satisfactorily proved, that in earlier times Cirrho and the temple, with its appendages, formed one state.^h Their territory indeed consisted for the most part of rock, mountain, and narrow glens;ⁱ yet towards the south it embraced the spacious plain of Crissa, and in the north at least the luxuriant vineyards of Parnassus. By whom then was this territory cultivated? certainly neither by the Doric nobles nor the Cretan colonists, who in the Homeric hymn are derided by the god for thinking of the labours of agriculture, and commanded to employ themselves merely in sacrificing victims.^k Thus it is evident, that there were subjects of the temple, who, besides the humble employment of cultivating the soil, were also obliged to tend the herds belonging to the temple. These were the servants of the temple whom we so frequently find mentioned.^l The same class also existed in Crete, as we have before proved from the tribute sent by Athens; and Crete, in its turn, as well as Eretria and

^g Boeckh Corp. Inscript. N°. 1711.

^h As appears from the Homeric Hymn to Apollo.

ⁱ See Porphy. de Abstin. II. 17. comp. Apostol. VI. 93. and

the story of Æsop; also the proverb, Δελφός ἀνὴρ στέφανον μὲν ἔχει, δίψει δ' ἀπόλωλεν.

^k Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 535.

^l The λαὸς οἰκῆτωρ θεοῦ, Eur.

Androm. 1092.

Magnesia,^m sent such "human firstlings" to the temple of Pytho. Mention is also made of a town in Crete composed of a thousand men, all sacred slaves.ⁿ Now these slaves of Delphi may have been procured in different ways, either as tribute (and that either of a city or of individuals), as voluntary bondsmen, or by purchase:^o the latter mode was probably of rare occurrence in early times. There still remain a considerable number of Delphian monuments, in which private individuals present or sell to the god those slaves whom they wish to favour.^p The condition of these vassals corresponds to that of the Doric bondsmen;^q but their servitude was probably of a milder nature; for we find it frequently stated that the sacred slaves lived inviolate under the protection of the god, although (at least in early times) they were entirely dependent on the sacred council of the temple. Originally, a great part consisted of prisoners taken in war. We collect from ancient epic poems that

^m Plutarch. de Pyth. Orac. 16. p. 273. The Thessalians vowed at least every year a hecatomb of men to Apollo Καταιβάτης. Schol. Eur. Phœn. 1416. Zenobius in *θετταλῶν σοφισμα*.

ⁿ Sosicrates ap. Suid. vol. I. p. 621. Hesych. p. 1026. Apostol. VII. 37. Prov. Vat. App. II. 94. and Steph. Byz. in Δούλων πόλεις, with which he mentions the *ιερόδουλοι*. We may probably discern a similar servitude in the gift of the golden tripods which the *Θηβαγένοις* were bound to bring at certain times to the Ismenian temple of Apollo, Orchomenos, p. 397. Apollo Nesiotes at Chalia in

Boeotia also possessed Hieroduli, Boeckh. Inscript. N^o. 1607. The Delian *Ἐκατηβελέτας θεράπναι* (Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 157) were of the same description as the chorus in the Phœnissæ. In the Didymæum (Inscript. in Walpole's Travels, p. 582) there were *οἱ περὶ τὸ μαντεῖον πάντες καὶ οἱ τὸ ἱερόν κατοικούντες καὶ οἱ προσχωροί*, boys sent thither as the spoil of war, Conon. Narr. c. 44.

^o *ἀνάθημα πόλιν ἢ τινὲς πρᾶξις ὄνο*. Eurip. Ion. 322. *ἱερὸν τὸ σῶμα τῷ θεῷ δίδωμι ἔχουσιν*. Ver. 1299.

^p Boeckh in Hirt *Ueber die Hierodulen*, p. 48.

^q See book III. ch. 4.

Manto the daughter of Tiresias was, after the war of the Epigoni, sent to the Pythian god as a share of the spoil^r (*ἀκροθίνιον*): one individual, as is usual in the language of mythology, standing for many. The Gephyræans also are said to have been at that time decimated, sent from Thebes to Delphi, and thus to have arrived at Athens.^s After the Persian war, an idea was actually entertained of reviving this punishment against the Thebans, whose enemies considered them, at a still later period, as in the eye of justice decimated, and given as slaves to Apollo.^t

4. When the Pythian god was either unwilling or unable to retain within his territory the crowds who had been collected in this manner, he sent them out as colonists; without, however, entirely giving up all claim to their obedience. The early Grecian history affords several examples of this proceeding: the earliest is a Doric tradition respecting the Dryopes, which differs in some respect from their own account. Hercules, here represented as a Doric hero, had subjugated the Dryopes, and brought them to Delphi as an offering to Apollo, by whom he was commanded to settle them on the southern coast of Argolis.^u That this nation, probably of Pelasgic origin, did not in early times worship the Doric god, is evident from the tradition that Leogoras the Dryopian violated the temple of Apollo.^v But it is equally certain that they were henceforth compelled to serve Apollo as their

^r Diod. IV. 66. Pausan. VII. 3. 1. see above, ch. 2. § 7.

^s Apostol. VII. 34. where for *Ἀθηναίων* read *Ἀργείων*. Suidas in *δῶρον κηρυκτεῖον*. Orchomenos, p. 118.

^t Herod. VII. 132. Xenoph. Hell. VI. 3. and 5. *ἐλατὶς δεκα-*

τευθῆναι τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον Θηβαίους. Not the land, but the people themselves were to be decimated.

^u See above, p. 46, note ⁿ. Etymol. M. p. 154. 7.

^v Apollod. II. 7. 7. cf. Diod. IV. 37.

chief deity, especially in his character of Apollo Pythæus at Argos.⁷ A part of this nation however remained at Delphi, where it is frequently mentioned in later times under the name of Craugallidæ, who, together with the Cirrhæans, appear as enemies to the temple;⁸ from which circumstance it may be inferred that most of these Cirrhæans were revolted subjects of the temple.

The migration of the Magnesians approaches rather nearer to the historical age. This race, dwelling under mount Pelion, felt itself, about the time of the Thessalian migration, so pressed for want of territory, that it had recourse to the Delphian oracle, by whose advice it decimated its numbers; that is, it sent off a tenth part of the young male population, who (like a *ver sacrum* in Italy)^a renounced their native land.^b These young colonists were mostly despatched to the worshippers of Apollo in Crete, where they founded the town of Magnesia, which Plato speaks of as a place that had been destroyed, and considers as a prototype of his ideal state, Apollo having been its only

⁷ Pausan. II. 35. 2. Apollo was also worshipped under the titles of Ὀρίος and Πλατανίστιος. Concerning the Dryopes as worshippers of Apollo see Pausan. IV. 34. 6. Tzetz. ad Lycoph. 480. Prob. ad Virgil. Georg. III. 7. Anton. Liberal. c. 32. Etymol. M. p. 288. 32. Heyne ad Æn. IV. 143. vol. II. p. 736. ed. 3. According to Pausanias they also retained this worship in the Messenian settlements. According to Conon, c. 29. upon the occasion of the return from Troy they sent a tithe (δεκάτη).

⁸ See above, b. I. ch. 2. § 4.

^a *Ver sacrum vovere, i. e. quæcunque vere proximo nata essent immolaturos*, Festus in v. Mamertin. *Trecenta millia hominum, velut ver sacrum, miserunt*, Justin. XXIV. 4.

^b According to the remarkable account of Parthen. Erot. 5. they were δεκατευθέντες ἐκ Φερῶν ὑπ' Ἀδμήτῳ, and were conducted by Leucippus a Lycian. Strab. XIV. 647. reverses the story: Δελφῶν ἀπόγονοι, τῶν ἐποικησάντων τὰ Δίδυμα ὄρη (near Pheræ, Orchomenos, p. 192.) ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ.

legislator.^c The intercourse of Crete with the coast of Asia Minor soon carried over these sojourners to the banks of the Mæander and the Lethæus, at the confluence of which rivers they had been settled some time before the Ionic migration;^d being, as was afterwards declared by a Panhellenic decree, the first Greeks who settled in Asia Minor.^e Still, although thus separated from their mother country, they maintained, as sacred colonists (ἱεροὶ ἀποικοί), a perpetual connexion with Delphi, and were bound, in ancient times, to provide all travellers with food and lodging.^f The Delphians could expect a similar reception at Delos:^g and indeed an extended exercise of the duties of hospitality formed one of the principal objects of this worship. Pausanias^h gives an account of this very important worship of Apollo in Magnesia as follows:ⁱ "At Hylæ, a place in the territory of the "Magnesians,^k is a cavern consecrated to Apollo;

^c Plato Leg. XI. p. 919 D. comp. Boeckh In Minoem et Leges, pag. 68. Magnesia, re-established according to Plato's fiction, consecrates to Apollo and Helius, κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον, three men as an ἀκροθίνιον, ibid. XII. p. 945. See also Apollod. Fragm. p. 386. Conon Narr. c. 29. Varro 3. Rer. Human. apud Prob. ad Virg. Ecl. VI. Cretans in the Asiatic Magnesia, Strab. XIV. p. 636. Schol. Apollon. Rhod. I. 584.

^d Parthenius mentions Κρητιναῖον and Leucophryne instead of Magnesia.

^e Boeckh Corp. Inscript. 2910; and see particularly Conon ubi sup.

^f Aristot. and Theophrast. ap. Athen. p. 173 F.

^g Semus ἐν Δηλιακοῖς ap. Athen. ubi sup.

^h It is to this that the Homeric hymn to the Pythian Apollo, v. 1. refers; also the coins of Magnesia (*Apollo supra Mæandrum stans*). There was also a place near Magnesia called Apollonia.

ⁱ X. 32. 4.

^k Hence the name of Apollo Hylates in Lycoph. 447; where Tzetzes is confused. Apollo Hylates at Amamassus in Cyprus, Steph. Byz. in v. In Athen. XV. p. 672 E. for ὕβαα read ὕλαα. Query, whether Hiera Comé, Liv. XXXVIII. 12, 13. is the same place? Magnesia on the Sipylus also worshipped Apollo, τὸν ἐν Πάνδοις, Marm. Oxon. 26. 85.

"not, indeed, remarkable for its size; but it contains a statue of Apollo of great antiquity, and which confers strength for every kind of work. Certain devotees throw themselves, by the assistance of this image, from steep and lofty precipices; or tearing large trees up by the roots, walk with their burden down the steepest paths." We would attempt to trace more minutely the connexion of Magnesia with Crete and Delphi, had not all clue to history been necessarily broken off by the conquest of this proud and prosperous city by the Ephesians, and its complete destruction by the Treres, a Cimmerian tribe, in the time of the Lydian monarch Ardys.¹

We have only time to notice some few other events of a similar nature. Thus the Ænians came to the oracle about the same time, and on a similar emergency as the Magnesians; dwelt for some years in the territory of Cirrha, and were afterwards sent to the banks of the Inachus in southern Thessaly.^m An example of historical authority is furnished by the Chalcideans in Eubœa, the youthful part of whose population was despatched by Apollo to Rhegium in Italy;ⁿ hence this town also celebrated the worship of the god with expiatory rites and festivals,^o to which the Messenians of Sicily sent choruses of thirty-five boys across the straits.^p

¹ See Frank Callinus, p. 89. Liebel Archil. p. 202. Concerning the founding of Magnesia see Ruhnken on Velleius I. 4. Kanne on Conon, c. 29. Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 387.

^m Plut. Quest. Græc. 13. 26.

ⁿ A Rhegian in Timæus (Strab. p. 260 C. Antig. Caryst. 1), *ἱερούς εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς προγόνους αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐνθὲνδε ἐστάλθαι*. cf. VI. p.

257 D. Creuzer Fragm. Xanth. p. 373. cf. p. 178.

^o Respecting the ablutions in the seven rivers, the sacred laurel-tree, &c., see Varro ap. Prob. Præf. ad Virg. Ecl. and compare Hermann's excellent dissertation on the Glauci of Æschylus, Opuscula, vol. II. p. 59.

^p Pausan. V. 25. 1. The coins of Rhegium have the head

5. These events, which from their connected form cannot be poetical fictions, give some idea of the extensive influence of the temple of Delphi, the power of which was probably at its highest pitch in the time immediately succeeding the Doric migrations. Hence also this was the epoch of the greatest influence of the Amphictyons of Thermopylæ;^q which confederation of Thessalian tribes, and of tribes derived from Thessaly, united the worship of the Doric temple of Apollo with that of Demeter at Thermopylæ, and thus an Hellenic and ancient Pelasgic worship were combined together,^r probably not without a view of forming a more intimate union between the different races of Greece. The assembling in the spring of the year at Delphi was probably copied from the meeting of the neighbouring towns, in the spring festival, at Tempe, at which business of a political kind was sometimes transacted.^s The power, however, of the Amphictyons of Thermopylæ was at no time actually political, and, with a very few exceptions, all their regulations and undertakings concerned the protection of the two temples in their rights and possessions, the rights of other temples in Greece, and the maintenance of some principles of international law (*νόμοι Ἀμφικτυονικοί*), founded upon religious notions.

6. The Dorian colonies introduced Apollo into Asia Minor as the principal deity of their national and federal festival on the promontory of Triopium,^t where

of Apollo, a lyre, a tripod, and cortina.

^q See particularly Tacit. Ann. IV. 14.

^r Founded, according to Callim. Epigr. XLI. 2. by Acrisius the Pelasgian, to whom the establishment of the Amphictyonic council was for that reason at-

tributed.

^s Ælian. V. H. III. 1. Liv. XXXIX. 24. comp. Plutarch de Def. Orac. 14.

^t On the towns included in the league see above, book I. ch. 6. § 2. On the games at the festival, Herod. I. 144.

they probably first planted his worship, without, however, excluding the more ancient Pelasgic rites of Demeter and the infernal gods, which, although of a different nature, were united in the ceremonies at Triopium with those of Apollo.^u In the same manner the twelve towns of the Æolians, with whom Apollo was by no means so nearly connected, celebrated in his honour, as it seems, their federal festival in the grove of Gryneum near Myrina.^x And though when the Ionians crossed over from Athens to Asia Minor they remained so constant to the worship of Poseidon that they consecrated to him their national festival at Mycale, and also built in the island of Tenos a splendid temple of Poseidon and Amphitrite, honoured with festivals and sacred embassies;^y yet the Cretan worship was so prevalent at Delos, when first overrun by the Ionians, that this island was itself the religious metropolis of the Cyclades,^z at whose festivals and contests the higher classes of the islanders attended with their families, even in ancient times; which naturally gave rise to the establishment of temples to

^u Neptune and the nymphs were also of the number of the Triopian deities, Schol. Theocr. XVII. 69. Comp. Boeckh ad Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 27. p. 314. Concerning the worship of Apollo at Halicarnassus, see Inscript. in Walpole's Travels, p. 576. Apollo Telchinius at Lindus (see Meurs. Rhod.), at Cameirus *ἀειγεννήτης* and *ἐπιμήλιος*. Macr. Sat. I. 17. at Anaphe, Apollo Ægletes, Æginetica, p. 170. note ^a; comp. above, p. 116. note ^z.

^x I have adopted the opinion of St^e. Croix, Gouvernemens fédératifs, p. 156. that the federal festival of the twelve Æolian

cities was at Gryneum, chiefly on account of the altars of the twelve gods, and the *Ἀχαιῶν λιμὴν* at that place, and the statements of Scylax.

^y According to Strabo X. p. 487. there were here *ἐστιατόρια*, as at Delos, for the assembly; and in a Tenian inscription (Boeckh Corp. Ins. Gr. No. 2329), a citizen is eulogized for having undertaken a *θεαροδοκία* for the Delians, the office of receiving the *θεωροί*, a species of *λειτουργία*. Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Del. 325.

^z *Ἰστὶν νήσων*, Callim. Hymn. Del. 325. et Spanheim ad l.

Apollo, the principal deity, in the rest of the Cyclades; as Cythnus,^a Siphnus,^b Ceos,^c Naxos,^d &c.

7. The principal places to be mentioned in Italy besides Rhegium are Croton and Metapontum. The former was an Achæan and Lacedæmonian colony; in the founding of which, according to tradition, the oracle had an important share;^e the memory of which is preserved by temples of Apollo Pythius, Hyperboreus,^f and Alæus,^g within, and close to the town. Croton was peculiarly subject to the influence of Apollo, whose worship operated to an unusual extent on the character and customs of its inhabitants. On the founding of Metapontum our information is scanty. The inhabitants generally supposed themselves to be of Achæan origin; yet Ephorus has preserved a remarkable, though confused tradition, that Daulius the tyrant of Crissa was the founder of that town.^h It

^a Hom. Hymn. ad Apoll. Del. 141. The coins like those of Delos: the name also reminds us of mount Cynthus. (Hemsterh. ad Aristoph. Plut. p. 311.)

^b An Apollonia in this island, Steph. Byz. Compare the coins.

^c Particularly at Carthæa, Pind. Isthm. I. 6. Athen. X. p. 456 E. Probably a *Δήλιον*, according to Dissen. Explic. p. 484. *Πύθια* at the same place, Anton. Lib. c. 1. Concerning the choruses of Apollo at Carthæa see Boeckh Corp. Insc. Gr. Nos. 2361-3. A Smintheum at Corossus and Poëessa, Strabo X. p. 486.

^d Apollo Tragus, Steph. in *Τραγάτα*. Apollo *Ποίμνιος*, Macr. Sat. I. 17. Hipponax ap. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 658. A *Δήλιον* at Naxos. Aristot.

Plut. Virt. Mul. p. 289. ed. Hutten. Parthen. Erot. 9. comp. Obs. Misc. Bat. vol. VII. p. 24. Besides these, there were many other Ionic temples of Apollo, in Samos, Eubœa, &c.

^e See above, book I. ch. 6. § 12.

^f Ælian. V. H. II. 26. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 911. Wesseling corrects *Ἀλαῖος* for *Ἄλιος* in Aristot. ubi sup. comp. Heyne Opusc. Acad. vol. II. p. 178. with Creuzer Symbolik. II. p. 200. The bird on the coins is not an eagle but a raven (Mionnet Descr. planche 60), the *comes tripodum*.

^g One hundred and twenty stadia from Croton, Aristot. Mirab. Ausc. p. 1098 C. Justin. XX. 1. Etym. Mag. in *Ἀλῆσιος*.

^h Ap. Strab. VI. p. 265 C.

seems, then, that inhabitants of Daulis, in the narrow valley of Parnassus, and Crissæans, from the coast, had passed over to Italy in very early times. The inhabitants of Metapontum, as ancient subjects of Apollo, sent him golden ears of corn (χρυσοῦν θέρος) as a tithe of their harvest; we find on their coins the full ears of barley, which were paid as tribute, and on the reverse the god himself, armed with his helmet, arrow and bow, as a conqueror, and holding a branch of laurel; exactly coinciding with the symbols used in the temple of Delphi.¹ Thus historical tradition and religious symbols both point to the same conclusion.^k

During the period of which we are treating, the regulation of colonies by the Delphian oracle was the chief instrument which extended the worship of Apollo on the coast of the Mediterranean. In honour of this deity the Chalcideans who founded Naxos, the first Greek colony in Sicily (Olymp. 5. 2. 759 B.C.), erected on the coast an altar of Apollo Archegetas, upon which the Sicilian Theori always sacrificed when they sailed to the temple of Apollo in their mother-country.¹

¹ On the statue of Aristæas in the market-place of Metapontum, by the side of the statue of Apollo, see Herod. IV. 15. and on a brass laurel-tree in the same place, Athen. XIII. p. 605 C. In the temple of Apollo, Plutarch *περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρᾶν* 8.

^k *Caulonia* in Italy is also remarkable for this worship; the ancient coins of which town exhibit Apollo bearing a laurel, or a bow, with a stag.

¹ Thucyd. VI. 3. ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑ ΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ, on the coins of

Tauromenium and Enna. As to *Sicily*, there was a temple of Apollo Temenites Pythius at Syracuse, Cic. Verr. IV. 53. Steph. Byz. in *Συρακοῦσαι*. comp. *Ælian*. V. H. I. 18. *Le-tronne Topographie de Syracuse*, p. 26. *Göller de Situ Syrac.* p. 59. also of Apollo *Δαφνίας*, *Etymol.* p. 250. 38. At Gela there was a colossal statue of Apollo in front of the town, *Timæus apud Diod.* XIII. 107. Apollinarian rites of the *Erbitæans* and their colony

Apollonia, the Corinthian settlement on the Ionian sea, was also supposed to have been founded by Apollo;^m hence the above-mentioned custom of sending "*the golden summer*" to Delphi prevailed in this town.ⁿ We have in a former work^o shown that the worship at Thera and Cyrene was paid to the deity of the Theban *Ægidæ*, viz., the Carnean Apollo; who, however, at the founding of the colony (Olymp. 37), was already considered as the same with the Dorian god; hence the fountain of Apollo at Cyrene, its colony of Apollonia, &c. Mythology, which often first clothes the events of history in a fabulous garb, and then refers them to an early and unknown time, expressed the founding of Cyrene, under the guidance of the temple of Apollo, in the following elegant personification—That Cyrene, a Thessalian nymph, the favourite of Apollo, was carried by her divine lover to Africa, in his chariot drawn by swans.^p

We shall abstain from bringing down the colonization of this religion to a later period, since in after-times the lively principle which at first actuated the worshippers of Apollo was lost; and, instead of considering their actions as the effect of supernatural compulsion, men were rather disposed to regulate their conduct according to the dictates of reason and free-will.

Alæsa, *Diod.* XIV. 16. *Inscript.* ap. *Castelli*, p. 109 sqq. At *Lilybæum*, according to the coins, Apollo *Libyrtius* near *Pachynum*. *Macr. Sat.* I. 17. The month *Dalius* in Sicily, *Castelli Prol.* 73.
^m *Inscription* at *Olympia*, ap. *Pausan.* V. 22. 2.

ⁿ *Plut. de Pyth. Orac.* 16. p. 273. Also at *Myrina* in *Æolis*. *Comp.* ch. 2. § 7.

^o *Orchomenos*, p. 327 sqq.

^p A similar tradition in *Sinope*, *Philostephanus ap. Schol. Apoll. Rh.* II. 953. *Diod.* IV. 71.

CHAP. IV.

§ 1. Connexion of the fable of the Hyperboreans with the worship of Apollo. § 2. Its connexion with the temples at Delphi; § 3. and Delos. § 4. Original locality of the Hyperboreans. § 5. Localities subsequently assigned by Poets and Geographers. § 6. The Hyperboreans considered a sacred people.

1. Wearisome as it is to follow up the chain of remote events which gave rise to the wide diffusion of the worship of Apollo, nevertheless the fable of the Hyperboreans, by referring a number of particular circumstances to one head, is very well qualified to arrest and fix our attention.

We assert, then, the connexion of this tradition with the original worship of Apollo. No argument to the contrary can be drawn from its not being mentioned either in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*; these poems not affording any opportunity for its introduction. Moreover, the Hyperboreans were spoken of in the poem of the *Epigoni*, and by *Hesiod*.^a The fable, indeed, may not have come till late within the province of poetical mythology; as a local tradition, it must have arisen whilst that primitive connexion between the temples of Tempe, Delphi, and Delos (which was afterwards entirely dissolved) still existed in full vigour.

2. According to a Doric hymn of Boëo, a poetess of Delphi, quoted by *Pausanias*,^b Pagasus, and the godlike Agyieus, the sons of the Hyperboreans, founded the celebrated oracle at Delphi. Agyieus is merely another name for Apollo himself. Pagasus refers to the Pagasæan temple on the sacred road.^c

^a Herod. IV. 32. See also Homer. Hymn. VII. 29.

^b X. 5. 4.

^c See above, ch. 1. § 3.

With them came Olen, the first prophet and bard of Apollo. Two other Hyperborean heroes, Hyperochus and Laodiceus, assisted in the slaughter of the Gauls at Delphi;^d and, in accordance with similar traditions, Mnaseas of Patara called all the inhabitants of Delphi descendants of the Hyperboreans.^e

Alcæus,^f in a hymn to Apollo, related how "Zeus adorned the new-born god with a golden fillet and lyre, and sent him, in a chariot drawn by swans, to Delphi, in order to introduce justice and law amongst the Greeks. Apollo, however, ordered the swans first to fly to the Hyperboreans. The Delphians, missing the god, instituted a pæan and song, ranged choruses of young men around the tripod, and invoked him to come from the Hyperboreans. The god remained an entire year with that nation, and at the appointed time, when the tripods of Delphi were destined to sound, he ordered the swans to resume their flight. The return of Apollo takes place exactly in the middle of summer; nightingales, swallows, and grasshoppers sing in honour of the god; and even Castalia and Cephissus^g heave their waves to salute him."

If Alcæus consecrated this pæan, as Pindar did his

^d Thus I write for Ἀμάδοκος in Paus. I. 4. 4. and Λαοδόκος, ib. X. 23. 3. on account of the *Laodice* of Herodotus. Herodotus VIII. 39. mentions, on a similar occasion, the native heroes Phylacus and Autonous.

^e Scholl. Apoll. Rh. II. 675. unless Cluver. Germ. Ant. I. p. 16, is right in correcting Κελτούς for Δελφούς.

^f See the beautiful fragment in prose in Himerius Orat. XIV. 10. with which Cicero

de N. D. III. 23. agrees; see Heindorf's note. It is to this ode, perhaps, that the words of Plutarch refer, De Mus. 14. δῆλον ἐκ τῶν χορῶν καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, ὥς προσῆγον μετ' αὐλῶν τῷ θεῷ, καθάπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν τινὶ τῶν ὕμνων ἱστορεῖ.

^g In this part occurred what Pausanias X. 8, 5. cites from the *προοίμιον* ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα of Alcæus, that the water of Castalia came from the Cephissus.

pæan, to the worship of the Delphian god, he would hardly have dared to do more than embellish the local traditions. Supposing, however, that this was not the case, he would still have taken the principal event (viz., the arrival of Apollo from the Hyperboreans) rather from a fable universally acknowledged, than the unauthorized fictions of poetry. The whole account, and even the time, are clearly drawn from the mysteries of the worship. According to the tradition of Delphi, Apollo, at the expiration of the great period, visited the beloved nation of the Hyperboreans, and danced and played with them from the vernal equinox to the early setting of the Pleiades; and when the first corn was cut in Greece, he returned to Delphi, as I suppose, with the full ripe ears, the offerings of the Hyperboreans.^h Even the story of the swans was no addition of Alcæus; for the painted vases in the south of Italy (the extremity of the Grecian world) represent the same fiction as the Lesbian poet; nay, so exactly do they correspond, that we do not indeed recognise Alcæus, but the traditions upon which the account was founded, as they were perhaps related at Metapontum and Croton. The boy Apollo, the sceptre and goblet in one hand, and full ears of barley in the other (which allude to the offerings of the Hyperboreans, and the "golden summer"), is seated, with a mild aspect, on a car, the axles of which are bound with swans' feathers. Hyperborean women, with torches, and pitchers for sacred libations, conduct him.ⁱ The

^h Diod. II. 47. where the period is alone falsely stated. That the harvest begins at the rising of the Pleiades, is stated by Hesiod. Op. et D. 381. Compare the story in Eratosth. Catast. 29. ⁱ Tischbein I. 8. 9. with the correct explanation of Italin-sky. As in the vase in Tisch-

swans, with which Apollo here comes, occur elsewhere in the legends of Delphi, which refer to the Hyperboreans. The most ancient temple of Delphi, according to the assertion of the priests, was merely a low hut, built with branches of the sacred laurel of Tempe; the second was a tent, which either the Hyperboreans or Pterias of Crete formed of swans' feathers and wax.^k The Peneus flowed by the altar of Tempe; the notes of the swans on the banks of this river are mentioned in a short hymn attributed to Homer.^l And allowing that these birds were here particularly numerous, it is evident that their brilliant colour and majestic motion peculiarly adapted them for symbols of Apollo.

3. We find the same tradition, with merely a few local alterations, at Delos.^m Latona, in the first place, is said to have arrived in that island from the country of the Hyperboreans as a she-wolf, having completed the whole journey, pursued by Here, in twelve days and nights.ⁿ Afterwards the young

bien IV. 8. the tripod is represented as standing beside the figure, which is a certain proof that Apollo is in question.— Nevertheless, some very distinguished antiquarians are still of opinion that the figure is *Triptolemus*, and not Apollo; indeed the *Instituto di corrispondenza Archeologica* at Rome has lately published a painted vase (I. Distrib. pl. 4.), in which *Τριπτολεμος* is written by this figure in the same position, and with the same accompaniments; whence it seems to me probable that, in antiquity, the ideas attached to this

composition were not fixed. A vase in Millin I. 46. represents Apollo Daphnephorus attended by a Hyperborean in the Arimaspean costume.

^k Paus. X. 5. 5.

^l XXI. 3.

^m CEnomaus ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 133. Steph. quotes from a supposed oracle of a prophetess named Asteria, that the inhabitants and priests of Delos came from the Hyperboreans.

ⁿ Aristot. Hist. An. VI. 35. Antig. Caryst. 61. p. 111. ed. Beckmann. Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 124.

virgins, Arge and Opis, came with Apollo and Artemis; a lofty tomb was erected to their memory at Delos, upon which sacrifices were offered; an ancient hymn, which was attributed to the ancient minstrel Olen, celebrated their appearance.^o Afterwards the Hyperboreans sent two other virgins, Hyperoche and Laodice, the same names as occur above, and with them five men, who are called *perpherees*^p (from their bringing the sacred gifts enveloped in wheaten straw): this exactly corresponds with "the golden summer" of the Delphians. The *perpherees* received great honours at Delos; and the Delian maidens before marriage laid on the tomb of the two Hyperborean virgins a spindle, the young men a branch, both entwined with locks of hair. The offering, however, of the Hyperborean women was, it was said, really intended for Ilithyia, the protectress of women in labour, in order to fulfil a vow made to that goddess for the birth of Apollo and Artemis. Now these missions, according to Delian traditions, always continued to be carried on. The Hyperboreans were supposed to pass them on to their neighbours the Scythians; from them they were transmitted through a chain of nations on the coast of the Adriatic, by Dodona,^q through Thes-

^o Herod. IV. 35. Opis and Hecærgus, according to Pseudo-Plato Axioch. pag. 371. A. Servius ad Æn. XI. 858. The circumstance of the θήκη of these virgins being turned to the east shows that it was of the Cretan time, since the Dorians laid their dead to the east, the Ionians to the west. See

book IV. ch. 1. § 2.

^p *περφέρες*, also *ἀμαλλοφόροι* and *ἰλοφόροι*. See Porphy. de Abstin. II. 19. Rhoer ad l. and Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Del. 283.

^q Dodona was Hyperborean, according to Etymol. M. in *Δωδωναῖος*.

saly, Eubœa, and the island of Tenos, and came accompanied with flutes and pipes,^r to Delos.^s This story cannot have been a mere poetical fiction; it doubtless originated in the active connexion kept up by means of sacred missions with the ancient settlements of the worship of Apollo in the north of Thessaly.^t In Delos also, as at Delphi, there was a story of the god resting for some time amongst the Hyperboreans; though the scene was generally changed to Lycia.^u A painted vase exhibits the god with a lyre in his hand, alighting near the palm-tree of Delos: a young woman, representing a whole chorus, receives him, playing upon a stringed instrument.^v

As the temple at Olympia was connected with Delphi, we find also here some traditions respecting the country of the Hyperboreans, as the native land of the wild olive-tree which flourished in the grove of Zeus.

4. Thus much concerning the places where the fable of the Hyperboreans really existed; we must next notice the situation generally assigned to that sacred nation. In this the name is our chief guide. In the first place it indicates a *northern* nation;

^r Plutarch de Musica 14.

^s According to Herodotus and Callim. ad Del. 281. cf. Plin. H. N. IV. 26. Mela III. 5. Salmasius considers the gifts as *θυμάτων ἀπαρχαί*, *proscitiæ hostiarum*, with Mela; but they were doubtless *primitiæ frugum*, Exerc. Plin. p. 147.

^t No weight can be laid on the particular road, as Pausanias I. 31. 2. mentions one which touches Attica, where also there were rites or sanc-

tuaries, *τὰ ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων*, Chrysost. Epist. ad Tit. Rom. 3. vol. XI. p. 744 E. ed. Montfaucon. See below, § 6.

^u Heyne Excurs. ad Æn. IV. 2. He also comes to Delos in the spring.

^v Tischbein II. 12. Compare the coins of Chalcedon ap. Valliant. et Theupoli. A commentary is furnished by the beginning of Callimachus' hymn to Apollo.

which idea is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that the worship of Apollo came from the most northern part of Greece, from the district of Tempe;⁷ and although the actual distance was not great, yet the imagination might have been moved by this circumstance to conceive Apollo as coming from the most remote regions of the north. But, in the second place, the Hyperboreans are said to dwell *beyond* Boreas; so that this happy nation never felt the cold north wind: in the same manner that Homer represents the summit of Olympus as rising above the storms, nor ever covered with snow, but surrounded by an atmosphere of cloudless and undisturbed serenity.

5. This is nearly the whole of our information on the origin of this fabulous people. Poets, however, and geographers, dissatisfied with such accounts, attempted to assign to it a fixed habitation in the catalogue of nations: and for this purpose connected multifarious and foreign accounts of the northern regions of the world with the religious fable of the Hyperboreans, and moulded the whole into an imaginary picture of a supposed real people.

Among these stories the most remarkable is that which connects the Hyperboreans with the Scythians. Herodotus found them mentioned in the Arimaspea of Aristeas the Proconnesian, in which poem his ideas of the worship of Apollo were interspersed with obscure accounts of the northern regions.⁸ He came, led by the spirit of Apollo, through Scythia to the

⁷ Above, ch. 1. § 2.

⁸ Herod. IV. 13. The statement of Herodotus is exactly confirmed by a fragment of Aristeas in Tzetz. Chiliad.

VII. 144. which may be genuine. In v. 688. for καὶ σφᾶς ἀνθρώπους should be written καὶ φᾶς ἀνθρώπους (φᾶσι).

Issedones,^a the one-eyed Arimaspians, the Griffins that kept watch over the gold, and thus at last reached the Hyperboreans who inhabited the shores on the further side of the ocean. Now Aristeas must have collected the tradition concerning these nations and monsters from the same sources as Herodotus; viz., from the Greeks dwelling on the Pontus and Borysthenes, and through these from the Scythians.

In the list of the fabulous nations of the north, the ancient Damastes exactly agrees with the Arimaspea of Aristeas.^b Beyond the Scythians he places the Issedones, then the Arimaspians, then the Rhipæan mountains, from which the north wind blows, and on the other side of these, on the sea-coast, the Hyperboreans.^c Without doubt this geographer placed the Issedones in the districts to the north of the Euxine sea, and rather to the east of Greece.^d And indeed neither Issedones, Arimaspians, nor Griffins could be placed in any other region than that which lies to the north of the Euxine sea, as all this tract had become known to the Greeks by means of the Scythians, who dwelt in these parts; it was only in this district that the Greeks heard of Arimaspians. The case is entirely different with respect to the Hyperboreans and Rhipæans. Of the former the Scythians, as Herodotus tells us, knew nothing; and the latter are a mere political fiction of Greece, since they derived their names from *hurricanes* (ρίπαι), issuing from a cavern, which they warded off

^a Φοιβόλαμπος. The Issedones were first mentioned by Alcman, who called them Ἀσσεδόνες, Steph. Byz. in Ἰσσηδόνες. He also mentioned the Rhipæans, Schol. Soph. Œd. Col. 1312.

^b Ap. Steph. Byz. in Ὑπερ-

βόρειοι.

^c The two last points are likewise mentioned by Hellanicus ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 305. Later authorities on this point I pass over.

^d Herod. IV. 25.

from the Hyperboreans, and sent to more southern nations. For this reason the Hyperboreans could also be placed in another part, remote from Scythia; still however they kept their original position in the *north*. Thus Pindar,^o and also Æschylus in the Prometheus Unbound,^f place the Hyperboreans at the source of the Ister. Now, if, with Herodotus, the Ister is conceived to be a river which runs through all Europe from its *western* extremity, the Hyperboreans, in spite of their name, must be placed in the regions of the *west*.^g But there was in ancient times also an idea that the Ister was a vast stream descending from the extreme *north*;^h and this notion was evidently entertained by the two poets just mentioned; thus Æschylus, in the Prometheus Unbound, represented Hercules as penetrating to the place where Boreas rushes from the mountains; and with this the Rhipæan mountains, the Hyperboreans, and the Ister were doubtless mentioned. Sophocles also placed the "*ancient garden of Phœbus*," i. e., the country of the Hyperboreans, at the extremity of the earth, and near the dwelling of Boreas.ⁱ This natural conception of the Hyperboreans, and agreeing so well with the origin of the legend, is universal among the early poets; it is only in the works

^o Olymp. III. 14. cf. Olymp. VIII. 47. Pyth. X. 31. Isthm. V. 22.

^f Ap. Schol. Apoll. Rh. IV. 284.

^g This is considered by Voss as the original notion, who supposes the whole fable of the happy Hyperboreans to be an invention of Spanish sailors. Ad Virg. Georg. II. p. 381. *Weltkunde*, Jena Journal Quart. II. p. 20, 29. sqq. : on the Grif-

finis ib. Quart. IV. His opinions have been implicitly followed by Uckert, *Géographie*, vol. II. p. 237.

^h See particularly Apollon. Rh. IV. 284. who, according to the Scholia, follows Æschylus.

ⁱ Boreas, according to Sophocles ap. Strab. VII. p. 204. carried Orithyia.

^j *Ἰππὶοι τε πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἰσχυράτα χθονὸς, Νυκτὶς τε πηγῆς οὐρανοῦ εἰς ἀναπνεύχας, Φοῖβου τε παλαιὸν κήπον.*

of later writers that we find certain traces of a translation of the Hyperboreans to Italy and other western countries, and of a confusion of the Rhipæans with the Alps and Pyrenees.

6. We see then that notwithstanding the arbitrary license assumed by poets, the religious ideas respecting the Hyperboreans were every where preserved without the slightest variation. They were represented as a pious nation, abstaining from the flesh of animals, and living in perpetual serenity, in the service of their god, for a thousand years.^k "The muse," says Pindar, "is not estranged from their manners. The choruses of virgins and sweet melody of the lyre or pipe resound on every side; and, twining their hair with the glittering laurel, they feast joyfully. Neither disease nor old age is the lot of this sacred race; while they live apart from toil and battles, undisturbed by the revengeful Nemesis."^l

Respecting their festivals, which were supposed to take place in the open air,^m it was related by Hecataeus the younger, of Abdera, that these were celebrated by three gigantic Boreadæ, whose songs and dances were accompanied by innumerable flocks of swans.ⁿ But the strangest account is that of Pindar, that whole hecatombs of asses were sacrificed at these festivals:^o

^k Hellanicus ubi sup. Simonides and Pindar ap. Strab. XV. p. 1038 B. Æschyl. Choëph. 371.

^l Pyth. X. 56.

^m Compare the αἶθρια στέφη, Suidas in στέφος—τὰ ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων κομιζόμενα, ὡς αἰεὶ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τιθέμενα. Cratinus ap. Hesych. in v. Bekker. Anecd. p. 355. 30. Classical Journal

vol. VI. p. 369.

ⁿ Ap. Ælian. N. A. XI. 1. compare Creuzer Vet. Historic. fragm. p. 85. This Hecataeus still believed in the real existence of the Hyperboreans, Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 675. Steph. Byz. in Καραμβύκαι.

^o Comp. Callim. fragm. 187. Bœus and Simmias ἐν Ἀπόλλωνι ap. Anton. Liber. c. 20. Tzet.

this however is borrowed from the real worship, from one of the sacred rites of Delphi, where asses were sacrificed at the Pythian festival.^p Lastly, the account given of the death of the Hyperboreans strongly reminds us of the rites of the Thargelia, and the leap at Leucate; we are told that, tired of a long existence, they leapt, crowned with garlands, from a rock into the sea.^q

CHAP. V.

§ 1. The Apollo of Tempe, Delphi, Delos, Crete, Lycia, Troy, Athens, and Peloponnesus, the same deity. § 2. Apollo Nomius of Arcadia rightly distinguished from the preceding. § 3. Apollo the father of Æsculapius likewise a distinct deity. § 4 and 5. Apollo not originally an elementary deity, or god of the sun. § 6. Origin of this idea. § 7. Rites of Apollo unlike those of the elementary deities.

1. HAVING treated of the extension and propagation of the worship of Apollo, and some of the most remarkable legends and fables connected with it, we next turn our attention to the nature and character of the religion itself.

In the first place, then, we shall remind the reader of a position sufficiently established by the foregoing inquiries; that the Apollo of Tempe, Delphi, Delos,

zes Chil. VII. 144. v. 677. (compare Brunck Anal. vol. II. p. 525.) Gesner comment. Soc. Gotting. vol. II. p. 33.

^p Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. N^o. 1688. lin. 14.

^q Mela and Plin. ubi sup. cf. Hellanic. ubi sup. It is re-

markable that this custom of leaping from high rocks occurs, in precisely the same manner as among the Hyperboreans, in Scandinavian legends. See Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, p. 486.

Crete, Lycia, Troy, Athens, and Peloponnesus, is the same god, and not, as was very frequently the case in the religions of Greece, a combination of several deities under one name. This conclusion we supported as well by historical accounts respecting the foundation of his numerous temples, as by the evidence derived from a recurrence of the same names, rites, and symbols; such, for example, as the titles of Lycius and Lycia, Delphinus and Pythius; the oracles and sibyls; the purifications and expiations; the custom of leaping from rocks; decimations; the golden summer, and bloodless oblations; the laurel-berries; the legend of the Hyperboreans, and the cycle of eight years. Hence the theologians mentioned by Cicero^a were wrong in endeavouring without any authority to distinguish between the Athenian, Cretan, and Hyperborean Apollo.

2. It appears, however, that they were warranted in distinguishing from the rest the Apollo Nomius of Arcadia; although in their etymology of the name,^b which made him a divine *lawgiver*, they by no means followed the most authentic sources of religious history. The correct account is without doubt that given by Pindar,^c who calls Aristæus, conjointly with Zeus and Apollo, a protector of flocks, and guardian of huntsmen. In fact, Aristæus and his son Actæon were ancient deities of the early Pelasgic inhabitants of Greece.^d That god also protected agriculture and pasturing, warded off the scorching heat of summer, charmed by incantations the mild Etesian winds, and

^a De Nat. Deor. III. 23.

^b So also Etymol. M. in νόμοι κίθαρι. p. 607. Referred to music (from νόμος, a strain) by Schol. Pind. Nem. V. 42. Procl.

Chrestom. p. 282. 13. in Gaisford's Hephæstion.

^c Pyth. IX. 64. Boeckh. Explic. p. 324.

^d Orchomenos, p. 348.

loved hunting and the care of bees. His chief haunts were the plains under mount Pelion and Iolcus—from which place his worship was introduced into Cyrene—the fertile valley of Thebes, Parrhasia in Arcadia,^o and the Parrhasian island of Ceos;^f at Cyrene, Apollo and Cyrene were called his parents.^g The genealogy attributed to Aristæus varied considerably in different places; through the prevalence of Greek worship in Arcadia he was considered identical with Apollo. It was remembered that the Delphian god had also tended the herds of Admetus; and perhaps the national worship of Aristæus at Pheræ had partly contributed to the formation of this fable.^h Deities, whose worship at an early period fell into disuse, were adapted and modified in various ways to suit the ruling powers: and even if a complete and consistent system of mythology was eradicated and destroyed as a whole, yet particular portions of it would combine themselves with the prevailing religion, and thus obtain a new existence. Thus also the ancient elementary deity, which had received the name of Apollo Nomius, was called the son of the ancient Silenus,ⁱ because his attributes seemed to resemble those of the attendants of Bacchus.^k I shall take occasion hereafter to explain

^o The Parrhasian Apollo on mount Lycæum (Paus. VIII. 38. 2.) was originally the Apollo Nomius.

^f Cicero de Div. I. 57. 130. from Heraclides Ponticus.

^g Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 500. partly from Bacchylides, Pherecydes fragm. 42. ed. Sturz.

^h Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 514. cf. Schol. Il. 4. 766.

ⁱ Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 8. cf. Porphy. Vit. Pythag. § 16.

Cyrril. adv. Julian. p. 542.

^k The statement that Pythagoras placed at Delphi on a grave an inscription of these words, "Apollo the son of Silenus," is a confused and fabulous story of late times, Porphy. ubi sup. The wild olive was sacred to Apollo Nomius, according to Theocritus XXV. 20; and he was considered the author of a kind of epilepsy, Hippocrat. de Morbo Sacro, p. 303.

the connexion between the Carnean Apollo and this deity.¹

3. It should also be observed that Apollo and Æsculapius were connected in fable and mythology; and this at an early period, for Hesiod called Æsculapius the son of Apollo;^m but, as it appears, only in mythology, and not in any religious worship. Thus neither at Tricca, Lebadea, Epidaurus, nor Cos, were Apollo Pæan and Æsculapius intimately connected; nor do we ever find that they had altars, festivals, or sacrifices in common, except perhaps in a temple at the modern town of Megalopolis.ⁿ This practical difference may be accounted for by the national origin of the two worships. For Phlegyas, the ancestor of Æsculapius, and the sons of Æsculapius mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue, belonged to races which were hostile both to the Dorians and the temple of Delphi; and the dispersion of the schools of the Asclepiadæ through Greece had nothing in common with the foundation of the temples of Apollo.

4. Having made these distinctions, we now return to the principal position established by the preceding inquiries; viz., that it was the Dorians among whom the religion of Apollo was the most ancient, important, and truly national worship.

The Dorians being an active and heroic people, it is natural that their peculiar religious feelings should have had a like tendency. Hence, as they displayed a perpetual aversion to the innocent employments of husbandry, and a love for active and military exertion, their national god was exactly the reverse of the elementary deities worshipped by the agricultural races.

¹ Below, ch. 8. § 15.

^m Hesiod. fragm. 21. ed. Gais-

ford.

ⁿ Paus. VIII. 30.

But this inference seems to be invalidated by an opinion entertained by many at least of the later Greeks, and by most modern writers on mythology, that Apollo was an elementary deity, the deified personification of the sun. On the whole of this difficult and doubtful subject it is not my intention now to enter; but I shall be satisfied with laying before the reader the principal arguments on both sides, and afterwards stating my own views on the subject.

5. In the first place, then, the accounts above given of Apollo returning from the Hyperboreans with the ripe ears of corn, and the tribute of the golden ears, certainly suggest the idea of a guardian of agriculture.^o On the coins of Metapontum we frequently see these ears of corn, with the grasshopper, or mouse both in the act of creeping, upon the reverse. The same explanation is applicable to both symbols. The mouse and grasshopper are animals hurtful to the corn, which the god was supplicated to protect from their attacks. In like manner the Cretan Apollo Σμίνθειος was doubtless a destroyer of field mice (σμίμβοι);^p and his statue was represented with one foot upon a mouse.^q

^o Apollo is represented with a crown of ears on his head, in a gem in Lippert's Dactyliontheke I. p. 62. N^o. 145. Sometimes also on coins there is only a grain of corn with symbols of Apollo, e. g., on those of Hephaestia and Abdera.

^p Σμίνθοι ἀρουραῖοι, Æschylus ap. Ælian. Hist. An. XII. 15.

^q Strabo XIII. p. 604. Schol. II. 4. 89. Ælian ubi sup. Tzet. ad Lycoph. 1302. Apollo bears a mouse in his hand on a coin of Hadrian, belonging to Alexandria Troas, Mionnet, tom. II. p.

644. A painted vase in Tischbein II. 17. probably refers to the sacred mice of a Smintheum; concerning which see Heraclid. Pont. ap. Strab. ubi sup. According to Pollux IX. 6. 84. the Argives had a mouse on their coins (as an emblem of Apollo); Eckhel has none of this kind; Mr. Payne Knight's collection contains a very small ancient gold coin with this type. See Knight on the Symbolical Language of Mythology, § 128. note.

Again, in Rhodes he was called ἐρυσίβιος, "the averter of mildew;" which attribute was peculiarly suitable to him, as being one of the Triopian deities, one of whom was Demeter, the destroyer of Erysichthon. These are probably the chief reasons which can be adduced in favour of the position that Apollo was an elementary deity; reasons which are founded on the symbols and ceremonies of the real worship, and not on the opinions of later philosophers. But, first, the argument that Apollo was an elementary god, because he was a patron and protector of agriculture, is inconclusive; for he performs this office in his character of guardian and averter of misfortune generally. The case indeed would be otherwise, had Apollo been supposed either to call forth the seed from the earth or bring it to maturity; no trace however of these functions being attributed to him ever occurs. It is therefore unnecessary on this account to identify him with the sun. And it may be remarked likewise, that the chief festivals of Apollo were not connected with any remarkable epochs of the sun's course, but rather with the rising of the stars, particularly of the pleiads, and with the phases of the moon. Thus the new moon was sacred to Apollo, who hence received the name of Νισομήνιος;^a and so likewise the first quarter, or the seventh day; and, finally, the full moon (διχομηνία), particularly in the island of Zacynthus.^b From these circumstances, however, no one will infer that Apollo was a god of the moon.

We do not, however, deny that Apollo and the god of the sun admitted in particular points of a comparison

^a Strabo XIII. p. 613.

258.

^b Philochorus ap. Schol. Vulg. ad Od. XX. 155. cf. ad XXI.

^c Plutarch Dion. 23.

and parallel with each other; the source of external light might be a symbol of the "bright and pure" god; and indeed the Platonists favoured this supposition,^u which is not, however, supported by any historical authority. The worship of the sun was practised in the Acropolis of Corinth, at Rhodes, Athens, and in earlier times also at Calauria and Tænarum; but in none of these places was it connected with the rites of Apollo.^x

6. This naturally leads us to inquire how any ideal connexion between Apollo and the sun, if it really existed, should have been entirely overlooked for so many centuries; how was it that these deities were not identified till the Grecian mythology had ceased to have any influence upon the ideas and feelings of mankind? Even when the Egyptian interpreters identified Horus with Apollo, they were in all probability guided only by the resemblance between the destroyer of the Python and the vanquisher of Baby (Typhon in Greek).^y The Persian magi, however, in discovering a connexion between the worship of Apollo and their religion (on which account Xerxes preserved from injury the island where Apollo and Artemis were born),^z were influenced by a well-grounded comparison, which we shall find occasion to confirm in a subsequent chapter;^a yet, in all probability, it was not the sun, but Ormuzd, whom they supposed to be Apollo. It was

^u Plutarch de Defect. Orac. 7, 12. de Pyth. Orac. 12. Symp. Quæst. III. 10.

^x Æginetica, p. 27. The Apollo Ἡλεῖος at Argos (Paus. VIII. 46. 2.) is hardly a Ἡλῖος.

^y The Troezenian Ὠρεός (Paus. II. 30. 6.) was probably a god of the seasons, and afterwards

the sun; but ὥρα and the Ægyptian Horus cannot surely have any etymological connexion.

^z Herod. VI. 97. Pseudo-Plat. Axioch. p. 371 A. comp. Æsch. Pers. 206.

^a See below, ch. 6. § 10.

not until the philosophers of the Ionic school identified the deities of the popular creed partly with material powers and objects, and partly with the attributes of the universal intellect (νοῦς), that the doctrine was advanced of Apollo being the sun. From them Euripides, who called Zeus the air, and Vesta the earth, was naturally among the first to receive it. In the tragedy of Phaethon, the mother of the unfortunate youth complained against his father Helios as follows; "*Rightly does he who knows the secret names of the gods call thee Apollo*" (the destroyer);^b referring, without doubt, not to any doctrine connected with, or revealed in the mysteries, but to a philosophical interpretation. This opinion, thus adopted by Euripides, became still more general at Alexandria; and Callimachus blames those "who separate Apollo from the sun, and Artemis from the moon."^c Soon afterwards it was said to have originated in very early times; and the author of the astronomical treatise attributed to Eratosthenes^d relates, that Orpheus the Thracian had from the top of a mountain, at break of day, prayed to the sun, whom he also called Apollo, as the greatest of all the deities.^e Nevertheless, this statement does not authorize us to infer, that in the ancient Orphic Hymns, previous to Herodotus, Apollo and the sun were identified. For this system of reli-

^b Eurip. Phaeth. fr. 2. Matthiæ. Ἀπόλλω δ' ἐν βροτοῖς σ' ὀρθῶς καλεῖ Ὅστις τὰ σιγῶντ' ὀνόματ' οἶδε δαιμόνων.

^c Fragm. 48. The same doctrine was followed by Apollodorus (Macrob. Sat. I. 17.) and Philochorus, according to whom there was a Helios-Apollo among the Tritopatores, ap. Strab. XIV.

p. 655.

^d C. 24. It is only the following narration which is taken from the Bassarides of Æschylus; comp. Timotheus περὶ κοσμοποιίας ap. Euseb. Scalig. p. 4.

^e This fact refers to the actual worship of the sun in Thrace, Sophocles in Tereo ap. Schol. II. XV. 705.

gious speculation was chiefly concerned about Bacchus; and in all the Orphic fragments of any antiquity Apollo is hardly ever noticed.^f

7. It seems, therefore, that whatever might have been the poetical attributes of Apollo in late times, in his religious character he was never an elementary deity, the essence of whose godhead is a personification of the creative powers of nature. None of the characteristic marks of such a religion are discoverable in his worship. So far from being a god of generation^g and production, he remains unmarried and youthful; for it is easy to see that his poetical amour with the nymph Daphne, and his sons, mentioned in poetry and prophecy, have no connexion with his worship. In his sacred rites and symbols there is no trace of the adoration of the generative powers, like those occurring in the ancient Arcadian worship of Hermes, the Argive fables of Here, or the Attic legends of Hephaestus and Athene. The worship of Apollo is even still more widely removed from the boisterous and frantic orgies so conspicuous in the Thracian rites of Dionysus. And although this latter worship flourished by the side of Helicon and Parnassus, near the Pythian temple, and both kinds of religious worship were practised in the immediate neighbourhood of each

^f The passages in which he is considered as the god of the sun, a fragment in J. Diaconus, and a hymn, are of the latest date. The Sibylline oracle in Zosimus II. 6. where Apollo is called Helius, is of the Alexandrine age; likewise the strange hymn in Brunck's *Analecta*, vol. II. p. 518. is of very late date. Moreover, the coins, in which Apollo is represented with rays

round his head, are, as far as I can discover, all of the age of the emperors.

^g The Apollo γενέτωρ of Delos was probably so called with a fixed though obscure reference, like the Apollo πατῆρ, which the Orphic philosophers in Macrobius Sat. I. 17. also explained to be progenitor in general. See above, ch. 2. § 15.

other,^h yet the religious feelings and rites which distinguished the services of the two gods always remained dissimilar.

In the subsequent discussion we shall accordingly take for granted the original diversity of Apollo and the sun; and though the rites of the worship of Apollo, as preserved and recorded in later times, are doubtless of greater antiquity than any written documents which either we or the Greeks possessed, it will be convenient first to state the clearer and more intelligible accounts of Homer on the subject of Apollo, his divine character and worship.

CHAP. VI.

§ 1. Homer's Conception of Apollo. § 2. Apollo as a punishing deity. § 3. Apollo as a beneficent deity. § 4. Explanation of the name Pæan. § 5. Of the name Agyieus. § 6. Of the name Apollo. § 7. Of the name Phoebus. § 8. Of the name Lyceus. § 9. Religious Attributes of Apollo.

1. HOMER, as we have already seen, had, both from hearsay and personal observation, acquired a very accurate knowledge of the Cretan worship of Apollo in the Smintheum, in the citadel of Troy, in Lycia near mounts Ida and Cragus, as well as of Pytho and the Delian palm-tree. His picture of Apollo is, however, considerably changed by the circumstance of the god acting as a friend to the Trojans and an enemy to the Greeks, although both equally honour him with sacrifices and pæans. Yet he generally appears to the

^h *Orchomenos*, p. 383. compare *hum.* p. 89. Creuzer *Symbolik*, pare Schwarz *Miscell. Polit.* vol. III. p. 166.

Greeks in a darker and more unfavourable view. "*Dread the son of Zeus*," says the priest of Chryse to the Greeks, "*he walks dark as night; the sure and deadly arrows rattle on his shoulders*." His punishments are sudden sickness, rapid pestilence, and death, the cause and occasion of which is generally unseen; yet sometimes he grants death as a blessing.^a His arrows are said to wound from afar, because they are unforeseen and unexpected. He is called the far-darting god;^b his divine vengeance never misses its aim. He appears in the terror of his might when from the heights of the citadel he stimulates the Trojans with a loud war-cry to the combat;^c and leads them on, a cloud around his shoulders, and the ægis in his hand, into the thick of the battle,^d like Ares himself,^e though far from showing the boisterous confidence of that deity. Achilles, to whom he is indeed particularly hostile, calls him the most pernicious of all the gods. Even when he appears amongst the gods, "*all tremble before him in the palace of Zeus, and rise from their seats; while Latona alone rejoices that she has produced so strong a son and so powerful an archer*."^f

It is remarkable how seriously Homer (who otherwise speaks of the gods, and particularly of those friendly to Troy, with some levity of expression)^g de-

^a Od. XV. 402. cf. III. 280. XI. 171. II. XXIV. 759. Artemis kills women for him, as in Pindar Pyth. V. 10. On Artemis and Apollo, as gods of death, see Nast's Opusc. Lat. P. 11. n. 12. p. 293 sqq.

^b ἑκατος, ἐκάεργος, ἐκηβόλος, ἐκατηβέλτης, ἀφῆτωρ.

^c H. IV. 508. VII. 21.

^d XV. 308. XVI. 703.

^e See Pind. Pyth. IV. 86.

^f Hom. Hymn. Apoll. Del. 13.

^g Homer represents Aphrodite as the protector of Æneas and antagonist of Diomed, and Ares in battle for the Trojans, in a disadvantageous light; and describes, with evident irony, the weakness of the goddess, and the brutal confidence of the

scribes the character of Apollo. He is never represented as hurried on by blind fury. He never opposes the Greeks without reason, or through caprice, but only when they disregard the sacred rights of priests and suppliants, or assume an unusual degree of arrogance. But when the gods separate into two bodies, and descend to the contest, he, unmoved by passion, shuns the combat, and speaks of the quick succession of the race of man in a manner which betokens the oracular deity of Pytho.^h A similar spirit is perceivable in his address to the daring Diomed: "*The race of the immortal gods resembles not that of mortals*." Thus Apollo appears as the minister of vengeance, the chastiser of arrogance. Consistently with this character he destroys the proud Niobe,ⁱ the unruly Aloidæ,^k Tityus and the Python, the enemies of the gods. His contests with Eurytus of Æchalia, and with Phorbas the Phlegyan, were grounded on historical facts; the former alluded to the enmity between the Dorians and Æchalians, the latter to that between the Pythian sanctuary and the Phlegyans.^l

2. We will now examine the notions of other poets on the character of Apollo as a revenging and punishing deity, in which light he is introduced by Homer.

god. In like manner, Diana and the river-god Scamander sometimes play a very undignified part. Apollo, alone, always maintains his dignity.

^h Il. XXI. 464. cf. XXIV. 40. ὃ οὐτ' ἄρ' φρένες εἰσὶν ἐναίσιμοι.

ⁱ Il. XXIV. 606.

^k Od. XI. 517.

^l Il. VIII. 227. He overcomes Phorbas in a boxing-match, Eurytus in a contest of

archery, to which the latter had challenged all the gods; hence he is in general supposed to preside over contests with the cæstus (Il. XXIII. 660. Plutarch. Quæst. Symp. VIII. 4); and amongst the Dorians, who loved the sports of the field, was particularly considered as a patron of archery and huntmen. Il. XXIII. 872. Soph. Œd. C. 1091. Pollux V. 5. 39.

Archilochus calls upon Apollo to "*punish and destroy the guilty as he is wont to destroy them.*"^m Hipponax, the successor of Archilochus in vituperative satiric poetry, prays that "Artemis and Apollo may destroy thee;"ⁿ and Æschylus, with manifest allusion to the name, says, Ἀπόλλων ἀπώλεσας;^o which, however, can hardly entitle us to infer that the name of Apollo was really derived from ἀπολεῖν;^p for we should lose sight of one main point, viz., the object against which his destructive powers were directed, or be reduced to consider him an universal destroyer, a character which is ill adapted to mark the nature of a divine being of any kind whatsoever. Apollo slays, indeed, but only to inflict deserved punishment. At Megara was exhibited the tomb of Corœbus, who had slain the Fury sent by Apollo against that town, to punish the crimes of the fathers by destroying their children.^q After this action, Corœbus was ordered to carry in his arms a tripod from Pytho, and erect on the spot where he should fall down from exhaustion, a town (Tripodiscus) and a temple to the god. This explains why many sacred fines were at Corinth, Patara, and Amphipolis,^r paid into the temple of Apollo, who thus appears, in some measure, as enforcing his own judg-

^m Ὡναξ Ἀπολλων, καὶ σὺ μὲν τοὺς αἰτίους Πήμαινε, καὶ σφᾶς ὅλλυσ' ὥσπερ ὀλλύεις. Fragm. 79. ed. Gaisford. Compare Blomfield ad Æsch. Agam. 66. Gloss.

ⁿ Ἀπὸ σ' ὀλέσειεν Ἀρτεμὶς τε χάπ' ὀλλων, Fragm. 16. ed. Welcker.

^o Æschyl. Agam. 1091. Plato Cratyl. p. 405. and Eurip. Phæth. (above, p. 306. note ^m.) allude to the same derivation.

^p Hermann Ueber das Wesen der Mythologie, p. 107.

^q Pausan. I. 43. 7. Anthol. Palat. VII. 154. On a coin of Prusia Apollo is represented with a scourge in his hand, Mionnet Descript. tom. II. p. 482.

^r Herod. III. 52. Walpole's Travels, p. 541. In an Asiatic inscription of the cod. Sherard. these fines are called ἱερὰ δραχμαί.

ments. Æschylus refers to his office of avenging murder, where he speaks of Apollo, Pan, and Zeus, as the gods who send the Furies;^a Zeus as ruler of the world, Pan as the dæmon that disorders the intellect, Apollo as the god of punishment. Hence it was not without reason that the Romans believed Apollo to be represented in a statue of the god Vejovis, a terrible god, equipped with arrows.^b At least there is some connexion between him and Apollo καταιβάσιος, "who darts down in the lightning;" to whom the Thessalians vowed every year a hecatomb of men.^c At Argos it was the custom immediately after death for the relations to sacrifice to Apollo as a god of death; the priest of Apollo (the amphipolus) offered up the victim, and for consuming the fragments of the sacrifice a new fire was always kindled. On the thirtieth day afterwards a sacrifice was offered to Hermes as the conductor of souls.^d

3. Although we have thus dwelt upon the gloomy side of Apollo's character, it must not be supposed that he was considered in the light of a malevolent and destroying power. Thus Pindar declares that of all the gods "he is the most friendly to men."^e His titles, also, as connected with different temples, serve to remove that impression. Thus he was called the Healer at Elis,^f the Assister at Phigaleia,^g the Defender, the Averter of Evil,^h at Athens, and in many

^a Agamem. 55.

^b Gellius N. A. V. 12.

^c Schol. Eurip. Phœn. 1446.

^d Plut. Quæst. Græc. 24.

^e Plut. de Ei 21. p. 246. de Defect. Orac. 7. p. 309. non posse suav. vivi sec. Epicur. 23. p. 124. Perhaps, likewise, the Apollo Philesius should be re-

ferred to this head.

^f Ἀκήσιος. Paus. VI. 24. 5.

^g ἀκέστωρ, Eurip. Androm. 900.

^h Ἐπικούριος, Paus. VIII. 32

—41. 5.

ⁱ Ἀλεξίκακος, ibid. I. 3. 3.

Aristoph. Pac. 420. Compare

Visconti, Museo Pio-Clement.

I. p. 27.

oracles.^c Although some of these names were perhaps not introduced until the Peloponnesian war, and the restriction of his avenging power to physical evil is first perceptible in Pindar and the tragedians,^d yet the idea of the healing and protecting power of Apollo must have been of remote antiquity. Under all these names Apollo does not so much appear bestowing positive good as assuaging and warding off evil; and in this character he was invoked (according to an oracle) to send health and good fortune.^e

4. The preceding arguments may perhaps receive confirmation from a description of the god PÆAN (Παιήων) in Homer. The name clearly betokens a healing deity, and though the poet indeed speaks of him as a separate individual, and the physician of Olympus,^f yet this division appears to have been merely poetical, without any reference to actual worship; since from very early times the pæan had, in the Pythian temple,^g been appointed to be sung in honour of

^c Ἀποτροπαῖος, Orac. ap. Demosth. in Mid. p. 331. 27. Inscript. in Walpole's Travels, p. 547. No. 38. Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, vol. I. p. 25. called προστάτης, in the colonies on the Pontus, above, ch. 2. § 6. comp. Soph. Trach. 208. with Hermann's note. He is invoked in his character of Προστατήριος to avert nightly terrors, in Soph. Elec. 638; in Aj. 187 he keeps off madness; in Eurip. Herc. Fur. 821, the fury. Πύθιοι καὶ σωτήριοι θεοί. Boeckh Corp. Inscript. N^o. 1693.

^d Pind. Pyth. v. 63. cf. IV. 270. Aristoph. Plut. 8. Soph. Œd. T. 149. Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 72. See, however, Il. XVI. 527. He was called Δοί-

μος at Lindus, Macrobian. Sat. I. 17. Medicus at Rome about 416 A.U.C. Ἰατρὸς, Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1206.

^e Demosth. in Mid. ubi sup.

^f Il. v. 401, 899. with Schol. Venet. cf. Od. IV. 232. Aristarchus considered Apollo and Pæon in Homer as identical, yet Hesiod distinguishes them in the fragment in Eustath. ad Od. p. 1493. Schol. Min. ad l. (cf. Hemsterhuis in Gaisford's Poetæ Min. p. 551), and perhaps also in Brunck's Analecta, vol. I. p. 67.

^g Hom. Hymn. ad Apoll. Pyth. Eurip. Ion 128, 140. Pindar's Pæan in the Fragments.

Apollo.^h The song, like other hymns, derived its name from that of the god to whom it was sung. The god was first called pæan, then the hymn, and lastly the singers themselves.ⁱ Now we know that the pæan was originally sung at the cessation of a plague, and after a victory, and generally, when any evil was averted, it was performed as a purification from the pollution.^k The chant was loud and joyous, as celebrating the victory of the preserving and healing deity.^l Besides the pæans of victory,^m however, there were others which were sung at the beginning of battle;ⁿ and there was a tradition that the chorus of Delphian virgins had chanted "*Io Pæan*" at the contest of Apollo with the Python.^o The pæan of victory varied according to the different tribes; all Dorians, viz., Spartans, Argives, Corinthians, and Syracusans, had the same.^p This use of the pæan, as a song of rejoic-

^h Proclus apud Phot. ιδίως απέκειτο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι.

ⁱ Hom. Hymn. 272, 320.

^k Proclus ubi sup. Hesych. In Soph. Œd. T. 152. a song of a chorus resembling a pæan has these words; Φοῖβος—σωτήρ θ' ἵκοιτο καὶ νόσον πανστήριος. cf. Schol. ad v. 174. et Suid. in *ιηίων*.

^l Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 21. Næniæ and pæans opposed to one another. Eurip. Iph. T. 183. The god of death was honoured with no pæan. Æsch. Niob. Frag. 5. Pæans to Hades, the Furies, &c. are an oxymoron; see Monk ad Eurip. Alc. 431.

^m Comp. the pæans of the Spartans at the Gymnopædia for the battle of Thermopylæ. Etymolog. Mag. p. 243, 4. Apollo and Artemis, gods of vic-

tory, Soph. Trach. 207.

ⁿ See Æschyl. Theb. 250. The ὀδυνηγμός (*ululatus*) which is here mentioned was in part the ἐλελεῦ, which according to Plutarch Thes. 22. occurred in singing the pæan and at the libation (in this passage σπένδοντες is evidently the right meaning). Hence Apollo is called ἐλελεὺς in Macrobian. Sat. I. 17. From this also comes the ἐλελίζειν which Xenophon often mentions, but distinguishes it from the pæan, and represents it as performed to Enyalios or Ares, Anab. I. 8. 18. cf. V. 2. 14. Hell. II. 4, 17.

^o Callim. Apoll. 113. Apoll. Rhod. II. 710. cf. Athen. XV. p. 701 C. Duris ap. Etym. Mag. in *ιηίε*.

^p Thuc. VII. 44. cf. IV. 43.

ing for victory, sufficiently explains its double meaning; it bore a mournful sense in reference to the battle, and a joyous sense in reference to the victory. Apollo, under this name, was therefore either considered as a destroying (from *παίω*), or as a protecting and healing deity, who frees the mind from care and sorrow;^a and accordingly the tragedians, by an analogical application of the word, also called Death, to whom both these attributes belonged, by the title of *Pæan*.⁷ And thus this double character of Apollo, by virtue of which he was equally formidable as a foe, and welcome as an ally,⁸ was authorized by the ambiguity of his name.

5. On the other hand, the title *AGYIEUS* had a single signification.⁴ This appellation of Apollo was peculiar to the Dorians,⁵ and consequently of great antiquity at Delphi;⁶ from which place, however, it was brought over to Athens at a very early period, and indeed partly at the command of an oracle.⁷ His statue was erected in court-yards, and before the doors of houses; that is, at the boundary of private and public property, in order to admit the god as a tutelary deity, and to avert evil. The symbol or image of the god

^a Æsch. Agam. 99.

⁷ Eurip. Hippol. 1373. Æsch. ap. Stob. Serm. p. 121.

⁸ Æsch. Agam. 518.

⁴ Tzet. ad Lycoph. 352.

⁵ Dieuchidas in Megaricis ap. Schol. Aristophan. Vesp. 870. Harpocrat. In Tegea (derived from Sparta) Paus. VIII. 53. 1. 2.

⁶ Above, ch. 4. § 2.

⁷ Demosth. in Mid. p. 331. comp. Varro ap. Porphy. ad Horat. Carm. IV. 6. 28. ex responso sui (Pythii) oraculi in

viis publicis urbis suæ Athenienses statutis altaribus sacrificare Apollini instituerunt et Agyeum appellare. Also Eurip. Ion 186. to which Eustath. ad Il. p. 166. Rom. refers. Varro is probably followed by Euanthius De Tragoedia et Comœdia: *Athenienses cum Apollini Nomio vel Ἀγυιάς* (as Osann. Auctar. Lex. p. 82. corrects), i. e. *pastorum vicinorumque* (read *vicorumque*) *præsidii deo constructis aris festum carmen solenniter cantarent.*

was most simple, being a conical block of stone. The ancients knew not whether to consider it as an altar or statue.² The worship consisted of a constant succession of trifling services and marks of adoration.³ Frankincense was burnt before the pillar;^b it was bedecked with wreaths of myrtle, garlands, &c. This was sufficient to remind, and at the same time to assure, the ancient Dorians of the protecting presence of their deity. The Athenians represented their Hermes in a similar manner. This god, although fundamentally distinct from Apollo, was invested by them with the same offices: thus the statues of both gods were placed, as protecting powers, in front of the houses: both gods were supposed to confer blessings on those who either entered or left the house: both were represented by simple columnar statues. With Apollo, however, this protection was rather of a spiritual and inward nature: while the phallic form, which always distinguished the Hermæ of Athens, shows that this god was considered to afford, by increasing the fruitfulness of the fields and cattle, and generally all the products of nature, a more external and physical assistance.

6. To these titles may perhaps be added the name of *APOLLO* itself. That we must search for its etymology in the Greek language alone, and that it could have been derived from no other source, is evident

² Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 870. Thesm. 496. Eq. 1317. Schol. Eurip. Phœn. 634. Harpocrat. Hesych. Helladius ap. Phot. cod. 279. p. 1596. Plautus Mercat. IV. 1. 9. Steph. Byz. in Ἀγυιά, also Otto de Diis Vialibus, et Zoëga De Obeliscis p. 210. The Agyieus often occurs on coins, instead of other emblems of Apollo, where numis-

matic writers have not recognised the symbol. See the coins of Apollonia in Epirus, Apta in Crete, Megara, Byzantium, Oricus, Ambracia, where the statue is surrounded with fillets.

³ Eurip. Ion. ubi sup.

^b *κνισσάν Ἀγυιάς*, Demosth. ubi sup. and Stephens's Thesaurus, ed. Lond. vol. I. p. 1048.

from the preceding investigations. In the first place, then, we cannot derive it from the sun, ΑΦΕΛΙΟΣ,^c since the digamma is never changed into Π. The derivation from ΟΛΩ we have already rejected, as being founded on a partial and occasional attribute of the god.^d On the other hand, we may observe that the ancient Doric Æolian form of the name was not 'Απόλλων but 'Απέλλων,^e which also obtained amongst the ancient Latins,^f and from which the Macedonian and Delphian month *Apellæus* evidently derived its name. Now if this is admitted to be the original form, 'Απέλλων simply means the *avert* or *defender*,^g and belongs to the same class as 'Αλεξίκακος, 'Αποτροπαῖος, and other names mentioned above.

7. All these names, however, only indicate the attributes and actions of the deity; but the name ΠΗΕΒΥΣ expresses more nearly his peculiar nature. From its original sense of "*bright*," "*clear*," its secondary sense of "*pure*," "*unstained*," is easily derived;^h and hence the term φοιβάζειν (which per-

^c 'Αβέλιος, the Cretans and Pamphylians, Hesych. in v. Comp. Hemsterhuis ad Hesych. in θάβακον, Koen ad Greg. Corinth. p. 354. ed. Schæfer. βέλα ἡλιος καὶ αὐγή, a Laconism according to Hesychius.

^d The jocular etymology of Plato from πολεῖν, and the absurd one from ἀπολύνε, mentioned by Cicero de Nat. Deor. II. 27. Plutarch. de Ei 9. p. 228 (because Apollo was τὸ ἐν, De Iside 76. p. 207). cf. Macrobian Sat. I. 17. and others in the Etymol. M., I may be excused from examining.

^e Maittaire, p. 152, 264.

^f Festus in v. Comp. Schnei-

der, Lat. Gram. vol. I. 1. p. 12.

^g There appear to be two radical forms, having nearly the same meaning, from which the word ΑΠΕΛΛΩΝ might be derived. First ΦΕΛ or ΦΕΛΦ, VOLVO, "to roll," "to press together," and ΕΛ, "to push," "strike, drive," &c. 'Ελάσαι, ἐλαύνειν, &c., are evidently derivatives of this ΕΛ; from which it is probable that ἀπέλλων or ἀπόλλων is derived, as Homer constantly uses Φέλω, but ἐλάσαι, &c., as well as 'Απόλλων, without the digamma.

^h See Apollon. Lex. Hom. p. 833. ed. Villosion. Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 301.

haps is connected with the Latin *februare*), "to expiate." Phœbus therefore is the clear and spotless god, often emphatically called the "pure and holy" (ἄγνός θεός).ⁱ This name is particularly applied to him when he returns purified from Tempe.^k The same meaning is implied in the epithet ξανθός, which also signifies "pure," and "clear;"^l hence the streams near the temples of Apollo in Troy and Lycia were called Xanthus,^m and amongst the Macedonians the expiatory festival of the army bore the title of *Xanthica*.ⁿ In allusion to Apollo as a god of joy and gladness, Æschylus frequently forbids that he should be invoked in sorrow.^o Several other passages from poets and grammarians might be adduced to support this idea.^p

8. We now come to the most enigmatical of all the titles of Apollo, viz., "LYCEUS." It was shown above, that Apollo Lycius was worshipped at Lycorea on mount Parnassus, in Lycia at the foot of mount Cragus, in Lycia under mount Ida, at Athens, Argos, Sparta, and Sicyon. This religion must have been of greater antiquity than the Greek colonies in Asia Minor, having been carried over thither at the time of

ⁱ Æsch. Suppl. 222. Pindar

Pyth. IX. 66. Plutarch. de Ei

20. p. 243. De Exilio 17. p.

386. *Apollo sanctus*, Cicero

Tusc. Quæst. IV. 34. Mont-

faucon Inscript. vol. I. pl. 52.

Nº. 10. The term φοιβονομεῖ-

σθαι was used of the Thessalian

diviners, when they lived apart

on the ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι, Plu-

tarch. de Ei 20. p. 243.

^k Plutarch. de Def. Orac. 2

^l Theophrast. de Lapid. 37.

^m Compare φοῖβον ὕδωρ

Apollon. Lex. in v. Lycophr.

v. 1009.

ⁿ Sturz. de Lingua Macedonica.

^o Agamemn. 1084, 1088. cf.

Eurip. Alcest. 22.

^p Æsch. Theb. 696, 865. Eu-

rip. ap. Plutarch. de Ei 20. p.

246. λοιβαὶ νεκρῶν φθιμένων

ᾄοιδαὶ ἃς ὁ χρυσοκόμας 'Απόλ-

λων οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, which Her-

mann has received in Eurip.

Suppl. 999. Hesych. in ἀκερσε-

λόμης. Creuzer Meletem. vol. I.

p. 31.

their establishment. Homer was also acquainted with this title of Apollo.

In explanation of this epithet we every where find traditions concerning wolves. The descendants of Deucalion, who survived the deluge, following a wolf's roar, founded Lycorea on a ridge of mount Parnassus. Latona came as a she-wolf from the Hyperboreans to Delos: she was conducted by wolves to the river Xanthus. Wolves protected the treasures of Apollo; and near the great altar at Delphi there stood an iron wolf with ancient inscriptions.¹ The attack of a wolf upon a herd of cattle occasioned the worship of Apollo Lyceus at Argos, where a brazen group of figures, commemorating the circumstance, was erected in the market-place.² The Sicyonian tradition of Apollo "the destroyer of wolves" is certainly of less antiquity, as also the epithet *Λυκοκτόνος* (*Lupercus*), which occurs in Sophocles and other authors.³

Now in inquiring into the meaning of the symbol of the wolf in this signification, it may be first remarked that it is a beast of prey. In this point of view it cannot but appear a remarkable coincidence that Apollo should in the *Iliad* assume the form of a hawk,⁴ and a species of falcon should be called his swift messenger.⁵ Thus also the tragedians frequently

¹ Paus. X. 14. 4. The names of the chief priestesses were here registered, Plutarch. Pericl. 21.

² Plutarch. Pyrrh. 32. For Athens see above, p. 264. note ^c. On the sanctity of the wolf there, Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 124.

³ Elect. 6. cf. Schol. ad l. et ad Æsch. Theb. 147. Plutarch. de Sol. Anim. 9. p. 155. He-

sych. in *λυκοκτόνος*. Paus. II. 9. 7.

⁴ Il. XV. 239. cf. Antonin. Liber. c. 28. Ælian. H. A. X. 14. Aristoph. Av. 516. [The translators conceive that nothing more is meant in the passage of Homer than that Apollo flew swiftly as a hawk flies swiftly.]

⁵ Od. XV. 525. Apollo γυπαίενος, "the god of vultures,"

represented Apollo, in his character of a destroyer, under the title of *Lyceus*.⁶ We are not, however, to suppose that it was this character of Apollo as a destroying power which gave a name, not only to innumerable temples, but even to whole countries; such a supposition would, contrary to history and analogy, make the early state of this religion to have been one of the grossest barbarism and superstition. It is far more probable that the name *Lyceus* is connected with the ancient primitive word *lux* (whence *λευκός*). The Greek word *λύκη* is preserved most distinctly in *λουκάβας*, i. e. *course of the light*;⁷ and by the epithet *Λυκηγένης*, applied to Apollo by Homer,⁸ and probably taken from some ancient hymns, we should (from the idiom of the Greek language) rather understand *one born of light*, than *the Lycian god*. That light and splendour are frequently employed, both in the symbols of worship and language of the poets, to express the attributes of Apollo, cannot be denied;⁹ and we only remind the reader of the belief that the fire which burnt on the altar of Apollo Lyceus at Argos had originally fallen from heaven:¹⁰ and thus the epithet *Lyceus* would seem to belong to the same class as *Ægletes*, *Phœbus*, and *Xanthus*.¹¹

was worshipped on the top of a hill near Ephesus, Conon, Narr. c. 35. There was also a kind of wolf called *κίρκος*, Oppian. Cyneg. III. 304.

² Æsch. Theb. 147. καὶ σὺ, Λύκει' ἀναξ, λυκείος γενοῦ στρατῷ δαίφ, where see Blomfield. Comp. Agam. 1266, and Soph. Œd. T. 203. Λύκει' ἀναξ τὰ σὰ βέλεα. In a milder sense in Æsch. Suppl. 694. Soph. Œd. T. 920. Elect. 656. in which

last tragedy Apollo throughout appears as armed with his highest and noblest attributes. See particularly v. 1379.

⁷ See Voss on Virgil's Georg. p. 408. Creuzer Comment. Herod. vol. I. p. 417.

⁸ Il. IV. 101, 119. cf. Heyne.

⁹ See Hom. Hymn. ad Apoll. Pyth. 266.

¹⁰ Schol. Soph. Elect. 6.

¹¹ Perhaps the Apollo *ἑραυρός* in Hesych. in v. belongs to this

It is not to be supposed that the wolf was made use of as a symbol of Apollo merely from an accidental similarity of name; but it is difficult to discover what analogy even the lively imagination of the Greeks could have found between the wolf and light. At a later period it was attempted to explain this symbol by the circumstance that all wolves produced their young within twelve days in the year, the precise time during which Latona was wandering as a she-wolf from the Hyperboreans to Delos.^d This physical interpretation was, however, grounded on the fable, and not the fable on it. Perhaps the sharp sight of the wolf^e (if we can trust the accounts of the ancients), or even the bright colour of the animal, may afford a better explanation.^f

In the ancient Grecian worship, however, there is another example, and one in the highest degree remarkable, of the connexion between light and the wolf. On the lofty peak of Lycæum, a mountain of Arcadia, above the ancient Lycosura, there stood (as Pindar says) a lofty and splendid altar of Zeus Lycæus, with which were in some way connected all the traditions concerning Lycaon, who sacrificed his child to Zeus, and was in consequence transformed into a wolf. Now not only does the symbol of the wolf occur in this place,^g but there is also a reference to

class of attributes. Also there were temples of Apollo on the promontories of *Leucæ*, *Leucatas*.

^d Aristot. H. A. VI. 29. Otherwise Ælian. H. A. IV. 4. Apostol. XII. 18. comp. above, p. 287. note ⁿ.

^e Apostol. XII. 21.

^f Among the moderns see Payne Knight, Symbol. Lang.

§ 124. Gail Philologue, tom. I. p. 300. (comp. Boissonade in Millin's Magasin Encyclopédique, tom. 118. p. 346.) where *Λοξίας* is brought into connexion with *Λυκεῖος*. It seems to me probable that the word *Λοξίας* first expressed the oblique position of the archer, who always has *ὄμματα λοξά*.

^g Comp. Paus. VI. 8. 2.

light. There stood here a sacred shrine or *adytum*, supposed to be inaccessible; and the popular belief was, that whoever entered it cast no shadow; and in order to escape being sacrificed, the aggressor was obliged to escape as a deer: hence the pursuing god naturally appeared to the imagination as a wolf.^h We perceive that light was supposed to dwell within the sanctuary. Thus in this very ancient worship of the Parrhasians, which in other respects has little in common with the Doric worship of Apollo, we discover the same combination of ideas and symbols that exists in the latter, and cannot but consider it a vestige of some very ancient symbolical idea peculiar and general among the Greeks.

9. Having proceeded so far, we shall endeavour to unite and harmonize the different facts already collected. Apollo, as he is represented by Homer, exhibits the character of a destroying and avenging, as well as a delivering and protecting power. But he is the avenger of impiety and arrogance, and the punisher of injustice and sin, and not the author of evil to mankind for evil's sake. He was therefore always considered as attended with certain beings whose nature was contrary to his own; his character could only be shown in opposition with a system of hostile attributes and powers. As the *warring* and *victorious* god, he required enemies to combat and conquer: as the *pure* and *bright* god, he implies the existence of a dark and impure side of nature. In this manner the worship of Apollo resembled those religions, such as the ancient Persian, which were

^h Theopompus apud Polyb. ap. Hygin. Poet. Astron. II. 1 XVI. 12. 7. Plutarch. Quæst. p. 35. cf. IV. p. 362. ed. Gr. 39. p. 398. Paus. VIII. 38. Muncker.
5. On the *ἄβατον* see Amphis

founded on the doctrine of *two principles*, one of good, the other of evil. At the same time he is no deified personification of the creative or generative powers of nature, nor of any natural object or phenomenon; and he has therefore nothing in common with the deities of the elementary religions.

These ideas, which seem to be expressed with tolerable distinctness, in the most ancient epithets and symbols connected with the worship of Apollo, as well as in the images and fictions of poets down to the time of Euripides, we will first examine with reference to the mythical history and adventures of Apollo, and secondly we will endeavour to point out the influence which these notions exercised upon the worship itself.

CHAP. VII.

§ 1. Zeus and Apollo originally the only two male deities of the Dorians. § 2. Birth of Apollo. § 3. Sanctity of the island of Delos. § 4. Pains of Latona. § 5. Spot of Apollo's birth. § 6. Battle with the Python. § 7. Apollo sings the Pythian strain. § 8. Bondage of Apollo. § 9. Combat with Tityus. § 10. Apollo's assumption of the oracular power.

1. OUR present investigation renders it necessary to ascend to a period in which the primitive religion of the Dorians exhibited a distinct and original character, before it had been combined with the worship of other deities. At that time this nation had only two male deities, Zeus and Apollo: for the existence of the latter everywhere supposes that of the former, and both were intimately connected in Crete, Delphi, and elsewhere; though the Doric Zeus did not receive great

religious honours. In the temple of Delphi, Zeus and Apollo were represented as Moiragetæ, accompanied by two Fates.^a The supreme deity, however, when connected with Apollo, was neither born, nor visible on earth, and perhaps never considered as having any immediate influence upon men. But Apollo, who is often emphatically called the son of Zeus,^b acts as his intercessor, ambassador, and prophet with mankind.^c And whilst the father of the gods appears, indistinctly and at a distance, dwelling in ether, and enthroned in the highest heavens, Apollo is described as a divine hero, whose office is to ward off evils and dangers, establish rights of expiation, and announce the ordinances of Fate. It is our purpose to investigate these latter attributes, more especially in the mythology of Delos and Delphi.

2. The legend of the birth of Apollo at Delos was indeed recognised by the Ionians and Athenians, but neither by the Delphians, Bœotians, nor Peloponnesians;^d as is plain from the indifference which they

^a Pausan. X. 24. 4. Comp. Pindar Pyth. IV. 4. Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς was worshipped at Delphi, Xenoph. Anab. V. 9. 22. and also Ζεὺς εὐννοός, Hesych. in v. Perhaps, too, the god Ἐλωός, whom Hesychius (in v.) calls the Doric Hephæstus, may be the real Zeus; a conjecture which is confirmed by the circumstance that the temples of Zeus at Dodona and in Laconia were called Ἐλλά, Hesych. in v. cf. in Ἐλα. That this Elous might have been originally derived from the El or Eloha of the people of Israel, I do not deny; but it is an etymology which leads to nothing but

hopeless and uncertain conjectures.

^b Ἐκατος Διὸς υἱός, Alcman ap. Hephæst. p. 66. ed. Gaisf.

^c Æsch. Eumen. 19. 616. compare the ἱερεῖαι in Macrobius Sat. V. 22. Schol. Soph. Œd. Col. 791. Soph. El. 660.

^d Concerning the exception of the Messenians see above, p. 151. note ^t: and for his birth-place at Tegyra above, ch. 2. § 11. Apollo was also said to have been born at Amphigenia in Triphylia, Steph. Byz. in v. and there was a temple of Latona, Strab. VIII. p. 349. Antimachus Fragm. 78. p. 111. ed. Schellenberg.

generally showed for the temple in that island. We also know that the Bœotians represented Tegyra as the birthplace of Apollo.

Apollo, says Pindar, was born with time;^e—alluding to the many obstacles and delays experienced at his birth. These had been occasioned by the influence of an hostile power, the same which produced Typhaon from the depths of Tartarus,^f called by the poets Here.

This power refused its assistance at the birth of Apollo, and compelled Latona to wander in the pains of childbirth over earth and sea until she arrived at the rocky island of Delos.

3. Hence the island of Delos itself became one of the subjects of mythology. Pindar, in an ode to Delos, addresses it as "*the daughter of the sea, the unshaken prodigy of the earth, which mortals call Delos, but the gods in Olympus the far-famed star of the dark earth;*"^g and related how "*the island, driven about by the winds and waves, as soon as Latona had placed her foot on its shore, became fast bound to the roots of the earth by four columns.*"^h The fable of the floating islandⁱ (which is, however, of a more recent date than the Homeric hymn to Apollo) indicated merely the restless condition which preceded the tranquillity and brightness introduced by the manifestation of the god. Henceforth Delos remained fixed and unshaken, immoveable, according to the belief of the Greeks, even by earth-

^e *Ἐν χρόνῳ*, i. e. "time was requisite for his birth;" "some time elapsed before Apollo could be born," Pindar ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 383. ed. Potter.

^f Homer, Hymn. Apoll. 305.

comp. Hygin. Fab. 54.

^g Fragm. Prosod. I. p. 587. ed. Boeckh.

^h Pindar *ibid.*

ⁱ Comp. Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Del. 36. 273.

quakes; for which reason, the whole of Greece was alarmed when this phenomenon happened before the Persian war.^k By the words "*the star of the dark earth,*" Pindar alludes to the idea that Delos (as the name shows) was considered as a pure and bright island, whose shores, too holy for pollution, were ever kept free from corpses, the sight of which is odious to the god. Hence also the tradition that Asteria, whose name is derived from *ἀστὴρ*, the offspring of the Titans, had cast herself into the sea, and been petrified on the shore.

4. The birth of Apollo, being an epoch in mythology, was without doubt celebrated in ancient hymns, whose simplicity presented a striking contrast to the higher polish of the Homeric poems. A hymn of this description, ascribed to Olen, was addressed to Eileithyia, the worship of which goddess, together with other religious ceremonies, was brought over (as has been above remarked)^l from Cnosus to Delos, and from thence to Athens.^m In calling Eileithyia the mother of the god of love,ⁿ Olen exceeded the regular bounds of tradition respecting Apollo, by confusing the worship of a strange god with that deity, and probably

^k Pindar Fragm. Prosod. 1. Boeckh. This ode must then have been written before the earthquake in Olymp. 72. 3. see Herod. VI. 98. which confirms the assertion of Dissen that Isthm. I. 4. is not alluded to, since this poem, as the same critic shows, was written after Olymp. 80. 3. Herodotus, again, had no knowledge of the earthquake which took place at the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war (Thucyd. II. 8.), and Thucydides had never heard

of the other, which occurred before his time, nor read the statement of Herodotus. Comp. Mucian. apud Plin. H. N. IV. 12. Aristid. Orat. VI. p. 77. 78. Spanheim ad Callim. Del. 11. &c.

^l Above, ch. 2. § 13.

^m Pausan. I. 18. 5. VIII. 21. 2. IX. 27. 2. Comp. Herod. IV. 35. The confusion of Eileithyia and Fate, by Olen, is only a supposition of Pausanias.

ⁿ Pausan. IX. 27. 2.

identified her with the ancient Aphrodite ('Αφροδίτη ἀρχαία), whose altar Theseus is said to have erected at Delos.^o In either case, the establishment of this ancient Attic worship on the sacred island, and its connexion with the Delian rites, illustrate the mention of Eros in the Delian hymn.

Nine days and nine nights Latona writhed in hopeless pains of childbirth, surrounded by the benevolent Titanidæ, Dione, Rhea, Themis, and Amphitrite, who finally (according to the hymn of Homer) prevailed upon Eileithyia by the promise of a golden necklace. Then the pains seized Latona; she cast her arms around the palm-tree, and brought forth her divine son. The explanations of the bribe offered to Eileithyia are all too far-fetched: probably pregnant women at Delos consecrated their necklaces to that goddess.

5. The exact spot where the birth of Apollo took place was shown in Delos, since the least circumstance connected with so important an event could not fail to excite interest. It must be looked for in the place where the torrent Inopus flows from mount Cynthus.^p Here there was a circular pool (the λίμνη τροχόεσσα), the form of which is often carefully mentioned.^q By its side grew two sacred trees, the palm and the olive, which are not elsewhere reckoned among those sacred to Apollo; as in Greece Proper the first does not grow at all, and the second not without great care. The Delian temple alone could boast of the palm, the use

^o Spanheim ad Callim. Del. tom. I. pl. 31.

^p Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 16. 19. Callim. Del. 206. compare the map of the island in Choiseul Gouffier, Voyage Pittoresque, tom. I. pl. 31.

^q See Æschyl. Eumen. 9. Theognis v. 7. Herod. II. 170. Eurip. Ion 169. Iphigen. Taur. 1105. Call. Apoll. 59. Del. 261.

of palm-branches at the games having also originated in Delos.^r

This island acquired so much sanctity by the birth of Apollo, that no living being was permitted either to be born or die within its boundary.^s Every pregnant woman was obliged to go over to the neighbouring island of Rheneia, in order to be delivered. One of the ideas of the Greeks respecting religious purity (which may in general be traced to the worship of Apollo) was, that all intercourse with pregnant women polluted in the same manner as the touch of a corpse. The prohibition against keeping dogs had the same origin.^t On the whole, the Delian traditions are not to be considered as of very great antiquity or credit; they contain, indeed, hardly any original source of information respecting Apollo, being generally composed of descriptions of the sanctity of the island itself; several legends, as that of its having once floated on the ocean, &c., appear to have been the invention of the Ionians; this race, even in fiction, allowing itself far greater latitude than the Dorians.

6. Apollo, according to the Attic legend, passed to Delphi from Delos through Attica and Bœotia; the Homeric Hymn to Apollo makes him come from the northern districts, but likewise through Bœotia: according to other traditions he came from the Hyperboreans. According to another, Latona was carrying the two babes, Apollo and Artemis, in her arms, when

^r Pausan. VIII. 48. 2. conf. Hom. Odyss. VI. 167. Schol. ad Eurip. Ion. 932. Ælian. V. H. v. 4. Hygin. Fab. 53. 140. Catull. XXXIV. 8. For the palm as an emblem of Delos on Greek vases, see Tischbein I. 24. II. 12.

^s Strabo X. p. 486, &c.

^t A fabulous reason is given by Callimachus, Fragm. 9. Hygin. fab. 247.

assailed by the Python,^a the mother seeking refuge on a sacred stone near the plane-tree at Delphi:² in another, Apollo was a child at the time of this event;³ and, accordingly, a Delphian boy, both whose parents were alive, represented the actions of the deity at the great festival. The destruction of the Python, however, always formed the chief event of the sacred fable. It was by this feat that Apollo gained possession of the oracular chasm, from which the goddess Earth had once spoken. It was not, however, without some resistance that she gave way to the claims of the youthful god, whom, according to Pindar, she even attempted to hurl down to Tartarus.⁴ The serpent Python is represented as the guardian of the ancient oracle of the Earth,^a and a son of the Earth itself, sprung from the warm clay that remained after the general deluge, and dwelling in a dark defile near a fountain, which was said to be supplied from the Styx.^b The serpent, as usual, represents an earthly being, by which is personified the rough and shapeless offspring of nature. It was supposed to be connected with the nature of water and the sea; and hence was called *Delphin*, or

^a When four days old, according to Hygin. fab. 140. cf. Eurip. Iphig. Taur. 1252. Macrob. Sat. 1. 17.

² Clearchus of Soli in Athen. XV. p. 701 C. Duris ap. Etymol. Mag. in Ἰήϊε, where for ἡλιών read Ἀπόλλωνα. comp. Bast ad Greg. Corinth. p. 834. This legend agrees with the compositions on the Greek vase in Tischbein III. 4. The plane-tree occurs also in Theophrast. Hist. Plant. IV. 13. Plin. H.N. XVI. 44. and in a bas-relief at the Villa Albani, Zoëga de

Obeliscis, p. 212.

³ Apoll. Rh. II. 707. comp. Jamblich. Vit. Pythag. 10.

⁴ Schol. Æsch. Eumen. 2.

^a Comp. Hygin. fab. 140.

^b Plutarch de Pyth. Orac. 17.

The fountain there spoken of, and not that of Castalia, is the one which the serpent was supposed to haunt. Comp. Hesych. in Τοξίου βούνο; a mound erected over the Python, in a ravine near Delphi, which is sometimes placed at Sicyon, Paus. II. 7. 7.

Delphine,^c like the fish of the same name, which was particularly sacred to Apollo, and in all probability was also conceived to have been subdued by him. After this, the serpent that watched the oracle remained, although conquered, as a memorial of the ancient struggle, and of the victory of the god, and was placed near the rocky chasm at the foot of the tripod, in the inner sanctuary.^d

7. The battle with the Python being finished,^e Apollo himself breaks the laurel, to weave a crown of victory.^f Here too he was said first to have sung the pæan, as a strain of triumph. In the dramatic exhibition, by which the Delphians represented the adventures of Apollo, the Pythian strain (νόμος Πύθιος) was here introduced. This air, which was originally nothing more than a simple melody, soon received all the embellishment of art; and, being raised by

^c Apoll. Rhod. II. 706. Schol. (where also Δελφίνης is in the MS.) Dionys. Perieg. 441. Tzet. ad Lycophr. 208. An ἡμίθηρ κόρη, according to later writers, in Apollod. I. 6. 3.

^d Lucian de Astrol. 23. The symbol of the goat is connected with the Python (since Αἴξ is called a child of the Python, Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. 12.), also a river Αἰγᾶς, and the πεδίον Αἰγαῖον at Delphi (Hesiod ap. Steph. Byz.), and the ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγαῖος, Hesych. in v. cf. Pausan. X. 11. 4. and Diod. XV. 26. The same animal was likewise sacred to Apollo at Elyrus in Crete (above, ch. 1. § 5.) and Tylissus; in the coins of which town Apollo is represented with a goat's head in his hand. At Delos the altar Κερατῶν, or

Κεράτινος, was made of goat's horns by Apollo while a boy, Plutarch. Thes. 21. de Solert. Animal. 35. p. 201. Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 51. The same story was told of the Κεραίστης τόπος at Miletus (Callim. ap. Etym. Mag. 584. 10.), where there was a strange story of a he-goat which gave milk. It cannot be doubted that the goat was originally one of the unclean animals of the worship of Apollo.

^e Apollo, according to Simonides (ap. Eustath. ad Il. p. 52. 39.), slew the monster with an hundred arrows (as an explanation of ἐκατηβέλτης). The battle is represented on the coins of Croton; see Eckhel Num. Anecd. plate I. N^o. 13.

^f Callim. ap. Tertull. de Cor. 7.

Timosthenes to the dignity of a great musical composition,^g was (contrary to the ancient custom) performed with flutes, lyres, and trumpets, without the accompaniment of the voice. The accounts concerning this festival are indeed copious, but unluckily of too late a date to give us an idea of its ancient and genuine character. In Plutarch's time^h it was not a hollow serpent's den, but an imitation of a princely house (καλιὰς), that was erected in a court (ἀλως), at every octennial festival.ⁱ Into this building the women of a Delphian family^k led the boy by a secret passage (δολωγεία) with lighted torches, and fled away through the door, overturning the table, and setting fire to the house.

8. Although the destruction of the Python is characterized as a triumph of the higher and divine power of the deity, yet the victorious god was considered as polluted by the blood of the monster, and obliged to undergo a series of afflictions and woes. Tradition represented him as going immediately after the battle by the sacred road to Tempe; which the boy, who personified Apollo, afterwards took as leader of the religious procession.^l The direction of this road has been accurately stated above. The chief circumstance in this wandering was the bondage (θήτευσις)

^g See in particular Boeckh de Metr. Pind. III. 4. p. 182. Pollux IV. 10. 81. calls the performance ἄχορον αὐλημα Πύθιον.

^h Plutarch. Quæst. Gr. 12. p. 383. de Def. Or. 14. 21. Ephorus ap. Strab. IX. p. 422. also alludes to the burning of the καλιὰς, which he calls σκηνή.

ⁱ Orchomenos, p. 220.

^k In Plutarch de Def. Orat.

14. read ἔφοδος ἢ αἱ Ὀλεῖαι (also in Hesych. in αἰόδα) τὸν ἀμφιθαλὴ κόρον ἡμέταις δασὶν ἄγουσιν for ἔφοδος μὴ αἰόδα δὲ τὸν, the women having the same name as those of Orchomenus, Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. 38. Compare *Orchomenos*, p. 166.

^l Above, ch. 1. § 2; and on the different tradition of Tarrha, ib. § 5.

of Apollo under Admetus the Pheræan, to which the god subjected himself in order to expiate his guilt. This too was represented by the boy, who probably imitated the manner in which the god, as a herdsman and slave, submitted to the most degrading services.^m Perhaps it was the piety of Admetus, celebrated in tradition, which entitled him to the privilege of possessing such a slave; yet it must be doubted, whether, conformably to the spirit of the ancient mythology, an ideal being, and not a mortal hero, was not originally intended to be represented under this name. Ἀδμητος is an usual name for the god of the infernal regions; to whom, according to the original idea, Apollo became enslaved. The worship of this deity is connected with that of Hecate, who was called θεὰ Φεργαία, and the daughter of Admetus.ⁿ Cannot we, in the rescuing of Alcestis from the infernal regions by Apollo^o and Hercules, find some clue which may lead us to suppose that the fable of Admetus refers to a worship of the infernal deities? An ancient dirge, called the song of Admetus, was chanted in Greece, having, as was pretended, been first sung by Admetus at the death of his wife, originally perhaps addressed to Αἴδης Ἀδμη-

^m In a verse of Sophocles, cited by Plutarch de Def. Orac. 14. Alcestis said of Apollo, οὐμὸς δ' ἀλέκτωρ αὐτὸν ἤγε πρὸς μύλην, "My husband led him to the mill." The name of the tragedy seems to have been Ἀδμητος; see the words of Plutarch ubi sup. A tragedy, I say; for, although Hermann (Præf. ad Eurip. Alcest. p. xv.) thinks that the line is from a satiric drama, the verses quoted in Schol. Pind. Pyth. IV. 221.

which appear to be from the same play, are evidently of a tragic complexion. On the imitation of the servitude of Apollo, see also the words of Plutarch. ib. 15. αἱ τε πλάναι καὶ ἡ λατρεία τοῦ παιδὸς οἱ τε γιγνόμενοι περὶ τὰ Τέμπη καθαρμοί.

ⁿ Hesych. in Ἀδμήτου κόρη.

^o See particularly Æschyl. Eumen. 726. Eurip. Alcest. 10. Apollod. I. 9.

τος.^p How well does it suit the sublime character of the religious poetry in question, that the god, who had been polluted by the combat with the impure being, should be obliged, in order to complete his penance, to descend into the infernal regions. In confirmation of this, there have been preserved some obscure traditions, which represent Apollo as actually dying, that is, descending into the infernal regions.^q However, after eight years, the appointed time of bondage, the god wanders to the ancient altar of Tempe, where, sprinkling with laurel-branches, and other expiatory rites, symbolically restore his purity.^r After this, the purified deity returns by the same road to Deipnias, near Larissa, and there breaks his long fast.

9. These Delphian traditions in very early times became the theme of epic poetry, in which however another cause was assigned for the slavery of Apollo; it was represented as a punishment inflicted by Zeus for slaying the Cyclops, who forged the lightning with which Zeus struck his son Æsculapius, because, not satisfied with recovering the sick, he even recalled the dead to life.^s Yet some of the poets also state that

^p See Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1231. (but the Scholion 'Αδμήτου λόγον, &c. has nothing to do with this point), and Zenob. Prov. 'Αδμήτου μέλος.

^q Euhemerus ap. Minut. Felic. c. 21. 2. Fulgent. Expos. Germ. Ant. p. 168. Porphy. Vit. Pyth. 16.

^r Several coins appear to represent this lustration; e.g., one of Chalcedon, in Mionnet, N^o. 88; one of Perinthus, ibid. N^o. 329; see also those of Alexandria Troas in Mionnet, N^{os}. 109, 115, 116.

^s Thus Pherecydes ap. Schol. Eur. Alcest. 2. (cf. ap. Schol. Pind. Pyth. III. 96.) who drew his information from Hesiod. Hesiod related this tradition in the part of the 'Hōiai or catalogue which treated of the daughters of Leucippus, one of whom is said to have been the mother of Æsculapius, Tzetzes ad Hes. Theogon. 142. Compare Athenagoras Legat. p. 134. and Schol. Eurip. ubi sup. Apollod. III. 10. 4. I. 9. 15. Diod. IV. 71. Excerpt. p. 546. ed. Wesseling. Orph. Argon. 176.

Pheræ was the place of his servitude, alluding to the Pythian road, and mention a *great year* (μέγαν ἐνιαυτὸν) as the time of his bondage;^t by which they mean the Delphian period. We may perhaps find a trace of a more ancient tradition in the story of amber being a petrified tear, which Apollo shed during the time of his slavery in his ancient abode amongst the Hyperboreans, in the land of the Celts.^u

The combat with Tityus is nearly allied to that with the Python. This earth-born monster, dwelling at Panopea, a town situated on the sacred road, and hostile to the Delphians, laid hands upon Latona when passing through that place: but her children soon overcome the ravisher, and send him to the shades below; where a vulture incessantly preys upon his liver,^v the seat of inordinate desire.

10. The hostile part of nature now lying vanquished, and quiet having gained the victory over disturbance, Apollo begins to exercise the other office for which he was sent into the world. He mounts the tripod of the Delphian oracle, no longer to give utterance to the dark responses of the earth, but to

also Eurip. Alcestis, and Asclepiades in the Scholia. The religious tradition is given by Anaxandrides the Delphian in Schol. Eurip. Alcest. 2. (περὶ τῶν συληθέντων ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθημάτων, Vatic. Prov. I. 5.) and Plutarch, perhaps from the same authority. Those who in Iliad I. 399. wrote καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, attributed his banishment to a rebellion against Zeus. See also Æschylus ap. Plutarch de Exilio 17.

^t Il. XXI. 443. θητεύσαμεν

εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν. Thus also Pherecydes and the others. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 323. μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν, from an epic poet. Plutarch. Amator. 17. gives the whole verse; Ἀδμήτην πάρα θητεύσαι μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν.

^u Schol. Apoll. Rhod. IV. 611; see the very confused account in Eratosth. Catast. 29. with Schaubach's note. p. 110.

^v Odyss. XI. 580 Pausan. III. 18. 7. (on the Amyclæan throne) X. 11. 1. Pind. Pyth. IV. 90.

proclaim the "unerring decree of Zeus." For it is evident that, in the language of this religion, fate was considered as the will of Zeus (Διὸς νόος, Διὸς αἴσα), who was at Delphi called Μοιραγέτης, "leader of fate;" whilst the epic poets, from their custom of making each god a separate individual, generally (though the glimmering of a more exalted idea may be sometimes traced) made Zeus, like all other individuals, subject to fate. The prophetic powers of Apollo will be more fully treated of in the following chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

- § 1. Ritual worship of Apollo. Bloodless offerings. § 2. Expiatory rites. § 3. Peace offerings. § 4. Festivals of Apollo. § 5. Traces of a festival calendar. § 6. Expiations for homicide. § 7. Rites of purification—use of the laurel therein. § 8. Prophetic character of Apollo. § 9. His modes of divination. § 10. Use of music in the worship of Apollo. § 11. Apollo represented as playing on the cithara. § 12. Contest of Apollo and Linus. Ancient plaintive songs. § 13. Ancient hymns to Apollo. § 14. The pæan and hyporcheme. § 15. The Hyacinthian and Carnean festivals. § 16. Apollo as represented by the sculptors. § 17. Ancient statues of Apollo. § 18. Apollo as represented by successive schools of sculptors. § 19. Political influence of the worship of Apollo. § 20. Its connexion with the Pythagorean philosophy.

1. OUR intention in this chapter is to show that, besides the mythology, the ceremonies also of the worship of Apollo so agree and harmonize together,

¹ Διὸς νημερτὴς βουλὴν, Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 132. comp. Hymn. Merc. 471, 533.

as to furnish a decisive proof of its regular and systematic development; after which we will endeavour to point out this agreement, and elucidate its relative bearings; although an attempt of this kind must necessarily be very imperfect, since the religion, which, in order to comprehend, we should regard with the ardour of devotion, is now merely the subject of cold and heartless speculation.

First, with regard to the sacrifices, it is remarkable, that in many of the principal temples a particular sanctity and importance was attributed to *bloodless* offerings. At Delphi cakes and frankincense were consecrated in holy baskets;^a at Patara, cakes in the form of bows, arrows, and lyres, emblems both of the wrath and placability of the deity.^b At Delos, an altar, called the altar of the pious, stood behind the altar built of horns, on which were deposited only cakes of wheat and barley; this, according to tradition, was the only one on which Pythagoras sacrificed.^c In this island also at festivals were offered mallows and ears of corn;^d the simplest food of man, in remembrance of primitive simplicity and temperance. At Delphi the young women of Parnassus are said to have brought the first-fruits of the year to Apollo,

^a Ælian. V. H. XI. 5. Also sacrifices of cakes at Athens, Harpocration and Hesychius in ἐνθρυπτα, Suidas in ἐνθρυπτος Ἀπόλλων. comp. Hemsterhuis ad Lucian. vol. II. p. 411. ed. Bipont.

^b See above, ch. 2. § 2.

^c Aristot. in Δηλίων πολιτεία ap. Diog. Laert. VIII. 13. Timæus ap. Censorin. de die nat. 2. (Tim. fragm. 62. ed. Goeller). Compare Macrobius Sat. III. 6.

Clem. Alex. Strom. VII. p. 717. Porphy. de Abstin. II. 28. (see Rhoer p. 153.) Jamblichus Vit. Pythagor. 5. 7. Cyrillus in Julian. IX. p. 307 B. Concerning the horn altar, see above, p. 325, note ^d.

^d Plutarch. Sept. Sapient. 14. The first-fruits of the year were also carried round at the Attic Thargelia, Hesychius in Θαργῆλια.

immediately after the destruction of the Python.^a The pious offerings of the Hyperboreans, as has been remarked above, were the same as those last enumerated. And perhaps we may add to our list the custom, at the Attic autumnal festival of the Pyanepsia, of hanging grapes, fruits, and small jars of honey and oil, to branches of olive or laurel bound with wool, and carrying them to the doors of a temple of Apollo;^f though perhaps this rite belonged rather to Bacchus, the Sun, and the Hours,^g who shared the honour of this festival with Apollo.

2. The above offerings doubtless express the existence of a pure and filial relation, like that in which the Hyperboreans stood to Apollo; it being quite sufficient for persons in so innocent a state to give a constant acknowledgment of the benevolence and power with which the god defends and preserves them. But as the pure deity was himself supposed to be stained with blood, so might the minds of his worshippers become tainted with sin, and lose their internal quiet. When in this state, being as it were under the influence of a fiendlike and corrupting power (*Ἄρῃ*), the mind naturally wishes to put an end to its unhappy condition by some specific and definite act. This is effected by the solemn expiation and purification of the religion of Apollo. Expiatory rites were thus introduced into the regular system of worship, and formed a part of the ancient *jus sacrum*. It was soon however perceived that the usual routine

^a Schol. Pindar. Argum. p. 298. ed. Boeckh.

^f See particularly Crates ap. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 725. Suidas in *εἰρεσιώνῃ*. Menecles ap. Suid. in *διακόνιον*. cf. in *προη-*

ροσία. Plutarch. Thes. 22. Apostol. Prov. XXI. 24.

^g Also the *χύτρα ἀθάρας καὶ ἔρνος*, which was used at this festival, referred more to the gods of husbandry.

of life sometimes needed the same ceremony, and hence expiatory *festivals* were connected with the public worship of the god; by which not only individuals, but whole cities were purified. These festivals were naturally celebrated in the spring, when the storms of winter disappear, and nature bursts into fresh life.^h But in these the pious gifts of individuals no longer sufficed, nor even the sacrifice of animals; and the troubled mind seemed to require for its purification a greater sacrifice. At Athens, during the Thargelia, two men (or a man and a woman), adorned with flowers and fruits, having been rubbed over with fragrant herbs, were led in the most solemn manner, like victims, before the gate, and thrown with imprecations from the rock; but were in all probability taken up below, and carried beyond the borders. The persons used for these expiations (*φαρμακοί*) were condemned criminals, whom the city provided for the purpose.ⁱ This festival was common to all Ionians; it is particularly mentioned at Miletus^k and Paros;^l and the same rites were also practised in the Phocæan colony of Massalia.^m In Ionia the victims were beaten with branches of the fig-tree and with sea-onions; at the same time there was played on the

^h The ancient Greeks considered the winter as the season when the gods of the infernal regions were predominant, and a state of impurity existed; while they looked on spring and summer as a pure and sacred season.

ⁱ Meursii Græcia Feriata in *Θαργήλια*. Compare *Orchomenos*, p. 106. An historical tradition respecting the first *φαρμακός*, from a work of Istrus *περὶ τῶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπιφανειῶν*,

is preserved in Harpocration and Etymol. Magn. in v.

^k Parthen. Erot. 9. Hesychius in *Θαργήλια* ad fin. where the correction of Hemsterhuis is disapproved by Welcker on Schwenck's *Mythologische Andeutungen*, p. 341.

^l Archilochus fragm. 46. ed. Gaisford.

^m Servius ad *Æn.* III. 57. from Petronius. Apollo Delphinus was worshipped there, Strabo IV. p. 179 B.

flute a strain (called *κραδής*), which, according to the testimony of Hipponax, was reduced by Mimnermus into elegiac measure.ⁿ At Athens also the victims were crowned with figs and fig-branches, being probably the symbol of utter worthlessness. The antiquity of this manner of purification has been shown above, in our remarks upon the religious ceremonies of Leucadia.^o

3. The *peace-offerings* (*ἱλασμοί*), by which Apollo was first appeased, and his wrath averted, should, as it appears, be distinguished from the *purifications* (*καθαρμοί*), by which he was supposed to restore the mind to purity and tranquillity. At Sicyon (where the religion of Apollo flourished at a very early period) it was related, that Apollo and Artemis had, after the destruction of the Python, wished to be there purified, but that, being driven away by a phantom (whence in after-times a certain spot in the town was called *φόβος*), they proceeded to some other place. Upon this the inhabitants were attacked by a pestilence; and the seers ordered them to appease the deities. Seven boys and the same number of girls were ordered to go to the river Sythas and bathe in its waters, then to carry the statues of the two deities into the temple of Peitho, and from thence back to that of Apollo.^p The Attic festival of Delphinia (on the sixth of Munychion) had evidently the same meaning; in this seven boys and girls reverently conveyed the *ἱκετήρια*, an olive-branch bound with white fillets of wool, into

ⁿ See the verses of Hipponax in Tzetzes Chil. V. 743. also in Athen. IX. p. 370 A. and his testimony in Plutarch de Musica 8. comp. Hesychius in *κραδής*.

^o Above, ch. 2. § 10.

^p Pausan. II. 7. 7. Perhaps there was a local tradition that the Python was killed in Sicyon; see above, p. 324, note ^b.

the Delphinium.^q This took place exactly one month before the Thargelia; and in all probability the peace-offerings and purifications (*ἱλασμοί* and *καθαρμοί*) were celebrated at the same period throughout the whole of Greece.

4. By comparing and arranging the scattered fragments of information respecting the time of the festivals belonging to these two classes, we shall obtain the following clear and simple account.^r

In the commencement of the Apollinian year, in the first month of spring, called Bysius (i. e. *Πύθιος*) at Delphi, Munychion at Athens, Apollo was supposed to come through the defile of Parnassus to Delphi, and begin the battle with the Delphinè. He next assumes the character of the wrathful god, whom it was necessary to appease; and hence, on the sixth day of the month, the expiatory festival of Delphinia took place at Athens, and probably also at Miletus and Massalia; we may likewise suppose that it was the same month which in Ægina and Thera went under the name of Delphinus: on the seventh Apollo destroyed the Python.^s The pæan was now sung. This too was the day on which, according to imme-

^q Plutarch. Thea. 18. The number is evident from the context.

^r In order to show the correspondence between the sacred seasons at Athens and Delphi, it should be remarked that at the latter place the nine months of spring, summer, and autumn were sacred to Apollo, and during them the sacrifice was accompanied by the pæan; while the three winter months were sacred to Bacchus, and hence in them the dithyramb

was played at the sacrifices (Plutarch. de Ei. 9. p. 229.); and that in Athens also the festivals of Bacchus were celebrated between Poseideon and Elaphebolion, and those of Apollo during the other months.

^s See Æginetica, page 152. That the *testamentum Epictetæ* belongs to Thera, is proved by Boeckh Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 2448.

^t Schol. Pind. Pyth. Argument.

morial custom, the oracle first broke silence; at a late period it was also esteemed at Delphi as the birthday of Apollo." Immediately after, the Delphian procession moved on to Tempe; and at the same time the tithes of men were once despatched to Apollo in Crete.²

In the second month of spring, called by the Ionians Thargelion, Apollo was purified at the altar at Tempe, and probably on the seventh day of the month; for the great expiatory festival of both deities, Apollo and Artemis, was at Athens celebrated on the sixth and seventh days; and Delos was at the same time purified; this ceremony was immediately followed by a feast of thanksgiving in honour of the god of light. According to Delian tradition, Artemis and Apollo (ἑβδομαγέτης)³ were born on the sixth and seventh days of this month.⁴ On the same day however on which the Delphian boy broke the laurel and turned homewards, the purifying laurel-boughs (from which

² See particularly Callisthenes and Anaxandridas (the same person who is mentioned above) in Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. 9. Thucydides V. 1. cf. 18. 24. also places the Pythian festival at the end of Elaphebolion. The first passage has been often misunderstood (e. g. by Manso, Sparta, vol. III. part II. p. 193.); its meaning is, "The annual armistice remained suspended; there was again war, until the Pythian games." Without going further into the complicated inquiry concerning the time of the Pythia, and without denying that in later ages the festival was transferred to autumn, I think that the arguments in the

text fully justify me in assuming that the celebration of the victory over the Python (which celebration was the chief subject of the Pythia) took place in spring.

³ This is plain from the fable of Theseus, above, ch. 3. § 14.

⁴ Plutarch. Sympos. VIII. 1. 2. p. 342. de Ei 17. p. 238. Proclus ad Hesiod. Op. 767. Dionys. Hal. de Art. Rhet. 3. p. 243. ed. Reisk. comp. Valckenauer de Aristobulo Judæo § 37. p. 13.

⁵ Diog. Laert. III. 2. II. 24. Apollod. fragm. p. 413. 415. ed. Heyn. It is probably a fiction that Socrates was born on the former, Plato on the latter day.

the festival of the Daphnephoria derived its name)^a were probably also carried round in Boeotia, and throughout the rest of Greece.^b Soon after this, the setting of the Pleiades took place (the day before the ides of May, according to the statement of Eudoxus);^c at which time Hesiod makes the harvest begin; then, as has been above remarked, on the testimony of Diodorus and ancient works of art,^d Apollo, having been presented with the first ears of corn, leaves the Hyperboreans, and appears in a milder and more noble character at Delphi.

If it was wished that the setting of the Pleiades should occur at a regular interval from the preceding festival, this could have been effected only by cycles, by which the lunar and sidereal years were made to agree. Now it was not difficult to observe, that, after ninety-nine lunar months, the setting of the Pleiades coincided pretty exactly with the same phase of the moon. From this circumstance arose the period of *eight years*, called by the Greeks ἑνναετηρίς, in conformity with which the great festivals of Apollo at Delphi, Crete, and Thebes were from the earliest times arranged.^e

^a The κοπή of the Daphnephoria (Proclus ap. Phot. p. 987.) has some resemblance to the εἰρεσιώνη, or olive-branch, which was also carried round at the Thargelia (Suidas in v.), and is also called a ἱκετήρια, Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 725.

^b The Athenians, according to Proclus as above, honoured the seventh day as Ἀπολλωνιακή, δαφνηφοροῦντες καὶ τὸ καλοῦν ἀποστρέφοντες (ἐπιστρέφοντες Scalig.) καὶ ἑμνοῦντες τὸν θεόν.

^c Pontedera Antiq. p. 208. According to Scaliger Emend. Temp. vol. I. p. 54, this was anciently the beginning of the year; which is denied by Petavius Doctrin. Temp. I. 34. p. 42. compare Dodwell de Cyclis V. 12. p. 256.

^d Above, ch. 4. § 2. It was then probably that the festival of the Theophania was celebrated, Herod. I. 51.

^e Concerning which see above, ch. 1. § 2. ch. 2. § 12. 14. ch. 3. § 1. And for the

5. These data afford a sufficient proof of a remarkable and by no means fortuitous connexion between the expiatory festivals of Apollo: we may discover the vestiges of a sacred calendar, once, without doubt, preserved entire, but which, through the various combinations introduced into the Grecian worship, became disjointed and broken. This was particularly the case in the Attic festivals, where the same festival is frequently, as it were, doubled, and placed in different portions of the year. A remarkable instance, illustrative of the above remark, immediately occurs to us. As the months Munychion and Thargelion succeeded each other in the *second* half of the year, so did Boëdromion and Pyanepsion in the *first*. The sixth of Boëdromion was sacred to Artemis; the seventh, without doubt, to Apollo Boëdromius, *the martial god*; who therefore corresponds with the Delphinian Apollo, and the festival with the Delphinia. The Pyanepsia, however, were very similar to the Thargelia; the laurel-boughs wrapt with wool, carried round at the celebration of both, remind us of the Daphnephoria;^f only, as was above remarked, the worship of Bacchus, which Theseus is said to have established at Naxos, after his return from the islands, was mixed up with it, and is to be recognised in the carrying of boughs (ὄσχοφορία), which was introduced into this festival. Thus these four seventh days (ἑβδομαί) correspond with each other as follow;

7th Munychion.

7th Boëdromion.

7th Thargelion.

7th Pyanepsion.

ancient octennial Pythian games see Demetrius of Phalerum in Eustathius ad Od. γ'. p. 1466. ed. Rom. Schol. Med. ad Od. γ'. p. 267.

^f This too, as well as the olive-branch, was always borne by a παῖς ἀμφιθαλής, a boy who had both parents alive.

6. We turn from these expiatory festivals of universal occurrence to the expiations which the religion of Apollo enjoined for those who had incurred the guilt of homicide.^g We previously noticed some establishments of this nature connected with the temples at Tænarum, at Trœzen, and of Branchidæ: a similar one also existed at Delphi, as may be gathered from the fable of Orestes, related by Æschylus, in which Apollo appears at the same time as leader of the avenging Furies, and as purifier of the murderer. Immediately after this deed, the matricide takes an olive-branch bound with woollen fillets,^h and flies *like a frightened stag*ⁱ to Delphi, where Apollo himself purifies his blood-stained hands by the sacrifice of swine and ablutions;^k and thus liberates him from the Furies, as a defence against whom he had (according to Stesichorus) also given him a bow and arrows.^l

^g See a verse from an epic poet quoted by Plutarch, Præc. Reip. ger. 19. p. 178. Ἦκομεν οἱ κτείναντες, ἀπότρεπε λοιγὸν, Ἀπόλλον.

^h Æsch. Choeph. 1035. Eumen. 43. στέμματα Δελφικά. Suidas in Ἐμπεδοκλή.

ⁱ Eumen. 326.

^k Ibid. 238, 280, 446, 581. This expiation is also represented on several vases; see Tischbein II. 16. and more completely in Millin Vases II. 68. Monumens inédits I. 29. where see the accurate explanation. Orestes sits, half kneeling, on the ὄμφαλος, covered with a net, exactly as Æschylus describes it: by his side are Athene and the Furies; next the tripod is the sacred laurel, with fillets, and votive tablets; and by it is Apollo, standing,

with a laurel chaplet, and his mantle thrown back; the spirit of Clytæmnestra and Pylades in the background. On a vase in the British Museum (No. 102), Orestes is represented as kneeling, with a sword in his hand, and a travelling cap thrown from his head, before an altar; woollen fillets, in the form of a chain, fall from one arm; Apollo, with a branch of laurel and a patera in one hand, stands by him; and in the other, as it appears, a pair of shears, with which he is going to cut off a lock of his hair. See also Museo Pio Clementino, V. pl. 22.

^l Ap. Schol. Eurip. Orest. 268. The purification of Orestes was likewise referred to the very ancient temple of Apollo at Trœzen; in front of which

After the purification of Orestes at Delphi, the Athenian poets affirm that he went to Athens, and, under the protection of the god, placed himself before the Areopagus, where Cephalus had also stood in a similar situation.^m

At Athens likewise, as was remarked above, the expiatory rites of the worship of Apollo were connected with the criminal courts of justice, the aristocratic ephetæ being intrusted both with the ceremony of purification and the duties of judges. These were fifty-one men, of noble birth,ⁿ who in early times had jurisdiction in five courts of justice (amongst which the Areopagus was of course included) over every description of homicide.^o Solon probably first separated the Areopagus from the other four courts; and in order to make it a timocratic tribunal, with cognizance over cases of wilful murder, he gave it great

there was a building called the *tent of Orestes* (σκηνή Ὀρέστου); where he lived secluded from the world, until he was purified. And from the materials used in the purification (what Homer calls *λύματα*), which were buried close by, a laurel was said to have sprung, Pausan. II. 31. 11. comp. I. 22. 2. and above, ch. 2. § 8. It was also supposed to have been performed at Rhegium; see the passages quoted above, p. 278, note ^o. The *ἐνιαυτισμός*, or seclusion of Orestes, took place in Parrhasia, according to Schol. Eurip. Orest. 1678.

^m Hellanic. fragm. 98. ed. Sturz.

ⁿ In later times the ephetæ decided cases of unpremeditated and justifiable homicide in the Palladium, Delphinium, Pry-

taneum, and Phreattys: while the Areopagus, the court for murder, was separate: but in early times these aristocratic judges appear to have sat in *all* the five courts, each armed with *full* jurisdiction. Demosth. in Macart. p. 1069. 7. They were *ἀριστίνδην αἰρεθέντες*, according to Pollux VIII. 125. Philochorus (ap. Maxim. Procem. ad S. Dionys. Areop. p. 19. fragm. ed. Siebel.) gives the same number for the Areopagites, i. e., as they were before the time of Solon.

^o Pollux ubi sup. This explains how the Areopagus might be of great antiquity (Aristot. Polit. II. 8. 2. &c.), and yet *never* have been mentioned by Draco, who only spoke of the ephetæ, Plutarch, Solon. 29.

political, though not religious power; the latter he was not able to bestow. The jurisdiction of the ephetæ was now confined to cases of unintentional or justifiable homicide, and some others of no importance; thus remaining a singular remnant of the ancient judicial forms, in the midst of an universal change. We shall now describe the ceremonies in use at the expiation of homicides. It is necessary, however, in the first place, to distinguish the wilful murderer, who either left for ever his native land, losing all privileges and property therein, or who suffered the penalty of the laws, from the man who killed another without design, or with some good cause, to be approved by the sentence of the ephetæ. A person in the latter situation left his country by a particular road for a certain time; during which he also kept at a distance from places of public resort (*ἀπειναντισμός*).^p Afterwards, the reconciliation took place either with the kindred or certain chosen phratores; but only in case they were willing,^q and that it was only a homicide of the second description.^r The term used was *αἰδέσασθαι*, because an offender of this

^p Suidas in *ἀπειναντίσαι*. Hesychius in *ἀπειναντισμός*. Schol. Eurip. Hippol. 35. and see Barnes's note. The term of banishment was always called *ἐνιαυτός* (Apollod. II. 8. 3. cf. III. 4. 2.), and was generally eight years (an *ἐνναετηρίς*) in ancient times (see below, ch. 11. § 9.); but at Athens it was probably undetermined.

^q *Ἐὰν θέλωσι* Demosth. ubi sup.

^r *Ἐὰν γνῶσιν οἱ πενήκοντα καὶ εἰς ἄκοντα κτείνειν* ibid. cf. in Pantænet. p. 983. 15. in Nausi-

mach. p. 991. 3. where Reiske's alteration is wrong. See also particularly the *θεσμοὶ* in the speech of Demosthenes against Aristocrates. Plato, too, would have expiation and purification only in the case of involuntary homicide, de Leg. IX. p. 869. It was against every principle of law for the relations to compound for a wilful murder (see Pseudo-Demosth. in Theocrin. p. 1330. extr.); and thus, too, the case in Il. VI. 632. is mentioned as an exception. See, however, Apollod. II. 7. 6.

kind was an unfortunate person, and therefore, according to the opinion of the ancient Greeks, worthy of respect. Afterwards, the perpetrator was purified from all guilt by sacrifices and expiatory rites. In early times the purification probably always took place abroad, frequently in the ancient settlements of the injured family. At Athens it was performed after the return of the criminal; and there the cases of atoneable murders were of course less frequent than in the heroic age; since, under a less regular government, and with closer family ties, there were more incitements and excuses for that crime. Hence at that time those institutions must have been of double importance, which checked the fearful consequences of an unlucky act, quieted the workings of an uneasy conscience, and moderated the too eager thirst for revenge.^a

From this ancient connexion of the religious expiations and criminal jurisdiction, we easily perceive why at Athens Apollo should have presided over all the courts of justice;^b and why he was also represented at Tenedos as armed with a double hatchet,^c the instrument used in that island for the execution of adulterers.^d

^a On this point more will be found below, in ch. 11. § 9. In this place I only observe, with reference to the assertion of Lobeck (de Præc. Myst. II. p. 6:), "that all expiations in the heroic mythology were invented by the historians," that, according to *Arctinus* (*Æthiopis* ap. Procl. Chrestom. comp. Tychsen de Quinto Smyrneo p. 61.), Achilles, after the murder of Thersites, fled to Lesbos, to be there expiated by

Ulysses, after sacrifices to Apollo and Diana. It may indeed be shown from the Scholia to Il. XXIV. 484. that the original reading in this passage was not ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἀφνειοῦ, but ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἀγνίτῳ, "in the house of the expiator, or purifier." See Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, vol. I. p. 300. vol. II. p. 1351.

^b Above, p. 264. note c.

^c Below, § 17.

^d See Book III. ch. 11. § 4.

7. Apollo was likewise supposed to preside over purifications of houses, towns, and districts;^a and accordingly they were performed by Tiresias, the prophet of the Ismenium, at Thebes;^b as also in later times by Epimenides, in his character of a Cretan worshipper of Apollo, at Athens (after Olymp. 46. 1.), and at Delos at a still earlier period.^c This is the first purification of Delos of which we have any account; the second is that instituted by Pisistratus (about the 60th Olympiad); the third, that set on foot by Athens (Olymp. 88. 3. 426 B.C.), when the island was entirely freed from the corpses so odious to Apollo.^d

In all these rites we find frequent use of the *laurel* (the δάφνη Ἀπολλωνιάς),^e to which a power of warding off evil was ascribed, both when employed in sprinkling, and when merely carried round in procession.^f This tree also served several purposes in the delivery of oracles; a branch of it in ancient times distinguished the prophets,^g and even the god himself as such;^h hence his nurses were said by some to have been Κορυθαλία,ⁱ i. e. "the laurel itself;" and Ἀλήθεια, or "the fulfilment of oracles."^j The reason why the

^a Æschyl. *Eum.* 62.

^b Theocrit. *Id.* XXIV.

^c Plutarch. *Conviv. Sept. Sapient.* 14.

^d Boeckh's *Economy of Athens*, vol. II. p. 150. Compare also the fact mentioned in the first spurious Epistle of Æschines, p. 658. ed. Reisk.

^e Hesych. in v.

^f See Casaubon ad Theophrast. *Char.* 16.

^g Hence Manto is also called Daphne; and one of the sons of Priam, a prophet, was named αἶσακος, i. e. a laurel-bough,

Apollod. III. 12. 5. cf. Hesych. in v.

^h Tischbein I. 33. Millin. *Vases*, tom. I. pl. 6.

ⁱ Plutarch. *Sympos.* III. 9. 2. p. 148. ed. Hutten. *Schol. Od.* XIX. 86. διὰ τὸ κορυθρόφον τοῦ Ἀπολλωνος. Compare Eustathius p. 683. 40. ed. Bas. Hesych. in κορυθαλία, where the olive-branch is so called. See also Creuzer's *Symbolik*, vol. II. p. 161.

^j Ἀλήθεια is often used in oracles to signify the confirmation by events of the prediction;

laurel was supposed to have these powers is as obscure as the origin of the ancient symbolical language in general. Perhaps it was merely the appearance of the evergreen-tree, with its slender form and glittering leaves, that made it a symbol of Apollo. The laurel will bear a tolerably severe winter,¹ and therefore flourished in the north of Greece; while the olive, the tree of Athene, belongs to its more southern regions. But, be this as it may, the situation of Tempe, where this shrub still grows with great luxuriance, certainly added much to the sanctity of the symbol:^k and for this reason the amour of the god with Daphne is often placed on the banks of the Peneus.¹ Indeed Apollo was supposed to love all groves, particularly of forest-trees, laurels, wild-olives, &c. The freshening coolness and holy silence of such places were thought to be proper preparatives for entering the sanctuary.^m

8. It has appeared incomprehensible to many, why Apollo should be a god of prophecy, and how this office can be reconciled with his other attributes. Many have been satisfied with supposing an accidental association of music, prophecy, and archery, without being able to discover any principle of union. In the following pages we shall endeavour to account for the com-

thus Antiphon wrote a treatise *περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας*, i. e. on the fulfilment of oracles. Apollo is called *ἀληθής* by Tryphiodorus v. 641. where see Wernicke's note. Diviners were called by the Spartans *καταλαθισταί*, Hemsterhuis ad Tim. p. 113.

¹ See particularly Plin. jun. Epist. V. 6.

^k Above, ch. I. § 2.

¹ Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Hyginus fab. 203. where see Muncker's note. It is also re-

lated to have taken place at Amyclæ, at Claros, and also on the banks of the Ladon; the latter on account of Apollo On-cæus. In several coins of Metapontum, e. g., on two in the Paris cabinet, Apollo is represented as placing or planting a laurel on a low altar; and he is frequently drawn with a laurel in his hand, sometimes bound with woollen fillets.

^m See Od. IX. 200. XX. 278. Pausan. I. 21. 9.

bination in the same deity of attributes apparently so unconnected.

Prophecy, according to the ideas of the ancients, is the announcement of fate (of *μοῖρα, αἴσα*). Now fate was considered to be the right order of things, the established physical and moral harmony of the world, in which every thing occupies the place fitted for its capacities and function. Fate therefore coincides with supreme Justice (*Θέμις*); which notion Hesiod expressed by saying that Zeus married Themis, who produced to him the Fates. The pious, religious mind could not separate Zeus and Destiny: Fate was the will and thought of the highest of the gods. A man whose actions agreed with this established harmony, and who followed the appointed course of things, acted *justly* (*κατ' αἴσαν, ἐναίσιμα*); the violent and arrogant man endeavoured at least to break through the laws of Fate. Now it was this right order of events which the ancient oracles were supposed to proclaim; and hence they were called *θέμιστες*, ordinances or laws of *justice*.ⁿ They were not imagined to be derived from a foreknowledge of futurity; but merely to declare that which, according to the necessary course of events, must come to pass. It cannot indeed fail to surprise us that the oracle was delivered by a woman in a state of ecstasy, and not as the result of serious reflection. But do we not find in the earlier period of Grecian philosophy (especially in the Ionic school) every new and profound discovery

ⁿ See particularly Od. XVI. 403. and Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 394. compare Ælian V. H. III. 43, 44. Diod. V. 67. Harpocration in *θεμιστεύειν*, &c. Themis was worshipped, together with

Apollo, at Delphi (which also seems to be stated in the corrupt gloss of Hesychius in *θέμις*), and in the Didymæum, Chishull Ant. Asiat. p. 67.

appearing as the work of sudden illumination and ecstasy, and indeed often accompanied with miraculous circumstances? And would not the mind in that age have naturally been raised to such an excited and rapturous state, when, endeavouring to escape from the narrow bounds of daily life, it recognised in the general course of events the influence of the gods? The means adopted to promote this inspiration, the vapour of the chasm, the chewing of the laurel-leaves, the drinking of the water of the well, are of the most innocent description. We do not however mean to deny that these ceremonies soon became an unmeaning form, the oracle being made subservient to political purposes.

The custom of a woman giving utterance to the decrees of the god originated partly from the peculiar estimation in which women were held by the Dorians, and partly from the natural tendency of the female sex (so often remarked by the ancients) to fits of ecstasy. Prophetesses were elsewhere also frequently connected with temples of Apollo; as, for instance, Manto, during the fabulous age, with the Ismenian and Clarian temples, and Cassandra with that of Thymbra, whose nature was nearly allied to that of the sibyls, who likewise were always connected with temples of the same god. As to the manner in which the responses of the Pythian priestess were delivered, Heracleitus of Ephesus says, that "*the god, whose oracle is at Delphi, neither utters nor conceals any thing, but gives signs;*"^o which at least serves to contradict

^o Ap. Plutarch. de Pyth. degree to praise the simplicity of the Delphic oracles, as also Philostratus Vit. Apollon. VI. 11. also appears to a certain

the common idea of the designed ambiguity of this oracle.

This temple must however have lost much of its dignity, when it condescended, for the sake of rich offerings from the Lydian monarch, to answer enigmatically the insidious questions which Croesus put to the Grecian oracles. In earlier times a Greek would not have dared, without the greatest faith in its responses, to approach the temple, which had regulated almost the whole political state of Greece, conducted its colonies, instituted the sacred armistices, and established by its authority the legislation of Lycurgus. For in general the god had not to announce what *would*, but what *should* take place; and he frequently declared events not as to happen independently of his injunction, but as the consequence of his answers. All Dorians were in a certain state of dependence on the Pythian temple; and as long as that race possessed the ascendancy in Greece, the hearth in the centre of the earth (*μεσόμφαλος ἐστία*), with its eternal fire, at Pytho,^p was considered as the Prytaneum and religious centre of the whole of Greece.^q

9. In ancient Greece, however, prophecy was by no means derived altogether from Apollo, but merely that species of it which proceeded from a rapturous and entranced state of the soul. Nevertheless, the enthusiastic and imaginative frame of mind, in which cool grottos, with their flowing waters and hollow echoes, seemed to transport the votary into a former world, was derived from the Nymphs: and the Bacidæ, who were considered as under the influence of the Nymphs

^p Hom. Hymn. 24. Æsch. Choëph. 1037. Eurip. Ion 474. Plutarch. Num. 9.

^q See Plato de Rep. IV. p. 179. 7. Leg. VI. p. 428. 12. ed. Bekker.

(*νυμφόπληκται*), have no more to do with Apollo than the *σεληνιακοί*, among whom Musæus is reckoned.

Of the various modes of divination from omens,^r only two or three were referred to this god, and that rather accidentally than in accordance with any fixed principle:^s for example, divination from lightning,^t from birds,^u from sacrifices,^x and from the drawing of lots, which, however, was either disdained by him, as below his dignity, or transferred to Hermes.^y

Connecting the idea of Apollo, which we have now acquired, with our preceding inquiries, we find the whole combine in an easy and natural manner. Apollo, as a divine hero, overcomes every obstacle to the order and laws of heaven; and those are heavenly regulations and laws which he proclaims as the prophet of Zeus. By these, also, tranquillity, brightness, and harmony, are every where established, and every thing destructive of them is removed. The belief in a fixed system of laws, of which Apollo was the executor, formed the foundation of all prophecy in his worship.

10. We have next to consider for what reason and to what extent *music* was included among the solemnities (*τιμαί*) in honour of Apollo. On this point, how-

^r The divination from dreams is also opposed by Euripides (*Iphig. Taur.* 1264) to the prophecies of Apollo; and he also refers to it the combat between the goddess *Γαῖα* and *Phœbus*.

^s All regular divination was of an early date, according to Pausan. I. 43. 3.

^t Above, ch. 2. § 14.

^u Hymn. Hom. III. 213, 544. Sophocl. *Œd. T.* 965. Alexander's *Δελφικά* ap. Steph. Byz. in *Πάρινασος*, Paus. X. 6. 1. comp. Plin. H. N. VII. 57.

^x *Μάντεις Πυθικοί* at the sacrifice, Eurip. *Androm.* 1107, 1116. see above, ch. 2. § 12. ch. 3. § 2.

^y Hom. Hymn. III. 552. Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 45, and Schol. *Œtym. Magn.* p. 455. 51. *Anecd. Bekk.* p. 265. Zonobius V. 75. Steph. Byz. in *Θρία*. compare Hesychius in the obscure gloss *Θριώ*, and the vase in Millingen's *Diverses Peintures* 29. *Κληροί* at Delphi are also mentioned by Plutarch de *Et* 16.

ever, we must guard against inferring too much from the poets. By the ancients he was represented as playing on the cithara (*φόρμιγξ*), frequently in the midst of a chorus of Muses, singing and dancing;^a whose place in the Hymn to the Pythian Apollo is filled by ten goddesses, among whom "*Ares and Hermes vault and spring*" (perhaps like Cretan tumblers or *κυβιστηγῆρες*), "*whilst Apollo, in a beautifully woven garment, plays, and at the same time dances with quick motion of the feet:*" for Apollo was not considered as merely a god of music; thus Pindar addresses him as the god of dance.^b But we are not warranted from this *poetical* fiction to infer a *religious* union of the Muses and Apollo, nor can such a connexion be any where traced; indeed the worship of these goddesses was, both in origin and locality,^b entirely different from that of Apollo. Besides, amongst the early writers, Apollo is never considered as the patron of poets, or invoked, as the Muses are, to grant poetical inspiration: players on the cithara alone were under his protection. The cithara was his attribute, both in many ancient statues^c and also on the coins of Delphi; it is his ancient and appropriate instrument; the deeper-toned lyre, with its arched sounding-board, Apollo received from Hermes:^d

^a Il. I. 602. Hesiod. *Scut.* 200; and see Heinrich's note. So also on the chest of Cypselus, with the verses in Paus. V. 18. 1, and Pindar *Nem.* V. 24. ^b Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 200. Pindar *Fragm.* 115. ed. Boeckh. Apollo himself, as a boy, is represented dancing on a tripod in a coin of Cos (Mionnet tom. III. p. 401).

^b *Orchomenos*, p. 381.

^c See, e. g. Athen. XIV. p. 636 E. Hence the *κίθαρος* was a fish sacred to Apollo, Apollod. *Fragm.* p. 395. ed. Heyn.

^d See the Homeric Hymn to Hermes. But even there the lyre is frequently confounded with the cithara (the *seven-stringed* in v. 51, which proves that this hymn is later than the time of Terpander). Comp. Apollod. III. 10. 2, where

the instances in which he is represented as bearing it are very rare.

11. But for what reason is Apollo described as playing upon the cithara? for no other, assuredly, than that the music of the cithara was from times of remote antiquity connected with his worship; and that, because it appears best fitted to express a tranquil and simple harmony; the worship of Apollo, as we have frequently remarked, always endeavouring to produce a solemn quiet and stillness of the soul. Pindar beautifully says of this god that he "*invented the citharis and bestows the muse on whom he wills, in order to introduce peaceful law into the heart.*"^o To this also refer the golden *κηληδόνες*, which, according to the account of the same poet,ⁱ were suspended from the roof of the brazen temple at Delphi; and they were without doubt intended as emblems of the mild and soothing influence of the god. This was naturally the chief object of music when used in purifications, and as an incantation (*ἐπωδή*); when passions were to be overcome, and pain soothed; and in ancient times this was one of its most important applications.^g Chrysothemis, an ancient Pythian minstrel of mythology, was hence called the son of Carmanor, the expiatory priest of Tarrha;^h as also Thaletas, the Cretan poet, purified Sparta by music, when attacked with

Apollo. is said to receive the pipe (*αὐλὴ*) also from Mercury, and Eratosth. Catast. 24. The Æolian lyric poets made frequent mention of this fable, and hence it frequently occurs in Horace.

^o Pyth. V. 63.

ⁱ Fragm. Pæan. 2. ed. Boeckh.

^g The frequent use of music

in medicine in the most ancient times is certainly not a fiction; thus Apollo, when a player on the cithara and an *ιατρόμαντις*, has offices nearly allied to one another, Æsch. Suppl. 261. Eumen. 62.

^h Paus. X. 7. 2. According to Schol. Pind. Pyth. Argum. 3. he was himself the *καθαρτής*.

the plague.ⁱ The Pythagoreans, who paid an especial honour to Apollo, went still further, and employed music as a charm to soothe the passions, attune the spirit to harmony, and cure both body and mind. Hence they much preferred the cithara to the flute,^k as, according to Grecian ideas, there was something in the sound of the flute wild, and at the same time gloomy; this, too, is the reason why Apollo disliked the music of that instrument.^l This also explains his contest with Marsyas, the Phrygian Silenus and flute-player, whose tough skin, having been stript off by the conqueror, always moved (according to the report of the inhabitants of Celænæ), with joy, as was believed, at the sound of flutes.^m

The flute was not an instrument of much antiquity among the Greeks; Homer only mentions it as used by the Trojans.ⁿ In the time of Hesiod it had been introduced at the *comus*, the band of noisy revellers.^o But the cithara alone for a long time kept its place as the instrument for the chorus: even in the time of Alcman flute-players came mostly from Asia Minor; and their names (Sambas, Adon, Telos^p) frequently had, from this circumstance, a barbarous sound. This kind of music was principally adopted in places where

ⁱ Plutarch de Music. 42.

^k Diog. Laert. VIII. 24. Jamblichus Vit. Pythag. 26, &c.

^l Hence no flute-player was allowed to enter the temple of Tennes the son of Apollo, Diod. V. 83.

^m This fable, and the various representations of it in ancient art, are well known. See Bœttiger in Wieland's Attisches Museum, vol. I. p. 285. Visconti Museo Pio-Clementino V. 4. Millin. Vases vol. I. pl. 6.

The accompaniments in the plate given by Tischbein IV. 6. show that Phrygia, those in I. 33. and Millingen pl. 6. that Delphi is meant.

ⁿ Il. X. 13. The passage XVIII. 495. cannot be considered as equally ancient, see Eustathius and the Venetian Scholiast.

^o Hesiod. Scut. 281.

^p Athen. XIV. p. 624 B. Welcker ad Alcman. p. 6. Fragm. 86.

Dionysus was worshipped; for instance, in Boeotia. It was of course also much used in the rites of the Phrygian Magna Mater, and of the Phrygian Pan:^a hence Pindar, who inherited the character of a flute-player from his father, dedicated a shrine to the mother of the gods, and to Pan.^r When, however, it had become common throughout Greece, it could not be excluded from a place so celebrated for music as Delphi, and Apollo's ear became less fastidious. Alcman and Corinna, indeed, were too partial to that art (the former as being a Lydian, the latter a Boeotian), when they represented Apollo himself playing on the flute.^u This instrument, however, had at that time been adopted even in the sacred exhibition of the Delphian worship: a dirge on the death of the Python^t (nominally the production of Olympus a Phrygian musician, contemporary with, or somewhat later than, Terpander),^u was played on the flute in the Lydian strain, and probably formed a part of that dramatic representation. Moreover, this instrument was used to accompany Prosodia (songs which were sung on the way to a temple) in the procession to Tempe, and in the Pentathlon at the gymnastic contests.^r A peculiar species of flute, from being used in pæans, obtained the name of the *Pythian*:^v yet the music of the flute, combined with singing (*αὐλοῦν*), in lyric and elegiac

^a See Marm. Par. Ep. 10. and the commentators.

^r Boeckh ad Pindar. Fragm. p. 292.

^u Alcman. Fragm. 38. ed. Welcker. Plutarch de Mus. 14.

^t Aristoxenus ap. Plutarch. de Mus. 15. The same musician also composed the νόμος Πολυκέφαλος in honour of Apollo,

Plut. ib. 7. Boeckh ad Pind. Pyth. XII. p. 345.

^u See the author's History of Greek Literature, ch. 12. § 6.

^r Plutarch de Mus. 14. Paus. V. 7. 4. V. 14. 4. τὸ Πύθιον, Athen. XII. p. 538 F.

^v Or perfect (τέλειοι αὐλοὶ), Aristides de Music. 2. p. 101. ed. Meibom.

measures, was excluded from the Pythian games, after it had once been heard, as making too gloomy an impression:^a for all sadness, and therefore all plaintive strains, were every where excluded from the worship of Apollo; and the music in his temples was always intended to have an enlivening and tranquillizing effect upon the mind.

12. From this view of the subject we may explain the singular story of the contest of Apollo with Linus, and of the defeat and consequent death of the latter.^a For this purpose it will be necessary to state shortly my ideas respecting the real character of Linus. Linus, then, the subject of the song called by his name, was originally a god of an elementary religion (in which there were numerous symbols to signify the death of all animated life): he was nearly connected with Narcissus (i. e., *the Torpid*), whose tomb was shown at Thebes and Argos, at which last place matrons and maidens bewailed him in the month Arneius, as a boy brought up among lambs and torn in pieces by dogs.^b The song of lamentation for the untimely death of Linus, the much-loved boy,^c was sung to the

^a Paus. II. 22. 9. X. 9. 3.

^b Paus. IX. 29. 3. Philochorus ap. Eustath. ad Il. p. 1163. 57. ed. Rom.

^c Conon Narr. c. 19. Paus. II. 19, 1 (his tomb was in the temple of Apollo). comp. Propertius II. 10. 8. A θρῆνος Ἀργεῖος is mentioned by Aristides Eleus. p. 259. Apollo is only his poetical father (Apolod. I. 3. 2. Theocritus, Eustathius); but his mother Psamathe and his brother Psamathus must have some meaning. With the ceremony mentioned in the text

was connected a festival called *Arnis* or *Cynophontis*, at which a number of dogs were publicly slaughtered. Ælian. N. A. XII. 34. Statius Theb. VI. 65. Conon ubi sup. Athen. III. p. 99 F. The dog, as was frequently the case in ancient mythology, evidently represents Sirius, and generally the scorching heat of summer, so fatal to all vegetation. It appears, therefore, that they destroyed the emblem of that power by which the death of Narcissus was occasioned.

^c Hesiod ap. Eustath. ubi sup.

harp in a low and subdued voice, and listened to with pleasure in the times of Homer and Hesiod,^d although then, perhaps, the air was not always very melancholy. But in after times this was its predominant character, as is proved by the names *Αἴλιος* and *Οἰτόλιος*.^e It was a great favourite with the husbandmen,^f who were generally aboriginal inhabitants. In this point there was a resemblance between the usages of ancient Greece and Asia Minor, where religious dirges of this description, different, indeed, in different districts, but having every where the same mournful tune, were customary.^g Such were, for instance, the lament of the tribe of Doliones;^h the Hylas, sung at fountains in the country of the Mysians and Bithyniansⁱ (probably the same as the Mysian song);^k the song of the beautiful Bormus, whose watery death was deplored by the husbandmen of Mariandyne on the flute in the middle of summer;^l of Lityerses, whom the Phrygians bewailed yearly during the time of harvest at Celænæ, the native place of Marsyas;^m and which, with the melancholy Carian strain, was played to the Phrygian flute.ⁿ Besides these there were the Gingras, or song of Adonis, and the Maneros, the rustic song of Pelusium in Egypt, which Herodotus com-

^d Hom. Il. XVIII. 569. Hesiod ubi sup. Euripides ap. Athen. XIV. p. 619 C.

^e See Stanley ad Æsch. Agam. 123. The proper name was perhaps *οἶτος Αἴλου*, and the first words *αἶ Δίνε*.

^f Pollux I. 1. 38. cf. Il. ubi sup.

^g Barbarian *Αἴλινοι* in Eurip. Orest. 1402.

^h Schol. Apoll. I. 1135.

ⁱ *Orchomenos*, p. 293.

^k Æsch. Pers. 1059 (where it is a melancholy tune to the lamentations of the chorus) and Schol. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 791.

^l Æsch. Pers. 941. and Schol. Eustath. ubi sup. Pollux IV. 7. 54.

^m Schol. Theocrit. X. 41. Apostol. XII. 7. Hesychius in *Μαριανδυνῶν θρήνος*.

ⁿ Pollux IV. 10. 76.

pares with the Linus.^o And even at Cyprus the contest of the two opposite kinds of music was in some measure renewed; there being a tradition that Cinyras, the priest of Aphrodite, and composer of the mournful strains in honour of Adonis, had, like Marsyas and Linus, been overcome and put to death by Apollo.^p

Thus we behold Apollo the representative of the severe, even, and simple music of the Greeks, in contest with that impassioned spirit, alternating between the extremes of fury and apathy, which the professors of an elementary religion sought to represent even in their music; and consequently this fable also harmonizes with the fundamental principles of the religion of Apollo.

13. Having now ascertained the general character of the music employed in the worship of Apollo, we shall endeavour to obtain a more accurate knowledge of its varieties.

One of the most ancient species of composition (in which Chrysothemis the Cretan and Philammon were said to have contended at Delphi) was a hymn to Apollo;^q which we must suppose to have been composed in the ancient Doric dialect, and sung simply to the cithara. In reference to its musical execution, this hymn was also called a *nome*,^r the invention of which was ascribed to Apollo himself.^s At Delos

^o Il. 79. comp. Clearchus ap. Hesych. Pollux ubi sup.

^p Eustath. ad Il. A. 20. The name Cinyras was changed so as to resemble *Κινυρός*. The love which Apollo bore him (Pind. Pyth. II. 16. cf. Schol. Theocrit. I. 109) merely signifies that he was fond of music.

^q Paus. X. 7. 2. Concerning the antiquity of the musical

contests at Delphi see Plutarch Sympos. II. 4. 1. p. 83. Demetrius Phalereus quoted above, p. 338, note ^o. Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. Tyan. VI. 10.

^r Proclus ap. Phot. *Χρυσόθεμις ὁ Κρήτης πρῶτος στολῇ χρησάμενος ἐκπρεπεῖ, καὶ κιθάραν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς μέμνησιν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μόνος ἦσε νόμον*.

^s Suidas in *νόμος κιθαρωδῆς*.

also there were nomes, which were sung at the cyclic choral dances, and were attributed to Olen, another representative of the ancient poetry of hymns.¹ The general character of these was composure and regularity;² the measure was anciently (as we know from certain testimony) only hexameter:³ which agrees well with the fact that the origin of the hexameter was derived from Pytho.⁴ In the account that Philammon, the ancient composer of hymns, had placed choruses of young women round the altar, who sang the birth of Latona and her children in lyric measures (ἐν μέλεσι),⁵ the nomes of Philammon,⁶ as improved by Terpander the ancient lyric poet, appear to be confounded with the original ones; since these, after the fashion of the most ancient composers, contained only hexameters.⁷ The ancient religious poets mentioned in these accounts, Chrysothemis, Philammon, and Olen, may be looked on as Dorians with the same certainty as the founders of the temples of Tarrha, Delphi, and Patara, to which they particularly belonged.⁸ The language also of the poems ascribed to

¹ Callim. Hymn. Del. 304. comp. Apoll. Rhod. I. 537.

² Proclus ubi sup.

³ Plutarch de Music. 4. from Timotheus.

⁴ See the passages quoted by Fabricius vol. I. p. 207. 210. ed. Harl. It was also called *versus Deliacus*, if the reading in Atilius Fortunatus, p. 2690. ed. Putsch. is correct. At *Miletus* also there were ancient hexameter hymns to Apollo and Zeus, which were attributed to Branchus, Terent. de Metris 5, 165. comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 647.

⁵ Heraclid. Pont. ap. Plutarch

de Music. 3. comp. Schol. Od. XVI. 432. Syncellus Chronogr. p. 162. Fabricius vol. I. p. 214. ed. Harles.

⁶ Plutarch de Music. 5.

⁷ The hymns of Terpander were, like the most ancient songs, partly in hexameter metre, ἔπη (Plutarch Symp. III. 4. Proclus ubi sup.): yet Terpander was the first to introduce a great variety of metre.

⁸ The reason of Thamyris the Thracian being called the son of Philammon (Paus. IV. 33), is probably the near neighbourhood of the Delphians and Thracians of Parnassus.

them must have been Doric; though indeed the fact of a poetical use of this dialect before the historic times will not agree with the predominant, though perhaps not well-grounded notions respecting the progress of poetry in Greece.

14. That the *pæan* was a song of thanksgiving for deliverance has been mentioned above. With respect, however, to the manner in which it was performed, we learn from Homer that it was sung after the sacrificial feast,¹ when the goblets were carried round after the sacred libation; and this was also the case at Sparta and Athens.² It was generally sung in a sitting posture, although in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo that god is represented as accompanying the Cretans who sing in a measured step.³ At Sparta it was danced in choruses.⁴ On the whole it required a regular and sedate measure,⁵ even when it assumed a more lively air, as for the nome, and the solemn *σπονδειακόν*, sung at libations.⁶

But the most lively dance which accompanied the songs used in the worship of Apollo, was that termed the *hyporcheme*.⁷ In this, besides the chorus of singers who usually danced around the blazing altar,

¹ Il. I. 473. cf. XXII. 391.

² Plat. Symp. 4. Philochorus ap. Athen. XIV. p. 630 sq. cf. IV. p. 179. XI. p. 503 E. from Antiphanes, Xenoph. Symp. 2. 1. Hence *τελεσίερος*, Hesych. in v.

³ Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 514 sqq. In Delos also pæans were sung round the altars, Eurip. Herc. Fur. 690.

⁴ Xenoph. Ages. 2. 17. The passage of Athenæus XIV. p. 631 C. if properly written, does not refer to that point. There

was always a person named *ἐξάρχων* who accompanied the song on an instrument. Thus Archilochus Fragm. 50. ed. Gaisford. αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Δέσβιον παίηονα (after the time of Terpander), Vit. Sophocl. μετὰ λύρας τοῖς παιανίζουσιν ἐξῆρχε. Compare the verses on the chest of Cypselus quoted above, p. 349, note 2.

⁵ Plutarch de Ei 16.

⁶ Jamblich. Vit. Pythag. 25.

⁷ See Menander de Encom. p. 27. ed. Heeren.

several persons were appointed to accompany the action of the poem with an appropriate pantomimic display (*ὑπορχεῖσθαι*). Homer himself bears witness to the Cretan origin of this custom, since the Cnosian dance, represented by Hephæstus on the shield of Achilles, appears from the description to have been a kind of hyporcheme,¹ and hence all dances of this description were called Cretan.^m From that island they passed at an early period over to Delos, where, even in Lucian's time, the wanderings of Latona and her island, with their final repose, were represented in the above manner.ⁿ At the same time also probably took place the custom mentioned in the hymn to the Delian Apollo as characterizing the songs of the young women of that island; viz., that they represented the voices and gestures of every nation:^o perhaps they introduced the peculiar dances of the various countries which Latona visited in her wanderings. The ludicrous, and at the same time complicated dance (*γέρανος*) which Theseus is said first to have danced with his crew round the altar at Delos,^p was probably of the same description. All that can be clearly as-

¹ Il. XVIII. 590. cf. Od. IV. 18.

^m Sosibius ap. Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 127. and Simonides ap. Athen. V. p. 181 B. Plutarch Sympos. IX. 15. explained by Boeckh ad Pind. Fragm. p. 597.

ⁿ Lucian. de Saltat. 16.

^o Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 162. πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ κρεμβαλιαστὴν μιμεῖσθαι ἴσασιν. Κρεμβαλιαστὴς means extravagant gestures, such as clapping of hands, striking of castanets, &c.

^p See Plut. Thes. 21. Callim. Hymn. Del. 317. with Spanheim's note. The leader of the dance was called γερανουλκός (Hesych. in v.). Blows also were given, and hence the expression Δήλον κακὸς βωμός (Hesych. in v.); and there were also various turnings and windings, παραλλάξεις and ἀνελίξεις (Dicæarchus apud Plut. ubi sup.): when at rest, the chorus stood in a semicircle, with leaders at the two wings, Pollux IV. 4. 101.

certained respecting the rhythm of these compositions is that the hexameter was altogether unfitted to their playful and joyous character.^q But both the hyporcheme and pæan were first indebted for their systematic improvement to the Doric musicians, Xenodamus of Sparta, and Thaletas of Elyrus in Crete (about 620 B.C.),^r who first brought the Cretic or Pæonic metre into general use; which names point out beyond doubt its Cretan origin, and its use in pæans.^s Cretics form a quick and lively, though a pleasing and by no means inharmonious^t rhythm, being particularly adapted to rapid motion. Thus a joyous and agreeable harmony was added, at the festivals of Apollo, to the serious and solemn music, although the softness and insipidity of several Ionian and Asiatic tunes were, without doubt, always rejected.

Thus, if we except the purifying and propitiatory rites, the festivals of Apollo bore the character of a serene and joyful mind, every other attribute of the deity being lost in those of victory and mercy. Hence in his statues at Delphi^u and Delos^x he was

^q Athen. XIV. p. 630. Compare the extant fragments of the pæans of Pindar.

^r Plutarch de Music. 9, 10. Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 127. That the hyporcheme was native in Sparta may be seen from Pindar Fragm. 8. p. 603. ed. Boeckh.

^s Plutarch de Music. 10. where for ΜΑΡΩΝΑ καὶ Κρητικὸν ῥυθμὸν should probably be written ΠΑΙΩΝΑ. A fragment of a pæan in pæons in Aristot. Rh. III. 7. 6.

^t It is called ἀβρόν τι μέλος by Bacchylides.

^u Pind. Olymp. XIV. 12. and

the Schol.

^x There was at Delos an ancient statue, according to Plutarch de Music. 14. which Tectæus and Angelion appear to have imitated (Pausan. IX. 35. I.); whose work is perhaps copied in the Gem in Millin's Galerie Mythologique, p. 33. N^o. 474. Comp. Macrob. Sat. I. 17. The Graces had a flute, a lyre, and a pipe in their hands. There was another ancient statue (ξόανον) at Delos, which was referred to Erysichthon, Plutarch, Fragm. 10. p. 291. ed. Hutten.

represented as bearing in his hand the Graces, who gave additional splendour and elegance to his festivals by the dance, music, and banquet.⁷

15. We have as yet omitted the mention of two great national festivals celebrated at Amyclæ by the Spartans in honour of the chief deity of their race,⁸ viz., the *Hyacinthia* and the *Carnea*, from a belief that they do not properly belong to Apollo. That the worship of the Carnean Apollo, in which both were included, was derived from Thebes, whence it was brought over by the Ægidæ to Amyclæ, has been proved in a former work;⁹ our present object is to show, from the symbols and rites of this worship, that it was originally derived more from the ancient religion of Demeter than from that of Apollo. The youth Hyacinthus, whom the Carnean Apollo accidentally struck with a quoit,¹⁰ evidently took his name from the flower (a dark-coloured species of iris), which in the ancient symbolical language was an emblem of death; and the fable of his death is clearly a relic of an ancient elementary religion. Now the hyacinth most frequently occurs, in this sense, in the worship of Demeter; thus, for example, it was under the name *Κοσμοσάνδαλος* sacred to Demeter Chthonia at Hermione.¹¹ We find further proof of this in the ancient sculptures with which the grave, and at the

⁷ *Orchomenos*, p. 182. and see Panyasis Fragm. I. 14. 18. ed. Bruck.

⁸ Also the *Hyacinthia* in the Amyclæum, Strab. VI. p. 278. Hyacinthus was the son of Amyclas and of Diomedes the daughter of Lapithas (so named from the Lapithæum in the neighbourhood), according to Apollod. III. 10. 2. Amyclas

is mentioned, instead of Hyacinthus, by Simmias *περὶ μνηῶν*, ap. Steph. Byz. in *Ἀμύκλα*.

⁹ *Orchomenos*, p. 327. The month Hyacinthus was also introduced into Sicily by the Ægidæ, Castelli Prol. XII. p. 74.

¹⁰ Hyacinthus is himself called *Καρνεῖος* in Coluthus Rapt. Hel. 237.

¹¹ Paus. II. 35. 4.

same time the altar of Hyacinthus, was adorned: the artists indeed appear to have completely comprehended the spirit of the worship. We find Demeter, Cora, Pluto, and the Cadmean Dionysus, with Ino and Semele, and Hyacinthus himself, together with a sister named Polyboea.¹² Polyboea is hardly, if at all, distinct from Cora,¹³ whom Lasus of Hermione called Meliboea. To this may be added the sacrifices to the dead, and lamentations customary on the first day¹⁴ (which were forbidden at all other festivals of Apollo); nightly processions,¹⁵ and several other detached traces of the symbols of Demeter and Dionysus,¹⁶ which, by an attentive observer, may be easily distinguished from those of Apollo. The time of the festival was also different: it took place on the longest day of the Spartan month Hecatombeus, which corresponds to the Attic Hecatombæon,¹⁷ at the time when Hylas was invoked on the mountains of Bithynia, and the tender productions of nature droop their languid heads.

The Carnean festival took place, as it appears, in the following month to the Hyacinthian, equally in honour of Apollo of Amyclæ. But the Doric religion seems here to have preponderated, and to have supplanted the elementary symbols so evident in the *Hyacinthia*. The *Carnea* was, as far as we know, altogether a warlike festival, similar to the Attic Boë-

¹² Paus. III. 19. cf. IV. 33. 5.

¹³ Hesychius in *Πολύβοια*; and see below, ch. 10. § 3.

¹⁴ A worship of the dead was also offered to the *πάρθενοι Ὑακινθίδες* of Athea.

¹⁵ Eurip. Hel. 1490.

¹⁶ Crowns of ivy were given at the *Hyacinthia*, according to Aristot. ap. Macrob. Sat. I. 18.

Hence perhaps the *Κισσεὺς Ἀπόλλων* of Æschylus ap. Macrob. ibid. with Lobeck's correction ad Soph. Aj. 814. See Classical Journal XIX. p. 111.

¹⁷ Manso, Sparta, vol. III. part II. p. 201. has properly followed Dodwell on this point, whose arguments also convince me.

dromia. It lasted nine days, during which time nine tents were pitched near the city, in each of which nine men lived, for the time of the festival, in the manner of a military camp. There is no reference to an elementary religion except some obscure ceremonies of the priest Agetes and the Carneatæ.^k This leads us to suppose that at the union of the Amyclæan worship, introduced by the Ægidæ, with the Doric worship of Apollo at Sparta, the Hyacinthia preserved more of the peculiarities of the former, the Carnea of the latter, although the sacred rites of both were completely united. At the same time we do not deny the difficulty of inquiring into the origin and primitive form of ceremonies the history of which is so complicated; and this alone must excuse the shortness of our account respecting these two festivals.

16. Finally, the manner in which Apollo is represented in *sculpture*, particularly by the ancient artists, may assist our investigation into the ideas and sentiments on which his worship was founded. Apollo was a subject peculiarly adapted for sculpture. Since his connexion with elementary religion was slight, and there was nothing mystic in his character, the sculptors were soon able to fix upon a regular cast of features, to distinguish him from other deities: for Apollo, not only in poetry, but in the fables most nearly connected with his worship, is generally represented as a human god, and in all his actions and sufferings more nearly connected with the heroes than any other divinity. But before this perfection and conventional uniformity of the art, the early sculptors were much assisted in

^k Hesych. Σταφυλοδρόμοι τι- count is given in Bekker's
νές τῶν Καρνεατῶν παρορμῶντες Anecd. p. 305.
τοὺς ἐπὶ τρύγῃ. A different ac-

characterizing the statues of Apollo by his numerous and significant symbols, such as the bow, the cithara, the laurel, &c.: and thus they were able, in some measure, to give an idea of the power and properties of Apollo, though merely in stiff and rude images of wood and stone.

17. The simple Cippus of Apollo Agyieus did not represent any particular attribute, but was merely intended as a memorial of the presence of the protecting god.¹ In endeavouring more fully to express his character, the symbols of power would naturally come next. His attributes of vengeance doubtless preceded those of mercy, although both, in fact, harmonized together: it must, however, have been long, before the surpassing beauty of the god (celebrated even in the Theogony of Hesiod) could be the subject of sculpture. The attribute, then, of strength, as also that of omniscience, the ancient Lacedæmonians wished to represent by the Apollo with four hands and four ears at Amyclæ.^m But the chief statue on the above spot was an image, which, besides the bow, bore a helmet and lance: of the same nature was also the statue on mount Thornax, the face of which had been gilded by the Lacedæmonians.ⁿ The Megarians also consecrated at Delphi a statue of Apollo bearing a lance;^o and at Tenedos he was armed with the double hatchet,^p like

¹ Clemens of Alexand. (Str. I. p. 349.) infers from two verses of the ancient poem Europa that Apollo was also represented at Delphi as a κίων ὑψηλός; but they prove nothing; for the high column, on which arms and trophies were hung, was certainly not the god himself.

^m Called Κουρίδιος, Hesych. in v. Sosibius ap. Zenob. Prov.

I. 54. Apostol. II. 54.

ⁿ Paus. III. 11. Perhaps this was the regular form of the Carnean Apollo, Paus. III. 26. 5.

^o Above, p. 195. note ^k.

^p Aristides ap. Steph. Byz. comp. Plutarch Pyth. Orac. 12. p. 266. Apostol. XVIII. 28. and the coins of Tenedos (Mionnet tom. II. p. 671.); those of Pitana (tom. II. p. 627. N°.

the Labrandenian Zeus of the Carians.^a In a very ancient bas-relief, discovered by Dodwell on the mouth of a well at Corinth, and which we shall hereafter examine further, Apollo holds the cithara in his hand;^b his whole form too, as in all the ancient sculptures, is stouter and more manly than usual.

18. On inquiring concerning the artists of the most ancient symbolical statues of Apollo, we find that the Cretans were the first sculptors, as well as musicians, of that worship. From Crete, an ancient wooden statue of Apollo, of the rudest style of workmanship, was brought to Delphi:^c from hence, too (about Olymp. 50, 580 B. C.), there came Dipœnus and Scyllis the Dædalidæ, who made for the Sicyonians statues of Apollo, Artemis, Hercules, and Athene, of which we will speak hereafter. The Pythian oracle greatly interested itself in the labours of these artists; for when the envy of the native artists had driven them from Sicyon, it compelled the inhabitants to recall them. The managers of the temple of Delphi appear indeed to have been, from very early times, great

722.) of Iasos (tom. III. p. 352.), and particularly those of Thyateira (Buonarotti Medaglie Antiche IX. 9.), in which the symbol of the axe is variously combined with Apollo.

^a The latter god was called by the title of *Χρυσαιορως* (Strab. XIV. p. 660.); and consequently the epithet *χρυσάωρ*, as applied to Apollo, originally (e. g. in Il. V. 509. see Heyne's note, and ad Apollod. p. 274.) signified his golden armour, although Pindar (Pyth. V. 104.) uses it for the golden ornaments of his cithara; but in an oracle of Bacis it is again applied to Artemis, i. e. to the *armed* god-

dess (Herod. VIII. 77. compare Mitscherlich and Ilgen ad Hom. Hymn. Cer. 4. Boeckh Explic. Pind. p. 293.)

^b Travels in Greece, vol. II. p. 200. pl. 7. Alcuni bassi-relievi della Grecia, Roma 1812. The Apollo upon the Capitoline Puteal appears to be a copy, but a far more modern copy, of the same original. The same shape of Apollo may be also observed in the reliefs with the carrying off of the tripod.

^c Pind. Pyth. V. 42. There was also shown at Tegea a gilt Apollo by Cheirisophus a Cretan, see Thiersch, Ueber die Kunstepochen, vol. II. p. 25.

patrons of the art of sculpture, particularly in brass. The subterranean temple at Pytho (the existence of which has been doubted, but, in my opinion, without sufficient grounds) was covered with brass, as were several treasuries of the ancient princes of Greece. The temples and courts were fitted with numerous tripods; caldrons, goblets, and arms of brass were there arranged promiscuously, from periods of the highest antiquity. There was also a knife used in sacrifice called the *Delphian knife*; nor do the singing golden *Κηληδόνας*, which Pindar represents as suspended from the roof of the brazen temple, seem to be a mere poetical fiction.

But the Cretan school of sculpture produced Tectæus and Angelion, who erected the celebrated, and probably colossal statue of Apollo at Delos, which (as was before mentioned) held the Graces in one hand and a bow in the other. With the same school also, though in a more distant degree, was connected Canachus of Sicyon, who, about the seventy-third Olympiad, made a famous bronze statue for the Didymæum,^a and one of wood for the Ismenium. From the accounts and various imitations of this work of art we are enabled to form some idea of its character. The god was represented with a manly form, his breast broad and prominent, the trunk square, the legs almost like pillars, and in a firm position, the left leg being a little advanced. The hair, encircled with a fillet, lay in

^a Tryphiodor. 643. and see book IV. ch. 1. § 3. Concerning the *Δελφική μάχαιρα* see Aristotle Polit. I. 1. 5. and Hesychius in v. Compare Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 535. At Tarsos also they used a sacred *μάχαιρα*,

tempered in the water of Cydnus, Plutarch de Defect. Orac. 41. p. 368.

^b In this temple also there was a wooden statue of Apollo, *θύιος* (probably *θύϊνος*) *Ἀπόλων*, Hesychius.

slender twisted curls over the forehead; over each shoulder were three platted tresses, and behind the hair fell in a broad cluster down the back. The countenance nearly resembled those in the marbles of Ægina. In the right hand, which was stretched straight forward, was a fawn (an obscure symbol which we shall not here attempt to explain); the left, not quite so much elevated, grasped a bow. The whole must have had an awful and imposing appearance, conveying the idea of sublimity and dignity far more than of grace or loveliness.^x We cannot suppose the style of the colossal statue of Apollo to have been very different which, several Olympiads later, was modelled in brass by Calamis for Apollonia on the Pontus, and which was afterwards brought to Rome by Lucullus:^y nor that of Apollo Alexicacus, erected at Athens by the same artist at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.^z The Apollo which Onatas of Ægina, the contemporary of Calamis, executed for the inhabitants of Pergamus, was a colossal statue displaying great beauty of form, and, as it appears, of a more youthful appearance than was common for statues of Apollo at that time.^a In this, Apollo was represented

^x For this account see a paper *Ueber den Apollon des Kanachos*, in the *Kunstblatt* for 1821, N^o. 16. This also serves to confirm the conjecture of Visconti that the bas-relief of the Museo Pio-Clementino V. 23. represents Menelaus dedicating the arms of Euphorbus to the Didymæan Apollo; for the god upon the pillar has nearly the form in question. To the copies of this Apollo many might now be added.

^y Strab. VII. p. 319 B. comp.

Pliny N. H. IV. 27. XXXIV. 18.

^z Pausan. I. 4. 3. The reader should guard against supposing with Visconti (Museo Pio-Clementino tav. I. p. 26. tav. 7. p. 93.) that these statues of Apollo in temples had the elegant proportions and light character of the later works of art.

^a Æginetica, p. 106. Concerning the ancient statues of Apollo see also Winckelmann's *Kunstgeschichte* vol. I. p. 191. note. vol. III. p. 548.

as καλλίτεκνος, as the beautiful son of Latona; under which name he was worshipped at Pergamus.^b It is not improbable that the union of strength and beauty so conspicuously exhibited in the ideal forms of the two children of Latona was suggested by the peculiar character of the Doric education; and that the artist represented the god as an Ephebus, whose skill in the chorus and on the field of battle was exactly equal.

But the figure which we are accustomed to consider as properly belonging to Apollo did not originate even in the school of Polycleetus and Myron,^c but was the creation of a later period; since both the coins of a date prior to the time of Alexander,^d and single heads, which must be referred to the same period,^e do not indeed preserve the features ascribed to the work of Canachus, but still are quite different from the most celebrated of the statues now extant, having broader cheeks, a shorter and thicker nose; in a word, the proportions are what the ancients termed *quadrate*, or square. It was not till the times of Scopas, Leochares, Praxiteles, and Timarchides, that the Apollo appeared whom we may call the twin-brother of Venus, so similar are the forms of both deities. The expression of inspiration and ecstasy, which several of the best statues exhibit, may also be shown to have first originated in the school of Scopas, since the earlier artists aimed rather at producing the appearance of tranquillity and com-

^b This important statement is given in Aristides Fragm. ap. Mai. Vet. Script. Nov. Syll. I. 3. p. 41. It has first explained fully the epigram of Antipater to the Apollo of Onatas, Brunck *Analect.* vol. II. p. 14. N^o. 30.

^c A statue of Apollo by My-

ron is mentioned by Cicero in *Verr.* II. 4. 43.

^d E. g. those of Mytilene, Croton, and also those of Philip the First.

^e E. g. the head in the Louvre, N^o. 133. *Catalogue de Clarac.*

posure than of transient excitement; and the exquisite taste with which these sculptors were able to express inspiration without extravagance, deserves the highest praise. Without detailing the particular productions of these and later artists, we shall only show how they may be best classified. The Apollo Callinicus of Belvedere stands by itself, swelling with the pride of victory:^f next comes the Apollo resting from the fight, with the right arm bent over the head, the left leaning on a pillar, holding the bow, which has evidently been used, or a cithara: being evidently a statue of the *resting Apollo* (Ἀπόλλων ἀναπαύμενος); but from the circumstance that a statue of this kind stood in the Lyceum at Athens^g it is usually called the "Apollo of the Lyceum:" then follows the Apollo Citharædus (playing on the harp), either naked, in different positions, or covered with the Pythian stola, and in an almost theatrical attitude.^h It would be foreign to our

^f A bronze found at Argos, of the same character, is mentioned by Pouqueville, Voyage en Grèce, tom. IV. p. 161. Heads having a great resemblance to the Belvedere Apollo occur in many collections, some of which have even more heroic forms.

^g Lucian. Anachars. c. 7. In a coin of Thessalonica the Pythian Apollo is represented in this position, with the laurel in his right hand, the cithara beside him, and the bow at his feet (Mionnet N°. 396.); similar to those of Germe, Apollonia in Mysia, Chalcedon, and Cos.

^h The statue of this class in the Museo Pio-Clementino I. tav. 13. is, according to Vis-

conti's conjecture, a copy of the Palatine Apollo of Scopas, Plin. N. H. XXXVI. 4. 7. This form of the Apollo Musagetes was most in vogue in the time of Nero. There is a remarkable statue of this god described and figured by Raffei in his *Ricerche sopra un Apolline della villa Albani*. He is represented as sitting, half-clothed, on a tripod covered with a skin, with his right hand on his knees (to be kissed, as was the custom in temples); in his left hand is a serpent; and his feet rest upon a *cortina*, also covered with a skin: by the side of this is a lion's skin; the hair is interwoven with laurel leaves, and falls in a broad cluster over the

subject to enter into details respecting this class of statues, and those derived from them, as the Sauroctonus, Nomius, &c.

19. Finally, we would endeavour to trace the influence of the worship of Apollo on the policy and philosophy of Greece, if the question did not embrace so wide a field, lying, as it does in great measure, beyond the confines of history. We may, however, select, from what has been already said, as proofs of the influence of this worship on political concerns, the armistice connected with the festivals of Apollo, the truce observed in the sacred places and roads, the soothing influence of the purifications for homicide, together with the idea of the punishing and avenging god, and the great influence of the oracles in the regulation of public affairs.ⁱ It has, moreover, been frequently remarked how by its sanctity, by the dignified and severe character of its music, by all its symbols and rites, this worship endeavoured to lull the minds of individuals into a state of composure and security, consistently, however, with an occasional elevation to a state of ecstatic delight.

20. Lastly, the worship of Apollo was so nearly connected with a branch of Grecian philosophy that the one frequently established and explained scientifically that which the other left merely to the feeling; I mean the *Pythagorean system*. Pythagoras possessed hereditary rites of Apollo; he dwelt at Croton, where that god received such various honours;^k he lived mostly among Dorians, who were everywhere

back. The style is neither very ancient nor good, but the symbols and position are singular in many respects.

ⁱ See Ephorus ap. Strab. IX.

p. 423. and Julian (ap. Cyrill. p. 153.) on this subject.

^k Above, ch. 3. § 7. and book III. ch. 9. § 16.

partial to that worship; and a Delphian priestess, by name Aristocleia, is mentioned among his followers.¹ Thus it is not without reason that the Pythagorean philosophy has in modern times been considered as Doric: in its political doctrines it followed Doric principles, and with the Doric religion it was united both externally and internally: besides which, the attempt to realize and disseminate national ideas and opinions may perhaps illustrate the rapid growth of the power of the Pythagorean league. The recondite principle of this philosophy always is, that the essence of things lies in their due measure and proportion, their system and regularity; that everything exists by harmony and symmetry alone; and that the world itself is an union of all these proportions (*κόσμος*, or order). The same abstraction from materiality also belonged to the religion of Apollo; for this too suggests the idea of order, harmony, and regularity, and in these it makes the nature and actions of the Deity to consist. Hence, too, music was one chief ingredient of the Pythagorean philosophy, as well as a necessary element of the worship of Apollo, as best expressing the harmony on which both were founded. In both the soothing and appeasing of the passions was aimed at and effected, that the mind might be quieted and strengthened at the same time.^m But we must leave the full investiga-

¹ Porph. Vit. Pythag. 41. According to Aristoxenus apud Diog. Laert. VIII. 21. he received the fundamental doctrines of his philosophy from Themistocleia, a Pythian priestess. See Fabric. Bibl. Græc. vol. I. p. 881. ed. Harles. and Apostol. Prov. XVII. 86.

^m One of the important parts

of the Pythagorean worship was the *pæan*, which was sung to the lyre, in spring-time, by a person sitting in the midst of a circle of listeners: this was called the *κάθαρσις*, or purification. See Schol. Ven. II. XXII. 391. Jamblich. Vit. Pythag. 25. Porphy. Vit. Pythag. 32. This is evidently an

tion of this subject to those who have acquired a profounder knowledge of the philosophy of Pythagoras.

CHAP. IX.

§ 1. Worship of Artemis. § 2. The Artemis connected with Apollo distinct from the other goddesses of that name. Her attributes. § 3. The Arcadian Artemis. § 4. Fable of Alpheus and Arethusa. The Peloponnesian Artemis. § 5. The Attic Artemis. § 6. Artemis Orthia, or Iphigenia. § 7. Rites of the worship of Artemis Tauria. § 8. The Artemis of Asia Minor. § 9. Her connexion with the Amazons.

1. WE now proceed to consider the worship of Artemis; a subject which need not be so fully examined as that of Apollo, as it does not, like the worship of that god, everywhere present the same fundamental notions, and therefore cannot, in all its first beginnings, be derived from the religion of the Dorians. But as in general the Grecian mythology adopted the most various and inconsistent religious views and ideas, so in the name of the single goddess Artemis were united almost opposite branches of ancient worship, which we must attempt to separate. Lest, however, it should be supposed that we are unable to trace the association of ideas, which saw a simple character in the "various forms of that great goddess, who, having her origin in the interior of

application of ancient rites of the worship of Apollo. The Pythian oracle likewise commanded the Greeks of Lower Italy to sing pæans in the spring as a means of atonement. Aristoxenus p. 93. ed. Mahn. apud Apollon. Hist. Mir. 40.

"Asia, passed from thence into Greece, and was worshipped as the moon, the goddess of the woods, the huntress, the nurse of children, and a nurse of the universe, as well by the choruses of the virgins of Caryæ, as in the dances of the temples;"^a we will endeavour to ascertain some historical criterion, which may distinguish the worship of Artemis from that of any other deity, and which must not be one of the ideas or symbols of the worship itself, since it is concerning the possibility or impossibility of their connexion that we are to inquire.

2. For this purpose it may be assumed, that the Artemis connected with Apollo belongs alone to the same system of religious notions: and consequently, the Artemis of Ephesus, Artemis Orthia, and Artemis Tauropolus, are of a different nature, as Apollo is never represented as their brother: of this, however, more hereafter. Here we will first show, that in all the chief temples of Apollo, Artemis was worshipped as his sister, as the partner of his nature and of his actions, and, as it were, a part of the same deity. Thus both were children of Latona, and were equally the rulers of the temple of Delphi;^b the victory over the Python, the flight, and the expiation, concern both;^c both were honoured at the Pythian games of Sicyon, together with Latona;^d as also in

^a See Creuzer's *Symbolik*.

^b Pindar. Nem. VI. 42. IX. 4. Compare Hymn. Homer. XXVII. 14. and the ἀρὰ Ἀμφικτυόνων in Æschin. Ctesiph. p. 70. 36. Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τῆς Λατὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀρτάμυ[τος] in the great Delphian inscription in Boeckh N°. 1688.

The whole family was also in the temple at Cirrha, Pausan. X. 36. 7.

^c See above, ch. 7, § 6.

^d Pindar. Nem. IX. 4. At Sparta also Apollo Pythæus was joined with Latona and Artemis, Pausan. III. 11.

Crete,^e Delos, Lesbos,^f at Carthæa,^g in the Didymæum,^h on the citadel of Troy,ⁱ in the worship of Lycia,^k as well as in that of Metapontum.^l The worship both of Apollo and Artemis is said to have been derived from the Hyperboreans;^m and the names of the Hyperborean priestesses, who brought the rites to Delos, *Arge* and *Opis*, according to others *Hecæerge* and *Loxo*, are only epithets of Artemis. *Arge* probably means "the rapid;" *Opis* (^{Ὠπίς, Ionice} Ὠπίς, the same as Ὠπίς) well characterises the spirit of this religion, as it signifies the constant watch and care of the goddess over human actions,^o while at the same time she inspires fear and veneration of herself.^p She was known also by the same name among the Dorians

^e Chishull's *Antiq. Asiat.* p. 133. The Artemis Cnagia at Sparta came from Crete, according to Pausan. III. 18. 3. Amnisian nymphs of Artemis, Callim. Hymn. Dian. 15. See above, ch. 1. § 5.

^f Above, p. 342, note ^a.

^g Antonin. Liberal. c. 1.

^h Inscription in Walpole's *Travels*, p. 578. ὑδροφόρος Ἀρτέμιδος Πυθίης.

ⁱ Above, ch. 2. § 3.

^k Σαρπηδονία in Cilicia, Strab. XIV. p. 676.

^l Hyginus fab. 186. Whether the Artemis of Rhegium (Thuc. VI. 44.) came from Delphi (above, ch. 3. § 5.) or from Eubœa (where she was worshipped under the name of Προσηώα at Artemisium, of Amarynthia, near Eretria, on mount Cotylæum, and all along the Euripus, Callim. Hymn. Dian. 188.) is uncertain.

^m Herod. IV. 33. where the worship of the Hyperborean

Artemis is also ascribed to the Thracian and Pæonian women. Compare Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 936. The Hymn of Olen, Pausan. V. 7. 4. represented Demeter Ἀχαιία as coming from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delos; but the Achæan Demeter cannot be meant; and therefore I would write ΑΦΑΙΑ, as Artemis was called in Ægina. The ἀποδημία of Artemis in the Argive legend (Menander de Encom. 4. p. 38. ed. Heeren) perhaps referred to this.

ⁿ See Callim. Hymn. Del. 292. Melanopus of Cume ap. Pausan. ubi sup. cf. I. 43. 4. Etymol. Mag. p. 641. 56. Concerning Ὠπίς, see the English edition of Stephens' Thesaurus, vol. I. part 4. p. 551.

^o Thus Apollo was called Ἐπόψιος, Hesychius.

^p Thus Nemesis was also called Ὠπίς, as in the inscription of Herodes Atticus.

of Sparta,^a and celebrated as such in sacred chants:¹ thus almost all the attributes and actions of Apollo are referred also to Artemis. She is also the goddess of sudden death;² which she sometimes inflicts in wrath, but sometimes without anger;³ and hence she is represented as armed, not only with bow and arrows, but in the Doric states with a complete panoply.⁴ In ancient poets she is not only the destroyer of wild beasts, but also, like her brother, of sacrilegious men.⁵ Thus, with Apollo, she killed Tityus, and, by herself, the Aloidæ,⁶ and Orion, who dared to violate Opis when bringing the ears of corn to Delos.⁷ Hence she

^a Palæphat. 52. Apostolius VI. 44.

¹ Sung among the Træze-nians, by whom Lyceia was worshipped, Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 972.

² Od. XI. 171. Compare Il. VI. 428. Od. XX. 60. The reason why she kills Ariadne (Od. XI. 324.) is explained by Pherecydes in the Scholia. Λέων γυναιξί (Il. XXI. 483.) probably only as a goddess of death, and not as Pausanias IV. 30. 3. and Eustathius explain it. "Α γυναικῶν μέγ' ἔχει κράτος in the Attic Scolion is ambiguous.

³ Artemis in Homer is, in the first place, the complete image of her brother, as armed with a bow (ιοχέαιρα, χρυσηλάκατος, τοξοφόρος Il. XX. 39, 71. XXI. 483. Od. IV. 122. VI. 102, &c.); as a beautiful and strong maiden (Od. IV. 122. VI. 151. XVII. 37. XIX. 54.); as killing women suddenly and without sickness (Il. VI. 428. XIX. 59. Od. XI. 171, 323. XV. 476. XX. 61, 80.), sometimes

mildly (Od. XV. 409. XVIII. 201.), at another time in anger (Il. VI. 205.); as punishing with death the children of Niobe (Il. XXIV. 606.) and Orion (Od. V. 123.); as κοινροτρόφος, and therefore giving height to virgins (Od. XX. 71. cf. VI. 107.); as occasionally healing (Il. V. 447.); as honoured by choruses of singers, and herself leading the chorus (Il. XVI. 183. cf. Hymn. XXVII. 18.). Now, besides this, there is also the Arcadian notion of Artemis, the wood-nymph; her chorus plays in the woods (Od. VI. 106.); she rejoices in wild boars and stags (VI. 104.); and thus, being armed with a bow, becomes a huntress (Il. V. 51. XXI. 485.). The Ætolian Artemis, who requires θαλύσια (Il. IX. 533.), is again of a different kind.

⁴ Pausan. IV. 13. 1.

⁵ Callim. Hymn. Dian. 124.

⁶ Apollod. I. 7. 4.

⁷ Pausan. I. 4. 5. Euphorion ap. Schol. Od. V. 120. Fragm. 108. ed. Meineke, &c.

was to be appeased by expiatory rites; and had an equal share in Thargelia, and similar festivals.^a And for the same reason the laurel was likewise sacred to Artemis.^b She was honoured with the song of the pæan.^c She is at the same time the destroyer and the preserver (λυκεία^d and οὐλία).^e And even her name "Αρτεμις^f clearly corresponds with that of the protecting Apollo, since it signifies the "healthy," the "uninjured."^g Whether the art of music belonged to Apollo alone is not certain; at least the Lacedæmonians celebrated in honour of Artemis a musical contest called καλαβοιδία;^h and her singing is represented in the Iliad as delighting both gods and men.ⁱ On reliefs which represent the victors in musical contests, Apollo is always accompanied by his mother and sister.^k Artemis had also a claim to the gift of prophecy, at least if we can attribute any antiquity to the tradition of her being a sibyl.^l Like Apollo, she is

^a Etym. Mag. p. 443. 20. At Melite in Phthia Artemis was, in some particular worship, called "Ασπαλις, "Αμειλήτη, "Εκαέργη, Antonin. Liberal. 13.

^b She was worshipped under the title of Δαφναία at Las, Pausan. III. 24. 6. and of Δαφνία at Olympia, Strab. VIII. p. 343.

^c Etymol. M. p. 657. 6. Sophocl. Trach. 210. according to Seidler's punctuation; above, p. 309, note ^b.

^d At Træzen, Pausan. II. 31. 6.

^e Above, ch. 6. § 3. Also προθυραία and προπυλαία, Spanheim ad Callim. Dian. 38.

^f Etym. Mag. p. 356. 10. Gudian. p. 17. 23. Compare above, p. 372, note ^b. Alcman used the form "Αρτέμιτος,

Eustath. p. 1618. 29. A month "Αρταμίτιος in Crete, Chishull's Antiq. Asiat. p. 126; and in Sicily, see Castelli Proleg. ad Inscript. Sic. p. 69. "Αρταμίτιος in Corcyra, according to inscriptions; "Αρτεμιτία in Cyrene, Thirge Hist. Cyren. p. 218. Αρ]ταμιτι in a Corcyrean inscription, Mustoxidi, Illustrazioni Corciresi, vol. II. p. 88. comp. Chandler. Inscript. p. 82. N^o. 145. Koen. ad Greg. p. 305. Steph. Byz. in "Αρτεμίσιον. ^g See Plato de Rep. p. 406. Strab. XIV. p. 635.

^h Hesychius in Καλαοιδία.

ⁱ Il. XVI. 183.

^k Welcker ap. Dissen. Explic. Pind. p. 453.

^l See the verses in Clem. Alexand. Strom. I. p. 523. cf. Pausan. X. 12. 1.

always represented as unmarried; and therefore not as the deity of an elementary religion, and originally not as goddess of the moon, although it cannot be denied that the worship of the moon was very nearly connected with other branches of the worship of Artemis.

But, it may be asked, if this Artemis always has the same characteristics as Apollo, and has none that are peculiar to herself, why should there be two deities to express one idea? Wherefore both a male and female, if neither have any relation to sex? It is difficult to give a satisfactory answer to these questions.

This consideration may, however, in some measure assist; namely, that as soon as Apollo was once supposed to be as an earthly god, as the ideal of all human strength, it was necessary to add also a female being. And the near approximation of the male to the female deity may be accounted for by the condition of the Doric women, who were much more considered as independent beings, and possessed a capability for all those other things which adorn the other sex.

3. But the most difficult part of our problem still remains unsolved; viz. to ascertain what was the worship of Artemis, which had not the same origin and nature with that of Apollo. First of all we should mention the Arcadian. That goddess has nowhere so many temples as in Arcadia; she was there the national deity, and had been long revered, under the title of "*Hymnia*," by all the races of that people.^m She was also introduced under the name of

^m Pausan. VIII. 5. 8. cf. 13. also seen from Polyæn. VIII. 1, 4. The temple was on the confines of Mantinea and Orchomenos 12. 3. It may be

34. that the Tegeates sent sacred processions to Artemis of Pheneus.

Callisto into the national genealogies, and called the daughter of Lycaonⁿ (i. e. of the Lycæan Zeus), and mother of Arcas (i. e. of the Arcadian people). For that Callisto is only another form of the name of Artemis Calliste, which is a common epithet of Artemis, is plain from the fact that the tomb of that heroine was shown in the temple of the goddess,^o and that Callisto was said to be changed into a bear, which was the symbol of the Arcadian Artemis.^p Afterwards, indeed, the fable was much altered; and it was related that Artemis changed Callisto into a bear merely from anger.^q But that this ancient Arcadian deity was not the Doric Artemis is proved by the above-mentioned criterion; viz. that she has no connexion with Apollo.

Another circumstance, however, speaks even still plainer. Apollo and his sister seldom received any particular surnames from places where they were worshipped;^r whereas the other Artemis has almost innumerable names from the mountains, hills, fountains, and waters of Arcadia, and the other regions of Peloponnesus. Hence Alcman remarks that the goddess bears the names of thousands of hills, cities, and rivers.^s There must have been, therefore, some-

ⁿ Eumelus ap. Apollod. III. 8. 2. Asius and Pherecydes give a different account.

^o Pausan. VIII. 35. 7. Compare Sappho in Pausan. I. 29. 2. *Æginetica*, p. 31. Artemis was called, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the beautiful, ἡ καλὰ, Feder ad Æsch. Agam. p. 9.

^p Callisto was called even by Hesiod the constellation of the Bear, Hygin. Poët. Astron. I. p. 356. Lactant. 6.

^q It is easy to conceive that, as Apollo Lyceus was at Delphi represented in the form of a wolf, so likewise the bear was made the symbol of Artemis by the Arcadians.

^r The exceptions are few; for instance, perhaps, Apollo Cereatas in Ægyptis, Pausan. VIII. 34. 3.

^s Ap. Menand. de Encom. 3. p. 33. frag. 33. ed. Welcker. She was called Λυκοῦτις on

thing in the attributes of this Arcadian Artemis which produced such a number of local names; she must have been considered as united and connected with the country in which she was worshipped. This leads to the notion of an elementary goddess, of a similar, though more universal nature than nymphs of the mountains, rivers, and brooks. Accordingly we find that this ancient Peloponnesian Artemis was nearly connected with lakes, fountains, and rivers. She was worshipped in several places under the titles of Limnatis and Heleia.¹ There were frequently

mount Mænalum, Paus. VIII. 36. 5. *Κνακεῖτις* near Tegea, ib. 53. 5; *Κεδρεῖτις* at Orchomenos, ib. 13. 2. (so named from a cedar on which the statue stood); *Στυμφαλία* at Stymphalus, ib. 22. 5. comp. Eustath. ad II. II. p. 228. ed. Basil; *Σκιαδίτις* at Scia, near Megalopolis, Paus. VIII. 35. 5; *Κνακαλησία* and *Κονδυλεῖτις* at Caphyæ, ib. 23. 3; *Νεμυδία* at Teuthea, Strabo VIII. p. 342; in Laconia *Δερρεῖτις*, Paus. III. 20. 7. Steph. Byz. in *Δέρρα*. The hymn to Artemis Derrhiatis, or *Δερρεῖτις*, was called *Κάλαβις*; there was also an indecent dance, Eupolis, ap. Athen. XIV. p. 619. Hesychius. *Καρυῖτις* at Caryæ, Paus. III. 10. 8. Hesychius in *Καρύαι*. *Ἰσσωρία* near Pitana, Paus. III. 14. 2. Polyæn. II. 1. 14. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 172. Plutarch Ages. 32. and Hesychius (according to Pausanias the Artemis Issoria or Limnæa was not properly an Artemis, but Britomartis); *Οἰνωῖτις* near Argos, Steph. Byz. in *Οἶνη*, Hesychius in *Οἰνωῖτις*. *Σαρωνίς* near Træzen, Paus. II.

30. 7. Achæus tragicus ap. Hesych. in *Σαρωνίς*; *Κορυφαία* at Epidaurus, Paus. II. 28. 2. Steph. Byz. in *Κορυφαῖον* (Clarke, Travels, vol. II. part II. p. 603. found, by means of an inscription, what are probably the ruins of the temple upon mount Coryphæum);—*Ἀλφειαία* at Letrini, Paus. VII. 22. 5; *Κοκκόκα* at Olympia, ib. V. 15. 4; *Τρικλαρία* at Patræ, ib. VII. 19. 1. (an united temple of three ancient *κῶμαι*); *Ἀκταία* at Pellene, Plutarch. Arat. 32.

¹ As *Λιμναῖτις* at Tegea, Paus. VIII. 53. 5; at Epidaurus *Λιμερα*, ib. III. 23. 6.; at Pitana, near Sparta, ib. 14. 2; at *Λιμναία* at Corinth, ib. II. 7. 6; and particularly in the celebrated *Λιμναῖον*, on the frontier of Laconia and Messenia, Paus. IV. 4. 31. Tacit. Ann. IV. 43. Hence, according to Strabo p. 362. the Limnæum in Laconia was derived. At Træzen she was *δέσποινα Λίμνης* and of the hippodrome, Eurip. Hippol. 230. As *Ἑλεία* in Messene, Hesych. in *Ἑλεία*, probably *Ἑλεία*; and at Alorium, on the

also fountains in the temples of Artemis: viz., at Corinth, Marius, Mothone,^a and near the district of Derrhiatis in Laconia.^{*} She likewise received great honours at the Clitorian fountain of Lusi.^γ Among rivers, those she was most connected with are the Cladeus and the Alpheus.² The moist and watery district, through which this latter stream flows into the sea, was filled with temples of the nymphs of Aphrodite and Artemis, among which the sanctuary of the Alphean Artemis³ is most remarkable. There were in that temple paintings of Cleanthus and Aregon of Corinth, which were chiefly on subjects relating to religion; as, for instance, that of Poseidon presenting a thunny-fish to Zeus while in the act of producing Athene.^δ All this naturally suggests the idea of a goddess who produced a flourishing and vigorous life from the element of water; and hence we would not entirely reject the popular faith of the Phigaleans, that Eurynome, the goddess of fish, and herself represented as half a fish, was an Artemis.^ε

borders of Arcadia, Strabo VIII. p. 350. where for *Ἑλείας* should probably be written *Ἑλείας*.

^a Paus. II. 3. 5. III. 22. 6. IV. 35. 6.

^γ Paus. III. 29. 7.

^δ Under the title of *ἡμερησία*, Paus. VIII. 18. 8. Pherecydes p. 132. ed. Sturz. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 235. Polyæn. IX. 34. 6. Concerning this fountain, see Callim. fragm. 75. Aristot. Mir. Auscult. p. 1102 B.

^ε Paus. V. 15. 4. At Byzantium also there was in *piscina templum Dianæ Luciferæ et Veneris Placidæ*, Dionys. de Thrac. Bosporo. In Samos also there was Artemis *Χησιὰς*

and *Ἰμβρασίη*, Callim. Hymn. Dian. 228. Catullus calls her *amniū domina*, XXX. 12; Horace, *lætā foliis et nemonum coma*, Carm. I. 21. 5.—Apollonius Rhodius also calls her *νηοσσός*, I. 569; Callimachus, *λιμένεσσιν ἐπίσκοπος*, Hymn. Dian. 39.

² Strab. VIII. p. 343. Paus. VI. 22. 5. Herodotus ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. V. 10. Dissen ad Nem. I. p. 350. Another temple of Artemis in this region is mentioned in Polybius IV. 73. 4.

³ As is shown by Strabo, ubi sup. Comp. Demetrius Scep-sius ap. Athen. VIII. p. 376 B.

^δ Paus. VIII. 41. 4.

4. The mention of the river Alpheus reminds us of Sicily, whither, in order to catch the fountain Arethusa, which was swallowed up in the land of Elis, he is said to have followed her under the sea, and to have first reached her in the island of Ortygia, near Syracuse.^d This singular fable may perhaps be explained by the following considerations. Syracuse was founded in the 5th Olympiad by Corinthians, with whom were some settlers from the district of Olympia, and particularly some members of the family of the Iamidæ, who held a sacred office at the altar of the Olympian Zeus.^e These joint colonists (συνοικιστῆρες, according to the expression of Pindar) appear to have had sufficient weight in the new city to introduce their own religion and mythology. For, as we have seen above, Artemis was worshipped at Olympia as the goddess of the Alpheus, being generally considered in that country as presiding over lakes and rivers. She had in the grove of Altis an altar, together with Alpheus;^f and there was there a popular legend, that Alpheus had once loved Artemis. Now the settlers that went from this district to Syracuse, in their first expedition, confined themselves to the island of Ortygia. Here they built a temple to the river-goddess Artemis; a sanctuary of so great fame, that Pindar calls the whole island "the seat of Artemis, the river-goddess."^g There was; however, no river in Ortygia, and therefore Artemis was supposed to regret her beloved Alpheus. Hence arose the belief that Arethusa, a fountain near the

^d Strab. VI. p. 270. Creuzer's Meletemata, vol. I. p. 78, &c.

^e Pind. Olymp. VI. 5. 6. See

Boeckh Exp. Pind. p. 152. sq. ^f Paus. V. 14. 5. Schol. Pind. Nem. I. 3. Olymp. V. 10.

^g Paus. VI. 22. 5.

temple, contained the sacred water of the Alpheus;^h a belief which was strengthened by the circumstance that large fish were found in the spring;ⁱ and from this arose the fable that Alpheus had followed the goddess to Sicily. But Artemis was supposed to fly from the pursuit of Alpheus.^k This at least was the fiction followed by Telesilla, a poetess who lived in the 64th Olympiad;^l and the same fable was perhaps adopted by Pindar.^m Afterwards, however, the precise meaning and origin of this fable were forgotten; and the fountain-nymph Arethusa took the place of Artemis, and became the object of the pursuit of the river-god.ⁿ Such appears to have been the origin of the elegant fable of Alpheus and Arethusa.

We now return to the Peloponnesian Artemis, and will mention some of her other symbols and attributes. Her statue stood next to that of Demeter, at Megalopolis, dressed in the skin of a deer, with a quiver on her back, holding a torch in one hand, and two serpents in the other, with a dog by her side.^o The connexion which existed between her and the Arcadian Demeter is probably more ancient than this statue; and indeed the symbol of the deer seems to have been common in Arcadia to both Artemis and

^h Pind. Pyth. II. 7. comp. Boeckh Exp. p. 244. Concerning the temple at Ortygia, see D'Orville's Siculis, p. 196. and Boeckh, ibid. p. 243. The beautiful female heads on the tetradrachms of Syracuse, with the hair entwined with reeds, surrounded by four fishes, probably represent the river Artemis.

ⁱ Ibycus ap. Schol. Theocrit. I. 117.

^k Diod. V. 3. Schol. Pind. Nem. I. 2.

^l Ap. Hesych. p. 36. 18.

^m Pindar Nem. I. 1. calls Ortygia the resting-place of the Alpheus; and he too, perhaps, considers Artemis as the object of pursuit.

ⁿ See the excellent note of Dissen ad Pind. Nem. I. p. 350.

^o Paus. VIII. 37. 2.

Cora, called in Arcadia *despœna*.^p She was also worshipped with Bacchus;^q and, like him, had phallic festivals.^r From her connexion with fountains and rivers, and other rural objects, it was natural that this Artemis should be considered as the patron of wild animals. Thus Æschylus calls her "the protectress of young lions, and the whelps of other wild beasts."^s In like manner she was supposed to preside over the breeding of horses,^t and generally over the nurture of infants and children;^u it was therefore by a perversion of the original idea that she took the character of a

^p See Paus. VIII. 10. 4. Callim. Hym. Dian. 107. She had the name of Ἐλαφία in Elis, Paus. VI. 225. Hence the Ἐλαφιβόλεια (Anecd. Bekk. p. 249.), a festival widely extended (e. g. Plutarch. Virt. Mul. p. 267.) The symbol of the deer, however, appears to have been common to all the different branches of the worship of Artemis; thus there is in Mr. Payne Knight's collection a coin in which she is represented bearing a stag's horns, which he ascribes to Delos.

^q Concerning human sacrifices to Artemis on the river Ameilichus, which were abolished by the worship of Dionysus Æsymnetes, at Patræ, see the description in Paus. V. 19. 1. Human sacrifices were also offered to the same goddess near Megalopolis, Tatian adv. Græcos I. p. 165 A. Compare Knight on the Symbolical Language of Mythology, § 143.

^r Δόμβαι. αἱ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι θυσίων ἄρχουσαι ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν παιδιὰν σκευῆς, οἱ γὰρ φάλῃτες

οὕτω καλοῦνται. Hesychius.

^s Agam. 144.

^t Εὐρίππα at Pheneus, Paus. VIII. 14. 4. ἵπποσά, Pind. Olymp. III. 27. comp. Boeckh Expl. Pyth. II. 8. p. 244. Hence Artemis (χρυσήνιος) is frequently represented on vases in a chariot with horses; in Callimach. Hymn. Dian. 110. and in the bas reliefs of Phigaleia, she is attended by goats.

^u Under the title of κορυθαλία at the Tiassa, near Sparta, near the Cleta, Athen. IV. p. 139; also κουροτρόφος, φιλομειράξ, Diod. V. 73. (and see Wesseling's note.) Paus. IV. 34. Hymn. Orph. XXXVI. 8. comp. Spanheim ad Callim. Dian. 6. These names may, however, be referred to the worship of Apollo; above ch. 8. § 7. She was worshipped under the general epithet of σώτειρα at Pegæ (Paus. I. 44. 7.), Megara (I. 40. 2.), Boæ (III. 22. 9.), Pellene (VII. 27. 1.), Phigaleia (VIII. 39. 3.), and at Syracuse, as we know from its coins. Comp. Derville's Sicula, p. 327. sq.

huntress, the enemy and destroyer of wild animals. An analogous inconsistency to that before pointed out in the attributes of the *Doric* Apollo and Artemis, who were represented as both protecting and destroying.^x

5. By the mythological symbol of Artemis Callisto, the bear, we are reminded of some ceremonies at Athens, where young girls, between the ages of five and ten years (who were consecrated to the Munychian and Brauronian Artemis), were called *bears*;^y and the goddess herself, in some singular traditions, is represented as a bear calling for human blood.^z When the Ionians went from Athens to Asia, they carried the worship of the Munychian goddess to Miletus and Cyzicus;^a and to the former city the kindred worship of Artemis Chitone, as the goddess presiding over birth, whose wooden statues were made of fructiferous wood.^b

6. The consideration of the Attic festival of Artemis leads again to another variety of the worship of Artemis; viz., to that of Artemis Orthosia, Orthia, or Iphigenia. We will first give the traditions and facts as we find them. Iphigenia, coming from Tauria to Attica, was supposed to have landed at

^x Above, ch. 6. § 2, 3. ch. 9. § 2.

^y Eurip. Hypsipyl. and Aristoph. Lemn. ap. Harpocrat. in ἄρκεῦσαι. See Orchomenos, p. 309.

^z Apostolius VIII. 19.

^a Boeckh not. Crit. ad Pind. Olymp. XIII. 109. There was also at Miletus a festival of Artemis called Νηληϊς, Plutarch Mul. Virt. p. 287. ed. Hutten. There was also a temple of Artemis at Pygela, near Ephesus,

which was said to have been built by Agamemnon, Strab. XIV. p. 639. Also on coins of Miletus, Mionnet Description, &c. tom. III. p. 186.

^b Callim. Hymn. Dian. 225. Schol. ad Callim. Hymn. Jov. 77. Χιτώνη Ἀρτεμις, Steph. Byz. in v.; among the Ionians καθωνέα (probably καθωνέη) Ἀρτεμις, Hesych. in v. Also Artemis Χιτώνεια at Syracuse, Athen. XIV. p. 629 E.

Brauron, and at the neighbouring Halæ Araphenides, and left behind her the ancient wooden image of Artemis.^c Here she was immediately interwoven with the heroic genealogy, and called the daughter of Theseus.^d In Sparta there was a temple of Artemis Orthia in a damp part of the city, called Limnæum, where was also shown a wooden statue, which had come from Tauria.^e As to the introduction of the worship, it is said that Astrabacus and Alopecus (the ass and fox), the sons of Irbus, descendants of Agis in the fourth generation (about 900 B.C.), had found the image in a bush, and had been struck mad by the sight of it; that the Limnataë, and other villages of Sparta, had upon this offered sacrifices to them, when a quarrel arose, and murder ensued. A number of men were killed at the altar; and accordingly the goddess called for victims to atone for the pollution; instead of which, in later times, the scourging of boys was instituted, over the severity of which the priestess presided.^f It is remarkable that this was immediately followed by a πομπή Λυδῶν, a Lydian procession.^g

^c Paus. I. 23. 9. I. 33. 1. cf. III. 17. 6. Eurip. Troad. 1462. sqq. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 173. Euphorion also placed the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Brauron, fragm. 81. ed. Meineke.

^d The Argives, Stesichorus, and Euphorion, according to Paus. II. 22. 7. Antonin. Liber. 27. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 183.

^e Paus. III. 16. 6. Hygin. fab. 261. Comp. Creuzer's Comment. Herod. p. 244. From this temple Helen was carried away, according to Plutarch Thes. 31. cf. Hygin. fab. 79; whose name reminds us of the

Ἑλενηφοροῦντες of Artemis of Brauron.

^f The διαμαστίγωσις was preceded by the φοῦαξις, ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας σωμασκία τῶν μελλόντων μαστιγοῦσθαι, Hesychius. The word φοῦαξις appears to be derived from φοῦα, Laconian for φύα, and ἄξις or ἄξισ, contracted from ἄσκησις. See App. V. § 4. Comp. Hemsterhuis and Valcknaer ad Adonias. p. 277. There were also other games at this festival, Boeckh. Inscript. N°. 1416. ἐπὶ Ἀλκίππου νικάσας τὸ παιδικὸν κέλῃτι Ἀρτέμιτι Ὀρθίῳ.

^g Plutarch. Arist. 17.

From this narration it follows that the scourging was considered as a substitute for human sacrifice; and further, that the worship was looked upon as of a foreign origin: notwithstanding this, it was completely interwoven into the Lacedæmonian mythology. For it can be shown that the pretended daughter of Agamemnon, Iphigenia, is no other than the Taurian goddess, who was actually worshipped in several cities of Greece under the name of Ἰφιγένεια. Considered as a heroine, indeed, she became first, instead of the goddess thirsting for human sacrifice, the virgin sacrificed to her; and, secondly, her sacrificing priestess.^h According to the Cyprian poems (for Homer knew nothing of her) Iphigenia was sacrificed to Artemis; but was by her brought to Tauria, and made immortal, a deer (or, according to others, a bear, and also a bull) having been left in her place;ⁱ Hesiod also represented her as immortal, viz., as Hecate.^k The sacrifice was supposed to have taken place at Aulis, because there was a temple (probably of the Orthosian Artemis) near the port, to whom sacrifices were made at the passage.^l

This worship probably came to Laconia from Lemnos,^m one of its principal seats. In early tradition Lemnos was probably identical with Tauria,ⁿ and the latter country derived its poetical name from the symbol of the bull, in the same manner as Lycia in later times took its name from the symbol of the wolf. In

^h Procl. Chrestomath. ap. Hephæst. Gaisford.

ⁱ Ap. Etym. Mag. in Ταυρόπολον.

^k Paus. I. 43. 1.

^l Theognis Paræn. 11. Di-cæarch. Anagr. 88. Plutarch. Ages. 6. Etymol. Magn. p. 747.

Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 183. Siebelis ad Phanod. pp. 6. 9.

^m See the confused account in Plutarch. Mulier. Virt. 7. Quæst. Græc. 21. Polyæn. VII. 49.

ⁿ Orchomenos, p. 311.

Lemnos also a great goddess was anciently worshipped with sacrifices of virgins; to which place the wooden image is said to have been brought from Brauron. This opinion becomes more evident by a comparison with the worship of Chryse. Agamemnon is said to have been the father of Chryse as well as of Iphigenia,^o and also, according to others, of a son Chryses, who went to Tauria with Orestes.^p Now it is certain that Chryse was a goddess, who had from early times been worshipped both at Lemnos and Samothrace. The Argonauts under Hercules and Jason were said to have sacrificed to her; and her ancient wooden image, raised over an hearth of unhewn stones, is often represented on ancient vases.^q Philoctetes is said to have been bitten by the viper^r when he discovered this altar.^s This goddess Chryse, who is also called Athene, was probably only a different form of her sister Iphigenia.

The worship of both these goddesses spread to other places, to the north of the Ægean sea. Thus on the coast of Byzantium there was an altar of Artemis Orthosia;^t and opposite to it, at Chrysopolis, was the tomb of Chryses, the son of Agamemnon, who, in his search after Iphigenia, was said to have died there.^u It is evident that this system of religious names was arbitrarily transferred to the genealogy of the Lacc-

^o Etym. Magn. p. 815. sq.

^p Hygin. fab. 121. on the two Chryses.

^q Uhden, Berlin Transactions for 1815, p. 63. Millingen Diverses Peintures, planche 51. Welcker ap. Dissen. Expl. Pind. p. 512. Compare Buttmann ad Sophocl. Philoct. ad Argum. Metr. p. 57.

^r The subject of a picture mentioned by Philostrate. Icon. 17. Dio Chrysost. Or. LIX. p. 577. 21.

^s Millingen ibid. planche 50.

^t Herod. IV. 87.

^u Etym. Magn. ubi sup. Dionysius de Bosporo Thracio p. 22. ed. Hudson. Hesychius Milesius de Constantinopoli.

dæmonian kings, and most curiously interwoven with the Trojan mythology. The Greeks first became acquainted with Tauria by their voyages to Miletus; and they gave it a name already celebrated in their mythology. They found there some sanguinary rites of a goddess, which, by partly softening the name, they called *Oreiloche*;^x they also found human sacrifices, which they supposed to be offered to Iphigenia;^y their own worship of that deity bore so many marks of ancient barbarism, that they were willing to consider the northern barbarians as its authors. Yet it is certain that the Tauric Artemis was no more derived from the Taurians, than the Æthiopian Artemis from the Æthiopians,^z &c. In Asia Minor^a also there were modes of worship, which the Greeks compared with the rites of the Orthosian Artemis, of the similarity of which we shall presently treat.

7. Hitherto we have merely collected the fabulous narrations of the ancients, and attempted to show their connexion; we shall next speak of the ceremonies which attended the worship of this goddess or goddesses.

In the first place we will treat of the meaning and character of this truly mystical worship.^b We have

^x Ammianus XXII. 8. Antonin. Liberal. 27. Perizonius ad Ælian. V. H. II. 25. Hemsterhuis ad Poll. IX. 12. p. 982.

^y Herod. IV. 103. Comp. Scymnus Chius v. 88. Strab. VII. p. 508. XII. p. 535. Marnett's Géographie, vol. IV. p. 279. (ed. 1820).

^z See Callim. (fr. 417.) and Eratosthenes ap. Steph. Byz. in *Aithonía*, Hesychius in *Aithio-paída*.

^a A temple of Artemis Or-

thosia at Teuthrania on the Caicus, Plutarch. de Fluv.; of the Tauric Artemis at Tmolia on the Pactolus, ibid.; of Artemis Orthia in Cappadocia, Paus. III. 16. 6.; and of Iphigenia at Comana, Dion Cassius XXXV. 11. Comp. Steph. Byz. in *Amavon*, Plutarch. de Fluv.; and particularly Strab. XII. p. 537. concerning Artemis Perasia at Castabala.

^b Æschylus had divulged something relating to the mys-

a goddess adored with frantic and enthusiastic orgies, certain signs of an elementary religion, as well as with human sacrifices, which the character of the Greeks endeavoured only to moderate and to ennoble; it appears to have originally resembled the Arcadian worship of Callisto; but that it acquired at Lemnos, from the proximity of the Asiatic religion, a wilder and more extravagant form, which it retained after its return to Attica and Laconia. It cannot be a matter of doubt that Artemis Tauropolus is nearly identical with the Taurian goddess; this name of the goddess was established in Samos (where cakes of sesamy and honey were offered to her on solemn festivals),^c in the neighbouring island of Icarus,^d and at Amphipolis.^e The ceremonies were undoubtedly enthusiastic, as the goddess herself was considered as striking the mind with madness;^f and bloody, because the worship at Aricia was considered like it.^g

8. We are now to consider those temples of Artemis which had a purely Asiatic, and not a Grecian origin, and are wholly distinct, not only from the Doric, but also from the Arcadian worship of Artemis.

teries in the Iphigenia, Eustratius ad Aristot. Eth. Nic. III. 1. See above, § 4.

^c Herod. III. 48. Steph. Byz. in *Ταυροπόλιον*. She was also there called *Καρποφάγος*, Hesychius in v. Compare Panofka *Res Samiorum*, p. 63.

^d Strab. XIV. p. 639. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 187. The Tauropolium in the island of Icaria in the Persian bay (where Apollo Tauropolus was also worshipped) was probably not established till after the time of Alexander, Ælian. N. A. II. 9. Dionys. Perieg. 611.

^e Liv. XLIV. 44. and coins. Also in the neighbourhood of Magnesia on the Sipylus, Marm. Oxon. XXVI. l. 60.

^f Sophocl. Aj. 174.

^g See particularly Strab. V. p. 239. She is represented on coins sitting on an ox running, which Apollodorus explained of the periodic course of the goddess, with reference to the moon, p. 402. ed. Heyne. Comp. Etymol. M. in *Ταυροπόλιον*. Apostolus XVIII. 23. See also Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Dian. 174, 187.

The Ephesian Artemis was doubtless found by the Ionians, when they settled on that coast, as already an object of worship, in her temple,^h situated in a marshy valley of the Cayster.ⁱ From some real or accidental resemblance in the attributes of the Munychian and Ephesian goddesses, they called the latter "Artemis;" yet, wherever her worship spread, she was always distinguished by the additional title of "Ephesian."^k Every thing that is related of the worship of this deity is singular and foreign to the Greeks. Her constant symbol is the bee, which is not otherwise attributed to Artemis; the other attributes, which adorned her statues in later times, are too far-fetched to admit of any conclusion being drawn from them. The bee, however, appears originally to have been the symbol of nourishment;^l the chief priest himself was called *ἑσσην*, or the king-bee: some of the other sacerdotal names are of barbarous, and not Greek derivation.^m The gods, by whom this great goddessⁿ was surrounded, must also have been of a peculiar description. It is not probable that Latona was *originally* called

^h Concerning the situation of which see Locella ad Xenoph. Ephes. p. 87. Compare Caylus *Mém. de l'Acad.* tom. XX. pp. 428—441. Choiseul Gouffier *Voyage pittoresque*, tom. I. p. 191.

ⁱ Herod. II. 10. Artemis visited the son of the Cayster according to Callimachus fragm. 102. ed. Bentl.

^k At Corinth, Paus. II. 2. 5. Alea, id. VIII. 23. 1. An Ephesium at Massilia, Strabo IV. pp. 179, 184. at the founding of which there was a priestess named Aristarche (compare the

Ἀριστάρχειον of Artemis at Elis, Plutarch. *Quæst. Græc.* 47).

^l Of a peculiar character also were the sacrifices of parsley and salt at Dædis in Ephesus, Etym. Mag. in *Δαίδις*.

^m The Megabyzi, so called as early as the time of Xenophon. Also *Μύζος* was a priest's name, Apostol. V. 44. The servants of the goddess were, according to their different grades, called *μελλιεργῆς*, *ιεργῆς*, and *παριερῆς*, according to Plutarch *An Seni sit ger.* Resp. 24. p. 130. ed. Hutten.

ⁿ *πρωτοθρονίη*, Paus. X. 38. 3.

her mother,^o as Apollo is never joined with her.^p Her nurse appears to have been called *Ammas*.^q Hercules is said to have proclaimed her birth from mount Ceryceum.^r This Hercules may perhaps be some native demigod, possibly one of the Idæan Dactyli, whose names were, according to some, contained in Ephesian incantations, which were inscribed at the foot of her statues.^s

9. Thus much concerns the character of this worship, which appears, like an isolated point, projecting from a religious system, otherwise confined to the western parts of Greece.

As to its origin, the unanimous tradition of antiquity is that it was founded by the Amazons. This legend had probably been mentioned in some of the ancient epic poems before it was alluded to by Pindar;^t and that it was also preserved on the spot appears from the celebrated contest of Phidias, Polycleitus, and other artists, to make statues of Amazons for the Ephesian temple: lately also a sarcophagus was found near

^o Latona is said to have given birth to her at Corissus in the Ephesia, Steph. Byz. in *Κόρισσος*.

^p The union of Apollo of Colophon, of the Ephesian Diana, and of the Nemesis of Smyrna on coins of these cities in the time of the emperors is only a mutual compliment. In the speech of the Ephesians in Tacitus Annal. III. 61. there is evidently much inaccuracy. The *Ἀπόλλων Ἀμαζόνιος* in Paus. III. 25. 2. is a singular curiosity.

^q Ἀμμάς, ἡ τροφὸς Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ Πρία καὶ ἡ Δη-

μήτηρ, Hesychius.

^r Etymol. Mag. p. 511. 56. Gudian. p. 320. 26.

^s See Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, vol. II. p. 1166.

^t Ap. Paus. VII. 2. 4. *Fragm.* Incert. 56. ed. Boeckh. See Callim. *Hymn. Dian.* 240. sqq. Paus. IV. 31. 6. Steph. Byz. in *Ἐφεσος*. cf. in *Σίσυρβα*, *Κύννα*. Etym. Mag. in *Ἐφεσος*. Plutarch *Quæst. Græc.* 56. p. 407. ed. Hutten. Hyginus *fab.* 223, 225. The contrary is stated in Eusebius *Chron.* n. 870. *Ἀμαζόνες τὸ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἱερὸν ἐνέπρησαν*.

Ephesus representing the battle of the Amazons.^u The traditions respecting the foundation of the cities of Smyrna, Cume, Myrlea, Myrina, Æolis, Priene, Mytilene, and Pitane also make mention of the Amazons.^x With respect to the meaning of Amazons, it has rightly (in my opinion) been supposed that the idea of them was suggested by the sight of the innumerable female slaves (*ιερόδουλοι*) who were employed about the temples of Asia Minor.^y According to Callimachus also the Amazons danced to the sound of the pipe round the statue which had been newly raised on the trunk of an elm-tree. It is also stated as an historical fact, that, even in the times of the Ionians, women of the Amazon race dwelt round the temple;^z although virgins only were permitted to enter the sanctuary itself.^a It appears therefore that the goddess upon whom these Amazons attended, being represented as a beneficent and nourishing deity, was likewise supposed to have the attributes of war and destruction; a double and opposite character, which we have traced in other branches of the worship of Artemis. As to the native country of the Amazons, who were supposed to have founded this worship, it does not seem to have been Phrygia, as they are stated in the *Iliad* to have come from the east of the Sangarius, and to have

^u Moses' Vases, plate 133.

^x Hecataeus ap. Steph. Byz. in *Ἀμαζ*. According to Heracleides Ponticus 33. their settlements reached from Mycale to Pitane, Diod. III. 55. from Dionysius of Samos, Ephorus ap. Strab. XII. p. 550. cf. XIII. p. 623. &c. See Steph. Byz. in *Ἀναία* of a place called Anæa opposite Samos, where an Ama-

zon of that name was buried. The inhabitants were called *Ἀνατται*. Perhaps an Artemis Anaitis was here worshipped.

^y Proposed by Tölken, *Ueber das Bas-relief*, &c. p. 210. and approved by Boeckh in *Hirt Ueber die Hierodulen*, p. 55.

^z Paus. VII. 2. 5.

^a Achill. Tat. *Clitoph.* VII. p. 431.

fought with the Phrygians.^b The Syrians, however, bordered on that people: and Pindar, who says that the Amazons led the Syrian army,^c fully coincides with those who fix their origin on the banks of the Thermodon, Chadesius and Lycastus along the coast of Themiseyra.^d The striking agreement of several authors in this statement, and its singular precision, render it of double importance. And what country could have been more probably the native place of the Ephesian Artemis, as well as of the warlike Hierodulæ, than Cappadocia; where there were, in the historical age, large numbers of sacred slaves, both male and female; where also there was an elementary religion, with frantic rites, and the principal divinity was at the same time a *Bellona* and a *Magna Mater*?

This same oriental worship had also been in other places adopted by the Greeks of Asia Minor. Among these are *Leucophryne*, who was worshipped in Phrygia, near a warm spring,^e and thence particularly honoured along the banks of the Mæander in Magnesia; and therefore also by Themistocles.^f She was represented in the same form as the Ephesian goddess.^g Her sacred animal was the buffalo.^h The Artemis of *Sipyhus* wasⁱ worshipped with wanton games, from which she

^b Il. III. 185.

^c Ap. Strab. XII. p. 819 C. fragm. incert. 57. p. 645. ed. Boeckh.

^d Æschyl. Prometh. 723. Pherecydes ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II. 370. Herod. IV. 110. Arrian Peripl. p. 16. Scymnus Chius v. 229. Creuzer Vet. Histor. Græc. p. 80. According to Schol. Apoll. ubi sup. (cf. 990.) there were in the πεδίων Δολάρτος in Phrygia (in the neighbourhood of Thermodon)

three cities of the Amazons; not far off was Alcmonia (Acmonia Steph. Byz.), where Harmonia produced the Amazons to Mars.

^e Xenoph. Hell. III. 2. 19.

^f Marm. Oxon. XXVI. l. 84. Paus. I. 26. 4. III. 18. 6.

^g Heyne Antiquarische Aufsätze, vol. I. p. 109. Compare Paciaudi Monum. Pelop. vol. II. p. 13.

^h See the coins in Mionnet tom. III. p. 137.

was also called at Olympia (according to Pausanias) Cordaca.ⁱ The *Pergæan* Artemis known all over Greece by her itinerant priests,^k and of the same form as the Artemis Leucophryne;^l with many others.^m It was in the true spirit of this worship that the musician Timotheus called Artemis "the raging and foaming, like a Bacchanalian;"ⁿ and the tragic poet Diogenes in a beautiful though not a very accurate passage of his Semele speaks of the Lydian and Bactrian virgins, who with soft strains worshipped the Tmolian Artemis on the banks of the Halys.^o

I have now endeavoured to give the reader a general view of the different branches and forms of the worship of Artemis; in which some difficult and doubtful questions have of necessity been passed over: but I have preferred rather to reckon on the acquiescence of the reader in some uncertain propositions than to weary his patience by a detailed examination of all the debatable points.

ⁱ VI. 22. 1. The Sicilian Greeks also celebrated to Artemis the effeminate Ionian dance. Pollux IV. 14, 104.

^k Scylax, p. 39. Strab. XIV. p. 667. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 187. Cicero in Verr. I. 20. III. 21. Hesychius, Suidas, Photius, &c. in Περγαία θεός. Apostolius IX. 91. where for παναγαία read περγαία. At Perge also the Syrian Adonis was worshipped under the name of Aboba, Hesychius in Ἀβωβα.

^l Represented on coins as a *signum informe*.

^m For example, Artemis Κινδύας of Barygiæ, Polyb. XVI. 12. 3; Artemis Ἐστιάς of Ias-

sus, ibid. ΑΣΤΙΑΣ Inscript. Chandler. p. 19. n. 57; the goddess of ἱερὰ κόμη at Thyateira, called Ὀρείτης, Polyb. XXXII. 25. 11. Inscript. in Walpole's Travels, p. 575; the Mysian Artemis, Paus. III. 20. 8. cf. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 116; the Astyrene Artemis under mount Ida, Strab. XIII. p. 606, 613; the Boritine Artemis of Lydia, Eckhel Doct. Num. vol. III. p. 121; Artemis Adrasteia in Lesser Phrygia, Harpocratio in Ἀδράστεια, &c.

ⁿ Θνάδα, φοιβάδα, μαινάδα, λυσσάδα, Plut. de Superst. 9. p. 75.

^o Athen. XIV. p. 636 A.

CHAP. X.

§ 1. On the worship of deities other than Apollo and Artemis in Doric states. Worship of Zeus and Here. § 2. Of Athene. § 3 and 4. Of Demeter. § 5. Of Poseidon. § 6. Of Dionysus. § 7. Of Aphrodite, Hermes, Hephæstus, Ares, and Æsculapius. § 8. Of the Charites, Eros, and the Dioscuri. § 9. General character of the Doric religion.

1. Having considered the worship of those deities which either wholly or partially owed their origin to the Dorians, we must now, in order to complete our account of the religion of that race, point out the various worships which they adopted from other nations.

This inquiry will be of value in two other respects than the plain and immediate result to which it leads; viz., from the light it throws on the history of the Doric colonies, and likewise on the Doric character, upon which the mode of worship had a most powerful influence.

But since the subject embraced in its full extent would be almost endless (there being no part of ancient history on which there are such ample accounts as on the local worships), we must give up all attempt at completeness, and rest satisfied with a narrower view.

To begin then with ZEUS. It is remarkable that there was no great establishment of the worship of this god (except the Phrygian in Crete) in any Doric country, but wherever it occurred was connected with and subordinate to that of some other deity. The worship at Olympia^a appears to have been established

^a From this temple was derived the Olympieum at Syracuse (see above, book I. ch. § 7.), the priest of which, called Ἀμφίπολος, was the highest annual officer, Thucyd. VII. 65,

by the Achæans, who in other places (e. g., at Ægium) consecrated temples to Zeus alone: the worship of Zeus Hellanius at Ægina was introduced by the Hellenes of Thessaly. But the whole of Argolis and also Corinth were, from early times, under the protection of HERE, the character of whose worship resembled that of Zeus, although it was more pronounced. The chief temple was twelve stadia from Mycenæ, and forty from Argos, beyond the district of Prosymna;^b its service was performed by the most distinguished priestesses, and celebrated by the first festivals and games, being also one of the earliest nurseries of the art of sculpture. It appears that Argos was the original seat of the worship of Here, and that there it first received its peculiar form and character: for the worship of the Samian Here, as well as that at Sparta,^c was supposed to have been derived from Argos, which statement is confirmed by the resemblance in the ceremonies; and the same is true of the worship of the same goddess at Epidaurus,^d Ægina, and Byzantium.

70. Diod. XVI. 70. Exc. Virt. et Vit. p. 558. Cic. Verr. II. 51.

^b Creuzer Symbolik, vol. II. p. 575. Ἡρας Προσυμναίας ἱερὸν, Pseudo-Plutarch de Fluv. Strab. p. 573, is probably not correct in distinguishing the temple of Here at Prosymna from the celebrated one. The names *Prosymna* and *Prosymnus* also occur at Lerna and at Gortyna in Arcadia. Inscription of Gortyna in Boeckh N^o. 1535, ἡ πατὴρ των προσυμναίων νικομαχὴν ἀριστοθεμιτος ἐφιδουχῆσαν.

^c Pausanias III. 13. Sturz Pherecydes, p. 79. See parti-

cularly Heyne ad II. Δ. 52. Eurycle the daughter of Acrisius was said to have built the temple. To the statement of Pausanias III. 15. 7. μόνοις δὲ Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμονίοις καθέστηκεν Ἡραν ἱερονόμαζιν αἰγοφάγον καὶ αἰγας τῇ θεῷ θύειν (compare Hesych. in Αἰγοφάγος Χήρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ with Welcker on Schwenck's Etymologische Andeutungen, p. 294.), it may be objected that the same custom prevailed in Corinth; see Photius Lex. in ἡ δὲ αἰξ τὴν μάχαιραν, p. 613. Zenob. Proverb. I. 27. Diogen. Prov. I. 52. ^d Thucyd. V. 75.

In the early mythology of Argos her name constantly occurs; and the traditions concerning Io, so far as they were native, are only fabulous expressions for the ideas and feelings excited by this religion. Thus also the Corinthian fables of Medea refer to the indigenous worship of Here Acræa.^e Hence the Corinthians introduced into their colony of Corcyra, together with the religion of Here,^f the mythology and worship of Medea.^g The peculiarities of the worship of Here, must partly be looked for in the symbolical traditions respecting Io and Medea, and other mythological personages of the same description, and partly in the various rites of the Samian festival. It was doubtless founded on some elementary religion, as may be plainly seen from the tradition that Zeus had on mount Thornax in southern Argolis seduced Here in the shape of a cuckoo (whose song was considered in Greece as the prognostic of fertile rains in the spring). The marriage with Zeus (called *ιερός γάμος*) is always a prominent feature in the worship of Here; she was represented veiled, like a bride; and was carried, like a bride, on a car, with other similar allusions.^h At Samos it was related that the statue of the goddess had been once entirely covered with branches; and this, as it appears, was also represented at festivals.ⁱ The Argive festival of *Λέχερνα*, i. e., of the "bed of twigs," had the same meaning.^k

^e See *Orchomenos*, p. 267.

^f The chief temple at Corcyra was that of Here, Thucyd. I. 24. III. 75, 79. Also at Syracuse, Ælian. V.H. VI. 11, &c.

^g *Orchomenos*, p. 297. The divinity of Medea there asserted is completely proved by the testimony of Athenagoras Legat. p. 14. that Hesiod and Alcman

called her goddess.

^h She was worshipped under the titles of *Ειλήθνια* and *Γαμηλή*, Hesychius in *Ειλήθνια*, Eustath. ad Hom. p. 1156.

ⁱ Athen. XV. p. 672.

^k Hesychius in v. See also Creuzer's *Symbolik*, whose chapter upon Here contains much in the spirit of the an-

2. In Argolis also the worship of ATHENE was of great antiquity, and enjoyed almost equal honours with that of Here; her temple was on the height of Larissa: and doubtless she had the same character and origin as the Athene Chalcioecus of Sparta.¹ Their names were in both places nearly the same, as at Sparta she was called *Ὀπιλιέτις*,^m and in Argolis *Ὀξυδέρκης*, the *quick-sighted*;ⁿ and though in both places the names were explained from historical events, it seems more accurate to compare them with the title of Athene at Athens and Sigeum, *Γλαυκῶπις*, and others of the same kind. At Argos a large part of the heroic mythology is associated with the worship of Athene: for Acrisius was fabled to have been buried in her temple on the citadel;^o and since *Ἀκρία* was a title of the goddess herself,^p it appears to me that the name *Ἀκρίσιος* may be satisfactorily explained in this manner: especially as it is plain from an analysis of the mythology of Acrisius, Perseus, and the Gorgons, that it is entirely founded on symbols of Athene. Corinth also had a part in these fables, as is clearly shown by the figures of Pegasus, of the head of Medusa and Athene herself upon the coins of this state and of its colonies Leucadia, Anactorium, and Amphiloehian Argos.^q

cient religion, and Welcker on Schwenck, p. 268.

¹ At Sparta there was also the Arcadian worship of Athene Alea, Xenoph. Hell. VI. 5. 27.

^m Pausan. III. 18. 1. Plutarch Lycurg. 11.

ⁿ Pausan. II. 24.

^o Clem. Alexand. Protrept. p. 29. ed. Sylburg.

^p *Ἀκρία Ἀθηναία ἐν Ἀργεῖ*. Also Here, Artemis, and Aphrodite, see Hesych. in *Ἀκρία*.

^q But with a particular reference to Bellerophon. From Pegasus was derived the goddess Hippias, Pind. Olymp. XIII. 97, whose altar was chiefly remarkable for the rite of incubation. *Ἐλλωρία* is, as we also learn from the Scholiast of Pindar, like *Ἀλέα*, the goddess of light. There was also the worship of Athene at Syracuse, Diod. de Virt. et Vit. p. 549. ed. Wesseling.

There is also another branch of the worship of Athene in the Doric states, viz., that which extended from Lindus in Rhodes to Gela in Sicily, and from thence to Agrigentum and Camarina.¹ In all these places Athene was the protectress of the citadel and the town, and was associated with Zeus Polieus (also with Zeus Atabyrius.²) As to the ceremonies with which she was honoured, we only know from Pindar that at Rhodes they offered fireless sacrifices to her, and that the ancient sculpture of Rhodes was connected with her worship. That of Hierapytna in Crete (the coins of which city have the Athenian symbols of Athene) more resembled the Rhodian worship, if what the envoys from Præsus stated at Rhodes was correct, viz., that at Hierapytna the Corybantes were called the offspring of the sun and of Athene.³

3. Although the worship of these deities, and of Here in particular, had probably been more prevalent before than after the Doric invasion, the religion of DEMETER was still more depressed. This worship was nearly extirpated by the Dorians, a fact which we know from Herodotus, who, in speaking of some rites of Demeter Thesmophoria which were supposed to have been founded by the daughters of Danaus, states that when the Peloponnesians were driven out by the Dorians, these rites were discontinued, and were only

¹ Boeckh Explic. ad Pind. Olymp. II. 1. p. 123. V. 9. p. 148, and particularly Polyb. IX. 27. 7. with Timæus in Steph. Byz. in Ἀράβυρον. The Athene Polias of Troezen was introduced by the Ionians, as the other worship of that city show.

² She was always called "the

"Lindian" even in the city of Rhodes, Meurs. Rhod. I. 6. Compare Apostolius XVII. 17. ³ Strabo X. pag. 472. ὡς εἶπεν Κορύβαντες δαίμονες τινες, Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ἡλίου παῖδες. This is the proper way of pointing these words.

kept up by those Peloponnesians who remained behind, and by the Arcadians.⁴ Consequently we meet with few traces of the worship of Demeter in the chief cities of the Doric name.⁵ Thus it appears that in Argos the ceremonies in honour of this goddess were on one side driven into the marshes of Lerna, and on the other to the eastern extremity of the peninsula, inhabited by the Dryopes. In the former of these two places some mystical rites were long performed, and in the latter the chief worship was that of the deities of the earth and the infernal regions (χθόνιοι θεοί). Some inscriptions found at Hermione, which besides Demeter and Cora mention the name of Clymenus,⁶ an epithet of Pluto, agree well with the beginning of the hymn which Lasus the Hermionean addressed to the deities of his native city: "I sing of Demeter and the Melibœan Cora, the wife of Clymenus, sounding the deep-toned Æolic harmony of hymns."⁷ And that the Hermioneans considered the temple of the earthly Demeter (which was connected with the entrance of the infernal regions supposed to be at Hermione) as the first in the city, is also evident from the fact that the Asinæans, expelled from Argolis and resident in Messenia, sent sacrifices and sacred missions from thence to their national goddess at Hermione.⁸

In ancient times also a worship was prevalent at

⁴ II. 171.

⁵ The Messenians alone made Demeter of Andania the chief goddess of the state; see book I. ch. 5. § 16.

⁶ Boeckh Corp. Inscript. N^o. 1197, 1198, 1199. Comp. Paus. II. 35. 3. Perhaps the name of Hermione also refers to the wor-

ship of the χθόνιοι θεοί, see Hesych. in Ἐρμιόνη.

⁷ Athen. XIV. pag. 624 E. Compare the hymn of Philicus of Corcyra, Hephæst. p. 53. ed. Gaisford. and the verses of Aristocles ap. Ælian. de N. A. XI. 4.

⁸ Boeckh Inscript. N^o. 1193

Argos which we will designate by the name of the Triopian Demeter.^b All the fables concerning Triopas and his son Erysichthon (from ἐρυσίβη, *robigo*) belong to an agricultural religion, which at the same time refers to the infernal regions. The places where this religion existed in ancient times are the Thessalian plains of Dotium, Argos, and likewise Attica;^c and from the first-mentioned place it was transmitted to the south-western coast of Asia Minor by an early national connexion which is indicated in the account of an ancient Pelasgic colony from Dotium to Cnidos, Rhodes, and Syme;^d and here it formed the basis of the Triopian worship, on which were afterwards founded the federative festivals of the six Doric cities. In front of Triopium is the small island of Telos, whence a single family joined the Lindian colony that founded Gela in Sicily, and carried with it the *sacra Triopia*. A member of this family named Telines advanced this private worship of the infernal gods so greatly that it was incorporated in the national religion, and he was appointed to administer it as Hierophant; it was from this person that Hiero the king of Syracuse was descended.^e

4. By this history of the colonial connexions, well attested from without, and having great internal probability, we have ascertained the origin of one of the branches of the worship of Demeter in Sicily. Another

^b Pausan. II. 22. 2. Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπέκλησιν Πελασγίδος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱδρυσαμένου Πελασγοῦ τοῦ Τριόπα.

^c Hellanicus ap. Athen. X. p. 416 A. et Steph. Byz. in v. Τριόπιον. Callimachus Hymn.

Cer. 24. Inscript. Herod. Attici; and compare the excellent explanation of Boeckh ad Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 27. pag. 315.

^d See *Orchomenos*, p. 195.

^e Herod. VII. 153. Schol. Pind. ubi sup.

was probably introduced by the clan of the Emmenidæ,^f which being originally of Theban origin came into Sicily with the colony of Gela: for it was probably owing to the traditions of this family alone that Agrigentum, as well as ancient Thebes, was called "a gift from Zeus to Persephone at their nuptial festival."^g

But from neither of these two sources can the celebrated worship of Demeter at Syracuse and its colony Enna (which in the eyes both of the inhabitants and of the Romans had made Sicily the native country of Ceres) be derived, since it differed in certain respects from both the above-named worships.^h From its importance we may infer that it was one of the most ancient religions of Syracuse, and established at the first foundation of that town; and since of these some came from Olympia,ⁱ but the larger part from Corinth, and there is no reason for supposing that it was derived from the former place, it must have been brought over from the parent state. Now it is true that there was at Corinth a temple of Demeter and Cora, the priestesses of which also prophesied by means of dreams;^k but the worship of those goddesses was there

^f *Orchomenos*, p. 337.

^g Ibid. pag. 257. afterwards extended over the whole of Sicily. Boeckh Explic. Pind. Olymp. II. p. 123. Κόρης παρὰ Σικελιώταις Θεογάμια καὶ Ἀνθεσφόρια, Pollux I. 37. The Θεογάμια were probably connected with the festival ἀνακαλυπτήρια (Schol. rec. ad Olymp. VI. 160), and this festival was derived from Thebes. Cyzicus also, founded by Tyrrhenian Pelasgi (from Boeotia), was considered as an ἐμπροίκιον of Zeus for

Proserpine, Appian. Bell. Mithridat. 75. comp. Steph. Byz. in v. Βέσβικος.

^h A festival Θεσμοφόρια at Syracuse (Athen. XIV. p. 647 A. Θεσμοφόρων τέμενος, Plutarch Dio 56. a month Thesmophorius, see Castelli), Κούρεια Plutarch ubi sup. comp. Diod. V. 4. sqq.

ⁱ See book I. ch. 6. § 7. and above, § 1.

^k Plut. Timoleon 8. Diod. XVI. 66. Demeter ἐπουκιδίη in Corinth according to Hesychius.

of far less importance than in Sicily, where its preponderance may perhaps be accounted for by the fertility of the soil, which enabled it to produce wheat, while the Greeks had in their own country been accustomed to eat barley, and therefore stimulated the colonists to be especially thankful to the goddess of corn. When, however, it is remembered that Megara also had a large share in the colonising of Syracuse, it will hardly be doubted that this state was the real source from which the worship in question originated, since Demeter was there an ancient national deity, and was not disturbed in her sanctuary on the citadel of Caria even by the Doric invaders.¹

In Laconia also the worship of Demeter had been preserved from ancient times, although it could not have been much respected by the Dorians in Sparta. For the Eleusinia of that country were chiefly celebrated by the inhabitants of the ancient town of Helos, who on certain days carried a wooden statue of Cora to the Eleusinium on the heights of Taygetus.^m The Lacedæmonians had also adopted the worship of Demeter under the title of *χθονία*, or earthly, from the Hermioneans, some of whose kinsmen had settled in Messenia.ⁿ

5. POSEIDON was not originally a god of the Doric race, but was suited rather to the character of

¹ Pausan. The mystical worship of *Damia* and *Auxesia* at Epidaurus and Træzen was also connected with that of Demeter, as the manuscript Scholiast ap. Mitscherlich ad Hymn. in Cerer. 122. declares. But Δημήτηρ Ἀζησία (Sophocl. ap. Hesych. in v. comp. Valcken. Adonias. p. 292) and Δημήτηρ Ἀ-

μαία (Suidas in v.) must not be confounded with those goddesses.

^m Pausan. III. 20. 5. 6. compare Hesychius, Ἐλευσίνια ἁγῶν θυμελικὸς ἀγόμενος Δήμητρι παρὰ Λάκωσι.

ⁿ III. 14. 5. Compare Hesychius in Ἐπιπολλὰ and Ἐπικρήναι.

the Ionians, who, from dwelling near the sea, had acquired a love for foreign communication and a great spirit of enterprise. We therefore find it only in a few places, for example, at Tænarum^o (whence it was carried to Tarentum), at Cyrene,^p in Ægina,^q and particularly on the Corinthian isthmus; also at Træzen and Calauria, which places (as has been already shown) were among the ancient settlements of the Ionians on the Saronic gulf,^r to which the legends concerning Theseus chiefly refer.^s From Træzen the worship of Poseidon was transmitted to Posidonia in Magna Græcia, and also to Halicarnassus, chiefly by the family of the Anthedæ.

6. The worship of DIONYSUS did not enjoy equal honours among all the Dorians. It had indeed penetrated as far as Sparta, where it had driven even the Lacedæmonian women to phresny;^t and the Delphic oracle itself had ordered the institution of a race of Bacchanalian virgins.^u But nothing is known of any sumptuous or regular ceremonies in honour of Dionysus; and we might indeed have supposed *à priori* that the austere and rigid notions of the Spartans would have been very averse to that deity. The same is probably true of Argos, which had for a long time wholly abstained from the worship of Dionysus, but

^o The priests were probably called *Ταινάρια*, see Hesych. in v. *Ταινάρια*.

^p Ἀμφιβαῖος, i.e. Ἀμφι—αῖος, Boeckh Explic. Pind. Pyth. IV. p. 268. also Πελλάνιος according to Hesychius.

^q Æginetica, p. 148. and see Plat. Sympos. IX. 6. p. 410.

^r Hence also the sacred month Geræstius at Træzen (Athen. XIV. p. 639), which points to

Eubœa.

^s See above, ch. 3. § 2. on the ancient difference between the Isthmian and Olympic games.

^t Ælian V. H. III. 42. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 963. Pac. 1071.

^u Pausan. III. 13. 4. Here, too, as well as at Athens, there was Διόνυσος ἐν Λίμναις, Strab. VIII. p. 363. See above, ch. 9. § 3. concerning the Dymænæ.

afterwards dedicated to him a festival called *τύρβη* (*turba*).^x The conduct of Corinth and Sicyon was in this respect altogether different. The former city had received from Phlius^y the worship of this god under the title of *βακχεῖος*, i. e., "*exciting to phrensy*;" and also under that of *λύσιος*, the "*appeasing*" or "*soothing*," from Thebes, whence it was said to have come at the time of the Doric invasion,^z and where it was celebrated with festivals, of which we have very ample accounts.^a In early times some rude beginnings of tragedy had been formed from the dithyrambic choruses^b there performed, as the tradition of Epigenes informs us; though these were not regular dramas; there were likewise the tragic choruses transferred from Bacchus to some of the heroes, and Adrastus had been made the subject of these songs before the tyranny of Cleisthenes.^c The worship of this god had also produced a native kind of comic and ludicrous entertainment, the Phallophori.^d In the neighbouring city of Corinth, the same worship, with its musical and poetical accompaniments, prevailed;^e and it was in this town that,

^x Pausan. II. 23, 24. 37. Compare Hesychius in *Υαργίδες*.

^y See above, book I. ch. 5. § 3. Phlius, on account of this worship, was the birthplace of the *σατυρικοὶ ποιηταὶ* Aristæas and Pratinas.

^z Pausan. II. 7. 6. Also *Διόνυσος Χοιροψάλης* in that town, Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 25.

^a Concerning the crown *ιάκχα* see Athen. XV. p. 678. Compare Hesychius in *θιακχά* and *ιάκχα*.

^b The celebration of which

appears to be referred to in the ancient epigram in Athen. XIV. p. 629 A.

^c Herod. V. 67. The word *ἀπέδωκε* proves that the tragic choruses were originally celebrated to Bacchus. Perhaps the Adrastea were engrafted upon the Dionysia.

^d Athen. XIV. p. 621, 622. It is to these that the Epigr. Onestæ 2. refers. Comp. Hermann ad Aristot. Poet. 3. p. 104.

^e Worshipped under the titles of *Βακχεῖος* and *Λύσιος* in that town, Pausan. II. 2. 5.

according to Pindar,^f the dithyramb was first established, although indeed under the direction of a foreigner (Arion). In the Doric colonies of Magna Græcia this worship preserved the same character of irregularity and excess; the whole town of Tarentum was (as Plato says) drunk at the festival of Bacchus. The painted vases give a perfect representation of the antics and masques of this ancient carnival.

7. In Corinth, however, and Sicyon, the worship of APHRODITE as well as of Dionysus was established. It seems probable that the worship of that deity had indeed a native origin in Greece, but that it had been extended and modified by Phœnician settlers in some of the maritime towns. The institution of the "hospitable damsels,"^g whom the goddess their mistress herself ordered to be at the disposal of strangers,^h was undoubtedly of Asiatic origin, and unknown to the ancient Greeks.ⁱ Sicyon, however, appears to have derived the worship of these two deities from Corinth, the coins of which city generally have a dove,^k and frequently also a head of Aphrodite of ancient workmanship; and the native poetess Praxilla (452 B.C.) addressed Aphrodite as the mother of Dionysus,^l and sang of the joys and woes of the Phœ-

^f Olymp. XIII. 18. and see Boeckh's Explic.

^g *πολύξενοι νεάνιδες*, Pindar Schol. Fragm. 1.

^h *σὺν δ' ἀνάγκῃ πᾶν καλὸν*, Pindar ibid. Concerning the *ιερόδουλοι* see Hirt *Ueber die Hierodulen* and others. I only add that some of them were called *κατάκλειστοι*, i. e., shut up in single cells (Hesychius in v.); but the reason of this name

is not evident.

ⁱ Aphrodite *Εὐδωσώ* (Hesych. in v.) and Aphrodite *Βαιώτις* (ibid.) at Syracuse came from Corinth; see Clem. Alex. p. 25.

^k That is, on those which are falsely ascribed to the Siphnians and Seriphians (ΣΕ or ΣΙ), but are found in great numbers in the district of Sicyon.

^l Hesych. in *Βάκχου Διώνης*.

nician Adonis.^m While again the Dorians of these maritime cities had a certain susceptibility, flexibility, and softness of character, the very contrary of all these qualities distinguished the Spartans. For although that state came into connexion with a Phœnician establishment of the worship of Aphrodite in the island of Cythera, they transformed it while they adopted it, and had their own armed Aphrodite, and the chained and veiled goddess of marriage.ⁿ From the same island also they received the god Adonis under the name of Ciris.^o Aphrodite, however, enjoyed greater honours in the Spartan colony of Cnidos, whence she went to Halicarnassus under the title of Acræa, and from thence to the mother city Trœzen.^p The worship of Aphrodite at Selinus in the west of Sicily^q was doubtless derived from the neighbouring town of Eryx, and was consequently also Phœnician; and the temple was probably one of the wealthiest of that once flourishing city.^r

The worship of HERMES does not appear to have prevailed in any Doric state; in one respect he was superseded by Apollo Agyieus. The same may nearly be said of HEPHÆSTUS and ARES, the latter of whom

^m Zenob. Prov. IV. 21. Diogen. V. 21.

ⁿ Pausan. III. 15. 8. III. 23. 1. Plutarch Instit. Lac. p. 253. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 449. She was, however, also represented armed at Corinth, Pausan. II. 4. 7.

^o Hesychius in v. According to the great etymologist Κίπρις is merely Cyprian. Compare Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. I. 3.

^p Pausan. II. 32. 6. and concerning the Trœzenian worship

of Aphrodite see Valckenaer ad Euripid. Hippolyt. 32. Concerning the sacrifices of a sow to Aphrodite in Argos at the ἱερήσια see Athen. III. p. 96 A. Callimach. Fragm. 102 ed. Bentl. Aphrodite was worshipped there with the title Περιβασιτή, Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 24. ed. Sylburg.

^q See Timæus apud Zenob. Prov. I. 31.

^r Thuc. VI. 20.

was worshipped by the Spartans under the names of Theritas and Enyalios. Of the worship of ÆSCULAPIUS it has been already^a mentioned that it was derived to Cos, Cnidos, and Rhodes, from Epidaurus, which state again had in ancient times received it through the Phlegyans from Tricca.^b From Epidaurus, according to Pausanias,^c also came the worship of Sicyon, and the Cyrenæan at Balagræ,^d with which, as at Cos, an ancient school of physicians was connected.^e

8. We will just notice the worship of the CHARITES established in Crete and Sparta; first, as a fresh proof of the early religious connexion between those two countries,^f and as a sign of that hilarity and gladness which was the most beautiful feature of the religion of the Greeks. These goddesses were at Sparta called Cleta and Phaëna; their temple was on the road from the city to Amyclæ, on the river Tiasa.^g Allied to this was the worship of EROS, as practised by the Cretans and Spartans, with whom, before every battle, the most beautiful men assembled and sacrificed to that god:^h not as the great uniter of heaven and earth, but as awaking mutual esteem and affection, which produce that fear of the disapprobation of friends which is the noblest source of valour.ⁱ

The most obscure, perhaps, of all the branches of religion whose origin we have to investigate is the

^a Book I. ch. 6. § 1.

^b Orchomenos, p. 199.

^c Pausan. II. 10. 3.

^d Paus. II. 26. 7. Tacit. Annal. XIV. 18. comp. Callimach. Epigr. 58.

^e Compare the somewhat different opinion of Boeckh Expl. Pind. p. 288.

^f See Heyne ad Apollod. III. 15. 7.

^g Paus. III. 18. 4. ib. 9. 35.

^h Athen. XIII. p. 361.

ⁱ In an inscription found at Sparta Eleutheria, Poseidæa, and Erotidæa occur as festivals, Corp. Inscript. 1430. and see Boeckh's note.

worship of the **DIOSCURI**, or the sons of **Zeus**. It appears probable that it had a double source, viz., the heroic honours of the human **Tyndaridæ**, and the ancient Peloponnesian worship of the great gods or **Cabiri**; and in process of time the attributes of the latter seem by poetry and tradition to have been transferred to the former, viz., the name of the sons of **Zeus**, the birth from an egg, and the egg-shaped caps, the alternation of life and death, the dominion over the winds and the waves. As belonging to their worship at **Sparta** I may mention the ancient images called *δόκανα*, two upright beams with two others laid across them transversely;^d the custom in military expeditions of taking either one or both of the statues of the **Dioscouri** according as one or both kings went with the army;^e which places the **Tyndaridæ** in the light of gods of war; and the belief that they often appeared as assistants in time of need, or even merely as friendly guests,^f which distinguishes them from most other heroes. Upon the whole we know that the **Dorians** found the worship and mythology of the **Tyndaridæ** established at **Amyclæ**, **Therapne**, **Pephnos**, and other places; and they adopted it, without caring to preserve its original form and meaning; rather, in-

^d Plutarch de Amore Pat. I. p. 36. comp. Zoëga de Obeliscis, p. 225. above, p. 103. note ^a. In Argos there were ancient figures of the *Διοσκούροι* by Dipœnus and Scyllis, Paus. Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 31 A.

^e As *ἐπικλητοί* in Herod. V. 35. so likewise the Lacedæmonians probably sent the statues of the **Tyndaridæ** (*οἱ ἐπὶ Σάγγα*) to the assistance of the **Dorians**, as the **Æginetans** sent the **Æa-**

cidæ to **Salamis**, *Æginetica*, p. 163. The *Κάστωρ Μιχαρχαγέρας* of the Argives (Plutarch Quæst. Gr. 23. p. 393.) is very obscure.

^f So among the Spartans Phormion, Paus. III. 16. 3. at the house of an Azanian of Pagupolis, Herod. VI. 127. Hence also the *Θεοζένια* of the *Διοσκούροι* at Agrigentum, Boeckh Expl. Pind. Olymp. III. p. 135.

deed, attempting to give to the worship of the sons of **Tyndareus** a *military* and *political* reference.

9. Before we proceed to consider the heroic mythology of the **Dorians**, which is chiefly confined to **Hercules**, we will first attempt to sketch the principal features of the religious character of the **Dorians**, as seen in the several worships already enumerated. Both in the development of modes of religion peculiar to that race, and in the adoption and alteration of those of other nations, an ideal tendency may be perceived, which considered the deity not so much in reference to the works or objects of nature, as of the actions and thoughts of men. Consequently their religion had little of mysticism, which belongs rather to elementary worships; but the gods assume a more human and heroic form, although not so much as in the epic poetry. Hence the piety of the **Doric** race had a peculiarly energetic character, as their notions of the gods were clear, distinct, and personal; and it was probably connected with a certain degree of cheerfulness and confidence, equally removed from the exuberance of enthusiasm and the gloominess of superstition. Funeral ceremonies and festivals with violent lamentations, as well as enthusiastic orgies, were not suited to the character of the **Dorians**; although their reverence for antiquity often induced them to adopt such rites when already established. On the other hand, we see displayed in their festivals and religious usages a brightness and hilarity, which made them think that the most pleasing sacrifice which they could offer to their gods was to rejoice in their sight, and use the various methods which the arts afforded them of expressing their joy. With all this, their worship bears the stamp of the greatest

simplicity, and at the same time of warmth of heart. The Spartans prayed the gods "to give them what "was honourable and good;"^g and although they did not lead out any splendid processions, and were even accused of offering scanty sacrifices, still Zeus Ammon declared that the "calm solemnity of the prayers of "the Spartans was dearer to him than all the sacrifices of the Greeks."^h They likewise showed the most faithful adherence to the usages handed down to them from their ancestors, and hence they were little inclined to the adoption of foreign ceremonies;ⁱ although in commercial towns, as, for instance, at Corinth, such rites were willingly admitted, from a regard for strangers of other races and nations.^k

CHAP. XI.

§ 1. Legends respecting Hercules in the earliest settlements of the Dorians: § 2. Servitude of Hercules. § 3. Legends respecting Hercules in the second settlements of the Dorians. § 4. Legends respecting Tlepolemus, Antiphus, and Phidippus. § 5. Legend of Geryoneus. § 6. Legends respecting Hercules in the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ. § 7, 8, and 9. Boeotian legends respecting Hercules. § 10. Attic legends respecting Hercules.

1. IN the following attempt to unravel the complicated mythology of Hercules, we will begin with

^g Pseudo-Plat. Alcib. II. p. 148. Plutarch. Inst. Lac. p. 253.

^h Plat. ubi sup. cf. Plutarch. Lycurg. 19. Compare the corresponding expression of the Delphian oracle, Porphy. de Abstin. II. 15.

ⁱ The worship of Ammon

makes an exception, which was brought into repute in Sparta by Lysander, *Orchomenos*, p. 359.

^k Hence the Thracian Cottyto, Eupolis ap. Hesych. Suid. in *Θιασώτης, Κόρυς*.

those fables in which this hero appears evidently as the progenitor of the Doric Heraclidæ,^a as representative of the heroes of the Hyllean tribe, the highest order in the Doric nation.

We will first direct our attention to the locality described in the beginning of the first book, the ancient country of the Dorians in the most mountainous part of Thessaly, where this nation was continually at enmity with its immediate neighbours, the Lapithæ. In this war Hercules appears as the hero of the Hyllean tribe, according to the epic poem *Ægimius*, and gained for them a third part of the conquered territory. With this contest is, as it appears, also connected the celebrated conquest of *Æchalia*, the subject of an epic poem called *Οἰχαλίας ἀλωσις*, which was ascribed to Homer or Creophylus.^b In this poem it was related how Eurytus of *Æchalia*, the skilful archer, who was said to have surpassed Hercules himself in this mode of fighting, and who dared to engage with Apollo,^c promised his daughter Iole as a prize to the person who should excel himself and his sons in archery; but Hercules having accepted the challenge, Eurytus refused to perform his engagement: upon which Hercules collected an army, conquered *Æchalia*, killed Eurytus and his sons, carried away Iole prisoner, and gave her in marriage to his son Hyllus.^d

^a *Ἡρακλῆς γενάρχης* in a Spartan inscription, Boeckh, No. 1446. XXIV. 105. Apollod. II. 4. 9. cf. II. 4. 11.

^b See Bentley Epistol. ad Mill. p. 503. Jacobs Animadv. ad Anthol. Gr. vol. I. 2. p. 286. Weichert *Ueber Apollonios*, p. 246. The poem is called a *Ἡρακλεία* in Paus. IV. 2. 2. ^c Od. VIII. 228. Theocrit. Hippi. 550. where likewise the misfortunes of Iole, is given in general by Callimachus Epig. (Strab. XIV. p. 638). The detail is given by Apollodorus II. 6. 1. II. 7. 7, who agrees with Herodotus ap. Schol. Eurip.

The situation of this "well-fortified" ^a Æchalia is an ancient subject of controversy. There were three places of this name; one on the banks of the Peneus in Thessaly, in the ancient country of the Lapithæ, between Pelinna to the east and Tricca to the west, not far from Ithome; ^f another in the island of Eubœa, in the district of Eretria; ^g The third was a town in Messenia, which in latter times was called Carnasium, upon the boundary of Arcadia; ^h in which region there was also a town named Ithome; and, as it is stated, another named Tricca; so that we must suppose that there was some early connexion between the inhabitants of this district and the tribes near the Peneus. Now it may be presumed that each of these Æchalias was considered by the respective inhabitants as the celebrated town of the great Eurytus; whence among the early poets there was a difference of statement on the subject. For the Messenian Æchalia is called the city of Eurytus in the Homeric catalogue, ⁱ and in the Odyssey, ^k which statement was followed by Pherecydes; ^l the Eubœan city was selected by the writer

Θηβαίων παράδοξα of Lysimachus are cited, Soph. Trach. 205. Schol. ad v. 358. which follow Pherecydes and Menecrates, Diod. IV. 31, 37. Schol. II. V. 392. where for Βοιωτίας write Εὐβοίας. comp. Scythinus ap. Athen. XI. p. 461 F. Hyginus Fab. 29, 35. Plutarch de Def. Orac. 13. p. 322. The names of Iole's relations vary. See Hesiod ap. Schol. Trach. 266. as emended by Bentley, Creophylus cited by Bentley and Diod. ubi sup.

^a Soph. Trach. 354, 858. comp. Hermann ad v. 326.

^f Book I. ch. 1. § 4.

^g Hecataeus ap. Paus. IV.

2. 2. Strabo X. p. 448.

^h Hence Pherecydes ap. Schol. Soph. Trach. 354. places it in Arcadia, ἐν Θούλῃ Ἀρκადίας, perhaps ἐν ΘΩΜΗΙ, i. e. Ἰθώμῃ. Demetrius of Scepsis in Strabo VIII. p. 339. identifies Æchalia and Andamia, cf. X. p. 448. Strabo in this passage also mentions an Æchalia in Trachinia, and another in Ætolia, comp. Eustath. ad II. p. 298. ed. Rom.

ⁱ II. 594.

^k XXI. 13.

^l Ubi sup. Pausanias likewise follows the local tradition, IV. 33. 5. cf. 27. 4.

of the poem called the Taking of Æchalia; ^m as also probably in the Ægimius, ⁿ and afterwards by Hecataeus of Miletus; ^o the Thessalian, in another passage in the catalogue of the ships, apparently of considerable antiquity. ^p Since, then, this question cannot be settled by authority, we can only infer (but with great probability) from the connexion of the traditions that the last-mentioned Æchalia was the city of the original fable. The contest for this city is evidently closely connected with the war with the Lapithæ; Eurytus, as well as the Lapithæ, was hated by Apollo. If Æchalia is placed on the banks of the Peneus, the conquest of it naturally falls in with the other tradition; if not, it stands isolated and unconnected. Again; Hercules, according to all traditions, conquers Iole for his son Hyllus; now Hyllus never occurs in mythology except in connexion with the Dorians; consequently the place of the battle must be looked for in the vicinity of the Doric territory.

Even before the time of this war (according to the common narration) Hercules had embroiled himself with the Æchaliens by killing Iphitus, the son of Eurytus, who demanded of him the restitution of some plundered cattle or horses. In the common version of this story, Peloponnesus was the scene of the encounter; for Hercules is said to have hurled him from the walls of Tiryns. ^q But to expiate this murder, and

^m Schol. Soph. ubi sup.

ⁿ Book I. ch. 1. § 8.

^o Ubi sup. Also Scythinus, Sophocles and Apollodorus ubi sup. According to Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 87. and Schol. Ven. ad Catal. 103. the νεώτεροι in general. Probably all these placed this exploit after the adventures

in Trachinia, and immediately before his death, cf. Tzetz. ad Lycoph. 50.

^p II. B. 730. comp. Steph. Byz. in Οἰχαλία. Eustath. ad II. p. 330. ad Od. p. 1899. ed. Rom. and see the local tradition in Paus. IV. 2. 2.

^q Odyss. and Pherecyd. ubi

the violation of the rights of hospitality, Hercules became a slave; and, in order to release himself from the guilt, he was compelled to pay to the father of Iphitus his own ransom.

2. The meaning of this servitude cannot be rightly explained without observing the remarkable coincidence between some parts of the mythology of Hercules and Apollo, which we will here shortly elucidate. As Eurytus is represented sometimes as killed by Apollo, sometimes by Hercules, so in the poem of the Shield of Hercules¹ this hero punishes Cycnus for profaning the Pagasæan temple; thus, in another tradition, he slays Phylas and Laogoras, princes of the Dryopes, for violating the shrine of Delphi and other temples;² and consecrates the whole nation to the Pythian Apollo.³ Nor do I believe that Euripides invented the fable of the restoration of Alcestis, and the contest between Hercules and death.⁴ It is also perhaps fair to infer, from the legends of epic poets, in which Hercules is represented as a hero in brazen armour, who defended the sacred roads with his sword, and overthrew the violent sons of Ares that waylaid the sacrificial processions in the narrow passes and defiles, that in ancient fables he was considered not only as the defender of the Doric race, but also of the Doric worship.

We may now proceed to consider the sale and servitude of Hercules; a point of primary importance in

sup. cf. Soph. Trach. 38. The Odyssey has, however, quite a different story; viz., that the death of Iphitus (which was, moreover, a peaceable death, ἐν δώμασιν, XXI. 33. but inflicted by Apollo VIII. 227.) preceded the slaughter of Iphitus.

¹ Above, ch. 1. § 3.

² Apollod. II. 7. 7. Diod. IV. 37.

³ Above, ch. 3. § 3.

⁴ Perhaps the Ἡρακλῆς Ἡπι-άλητα πνίγων (the nightmare) of Sophron was a parody of this fable, Eustath. ad Il. p. 571. ed. Rom.

the various forms which the legends concerning this hero assume. In the present instance this degradation originated from the killing of Iphitus. Here also the parallel with the servitude of Apollo at Pheræ cannot fail to strike every one. The god and the hero were chosen, as examples, to impress the people in early times with a strong sense of the sacred character, and necessity of expiation for homicide.⁵ By whom Hercules was supposed to have been purchased in the original legend of northern Thessaly we know not; at a later period Omphale was called his mistress, who (according to Pherecydes)⁷ bought him for three talents.

3. We will now proceed to the second settlements of the Dorians, which comprehend the towns between the ridges of Œta and Parnassus; viz., Erineus, Cytinium, Boeum, and Pindus.⁸

The neighbours of the Dorians in these settlements were, as has been already stated, the Dryopes, the Melians of Trachis, and the Ætolians. The first were hostile to the Dorians; the other two were for the most part friendly to them. These facts again are expressed with much clearness in the mythology of Hercules.

⁵ Æsch. Agam. 1038. καὶ ἀποκτείνας τέθαφεν ἐν Ἐρινεῶ. παῖδα γὰρ τοὶ φασιν Ἀλκμήνης. The transcript has δικαιος and τεθαψεν; for which Hermann has emended as above. The inscription itself is a fabrication either of the latest period of antiquity, or of the middle ages.

⁷ Schol. Od. XXI. 23. cf. Apollod. II. 6. 2.

⁸ Erineus was, according to a fable preserved in a strange and apocryphal inscription, the place of a combat between Hercules and Calchas Mopsus. Boeckh, N^o. 1759. Κάλχαντα Μόψον δικάως Ἡρακλῆς χλεύμενος (i. e. χολούμενος) περὶ ἐρινεοῦ, πλήξας αὐτὸν τῷ κολάφῳ καὶ

The same legend is told, with additional circumstances, and a different locality, by Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 980. According to Hesiod, the contest was between the two prophets, Calchas and Mopsus, fragm. 14. ed. Gaisford.

Of the relation between the Dorians and Dryopians, and the manner in which it is expressed in the fables of Hercules, we have already given an account.^a Ceyx, the Trachinian, was a faithful friend of Hercules, and of his descendants; in one account, indeed, he is called the nephew of Hercules,^b who is said to have founded for him his town of Trachis.^c In this place was shown a grave of Deianira,^d the daughter of Æneus, whose marriage with Hercules is evidently a mythological expression for the league which existed between the Ætolian and Dorian nations before the invasion of Peloponnesus.^e For Deianira was an inhabitant of Calydon;^f and the Calydonians had the principal share in this expedition. To this marriage is annexed a series of connected Ætolian fables concerning Hercules. For the peculiarity of this part of the heroic mythology is, that they readily passed from one nation to another; and wherever they obtained a firm ground, formed a large mass of traditions. Among these is the conquest of the bull Achelous,^g and the adventure at the ford of the Euenus,^h which afterwards occasioned the death of Hercules. It is also probable that the residence of Hercules at Olenus, in the house of Dexamenus, was connected with the Ætolian adventures; although even Hesiod does not in this legend mention the ancient Ætolian town Olenus in the neighbourhood of Calydon,

^a B. I. ch. 2. § 4. B. II. ch. 3. § 3.

^b Schol. Soph. Trach. 40.

^c Steph. Byz. in *Τραχίς*. Marm. Farnes. l. 66. emended by Heyne ad Apollod. p. 191.

^d Paus. II. 23. 5.

^e B. I. ch. 3. § 9.

^f Apollod. Diod. &c. Sophocles, however, calls her a native of Pleuron, Trach. 7.

^g Described by Archilochus, according to Schol. Ven. ad Il. XXI. 237.

^h Archilochus ap. Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1213. This scene is very, ch. sely represented on an *amphora* vase (Hancarville IV. 56), with the inscription ΔΑΙΑΝΕΙΡΑ ΝΕΣΣΟΣ, as should be read.

but the Achæan city of the same name on the banks of the Pirus.ⁱ Now Dexamenus is frequently placed in connexion with the Calydonian family of Æneus;^k the wife of Æneus came from Olenus, and was of the same family. The ancient legend represented him as a hospitable hero: which quality is also expressed in his name (Δεξάμενος, from δεξάμενος); in return for which, Hercules released him from his brutal guests, the Centaurs;^l to which fable the ancient battle of the Centaurs in the mythology of Hercules probably annexed itself. Lastly, Hercules is said to have led the Ætolians against the Thesprotians of Ephyra. This expedition was perhaps as much celebrated in ancient lays as the taking of Æchalia. Ephyra, which is here spoken of, is an ancient city of Thesprotia,^m situated on the spot where the Acherusian lake flows into the sea through the river Selleeis (Acheron). In later times the name of this city was Cichyrus; but even at the present day remains of the original Cyclopiian style of building, not unlike those of Tiryns, are extant.ⁿ The whole district is celebrated in fables as the dwelling-place of Aidoneus: as the seat of an oracle where departed spirits were questioned, it was always regarded by the inhabitants with an awe, which was further in-

ⁱ See the verse in Strabo VIII. p. 342. Steph. Byz. in *Πίριος*, which, however, probably belongs to the story in Apollod. I. 8. 4.

^k According to Hyginus Fab. 31, 33. Deianira is the daughter of Dexamenus. The Schol. Callim. Hymn. Del. 102. call Dexamenus himself a Centaur; and thus on a vase of the best age Hercules is represented as wrestling with him for Deia-

nira, with the inscription ΟΙ- ΝΕΥΣ ΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΕΙΑΝΕΙΡΑ from left to right, Millingen *Diverses Peintures* 33.

^l Bacchylides ap. Schol. Od. XXI. 295. with Buttmann's note.

^m Raoul-Rochette, *Etabliss. des Col. Grecques*, tom. I. p. 219.

ⁿ Hughes' *Travels*, vol. II. p. 313. Pouqueville, vol. I. p. 471.

creased by a belief that the natives were very skilful in the preparation of poison.^o This city Hercules is said to have attacked as an ally of the Ætolians; whence it appears probable that this circumstance gave occasion for introducing his contest with Hades, and his adventures in the infernal regions, such as the carrying away of Cerberus, the liberation of other heroes,^p &c. It must not, however, be thought, that in the style of Euhemerus, I suppose a king Aidoneus to have really once reigned in this district, who had a dog, or rather a general, named Cerberus, whom Hercules overcame in a battle, &c. The following appears to be a more probable method of accounting for the origin of this fable. The gloomy religious rites on the banks of the Acheron, which had always deterred the neighbouring nations from a participation in them, were at an early period contrasted with the free and active habits of the heroic tribes; the awe inspired by the presence of the unearthly spectres with the proud spirit and bold thoughts of a military life. If now the people themselves came into collision with each other, their gods necessarily did the same; the result of which was traditions of contest and war between themselves. On the other hand, it must not be thought that the fable has a purely symbolical meaning; and that Hercules was worshipped, together with

^o Heyne ad Il. II. 659. Strabo's opinion, that in Homer, and the fable of Hercules, Ephyra in Elis is meant (VII. p. 328. VIII. 338.), is refuted by the passages of Homer himself.

^p Some of these fables were mixed up with the war against Pylos, and some (e. g., the abduction of Cerberus) taken over

to Tænarum and Heraclea Pontica; the latter probably first by Herodorus, who was a native of that Heraclea, see Heeren de fontibus Plutarchi, p. 17. Compare the coin of Heraclea in Mionnet, N^o. 160, in which Hercules is represented as bringing Cerberus to the statue of Demeter.

Hades, merely as an enemy of Death, as a deity alleviating and removing the terrors of the infernal regions.

4. The rest of this fable, however, entirely loses its symbolical character; viz., the manner in which the birth of several Doric heroes is connected with the taking of Ephyra; who, though out of the confines of history, are nevertheless to be considered as real individuals. In the first place, Hercules is stated to have begotten Tlepolemus on Astyocheia, whom, according to Homer, he carried away from Ephyra, on the river Selleeis, after having destroyed many cities;^a Antiphus and Pheidippus also were said to have come from Ephyra in Thesprotia, the sons of Thessalus, and grandsons of Hercules, to whom the noblest families of Thessaly, as well as the Heraclidæ of Cos, referred their origin;^b the latter, however, according to another and later tradition, sprang from the union of Hercules and the daughter of Eurypylus in Cos itself.^c The origin of this intricate fable appears to be as follows: There were in the ancient country of the Dorians some noble families which referred their origin to the conquest of Ephyra; and these were designated by the names of Tlepolemus, Antiphus, and Pheidippus; those families went with the other Dorians to Peloponnesus, and passed through Argos and Epidaurus to Rhodes and Cos, where they partly new-modelled their original family legends. Now it was always ad-

^a Iliad. II. 657.

^b Strabo IX. p. 443. Polyæn. Strateg. VII. 44. Vell. Patere. I. 3. 2. Schol. Apoll. Rh. III. 1089. See Boeckh Expl. Pind. Pyth. X. p. 332. The kings of the Molossi likewise supposed

themselves descended from a certain Lanassa, the daughter of Cleodæus, of the Hyllean tribe, Plutarch Pyrrh. 1. Justin. XVII. 3.

^c Iliad. II. 678. Compare b. I. ch. 6. § 3.

mitted that the Thessalian people came also from Ephyra and Thesprotia; and when it settled among the Greeks, and sought to participate in their traditions, it was natural that Hercules, the conqueror of Ephyra, should be placed at the head of its genealogies.

5. To the combat of Hercules and Pluto at Ephyra we will now annex the legend of Geryoneus. The cattle of Geryoneus and Pluto grazed together in the island of Erytheia;[†] but they were supposed to belong to the Sun,[‡] and therefore were of a bright red colour. Now Erytheia was anciently believed to be near the kingdom of Hades. For the statement of Hecataeus, that Erytheia and Geryoneus belonged to Epirus and the region of Ambracia,[§] could not have been owing to an attempt to give to mythology an appearance of reality: but he seems to have availed himself of some real tradition. This is certain, from the datum of Scylax, who would never have laid down Erytheia in his *Periplus*[¶] on the authority of a logographer. According to this writer it is situated between the territory of the Atintanes and the Ceraunian mountains, north of Epirus, on the borders of Greece, at no great distance from the earliest seats of the Dorians. Now

[†] Apollod. II. 5. 10.

[‡] Ib. I. 6. 4. where it is incidentally mentioned from an earlier tradition.

[§] Ap. Arrian. II. 16. frag. p. 50. ed. Creuzer.

[¶] P. 23. ed. Gronov. The mountain *Abas* and river *Anthemois* in Erythea, according to Apollodorus, should probably also be referred to this district. At least there were Abantes in the exact spot where Erythea is placed, on the Aous, near Oricum. According to Aristot.

Mirab. § 145. Erythea was in the territory of the Ænians. Hercules stole the oxen there from Cythera Persephassa. Compare Antonin. Liberal. c. 4. *πολεμήσαντας γὰρ αὐτῷ Κελτοὺς καὶ Χάονας καὶ Θεσπρώτους καὶ σύμπαντας Ἑπειρώτας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κρατηθῆναι, ὅτι τὰς Γηρύνου βοῦς συνελθόντες (ἤθελον) ἀφέλῃσθαι*. The *Celts* are introduced from some Geryonis; see Diod. V. 24. Etymol. M. p. 502. 50. See also Appian, Bell. Civ. II. 29.

it is a remarkable fact, that, even in historical times, there were in the same country, viz., near the Aous, a river running from mount Lacmon, herds sacred to the Sun, which were guarded in the daytime on the banks of that river, and in the night in a cave of the mountain, by men whom the inhabitants of the Greek city of Apollonia intrusted with this office as a particular honour.^a It is not probable that the Corinthians, who founded Apollonia, should have been the first to introduce this usage, although there are traces of an ancient worship of the Sun in the territory of Corinth;^b but we may fairly assume that the colonists merely retained a native custom. This hypothesis clears away all difficulty. The empire of Hades on this earth was conterminous with a district in which the worship of the Sun prevailed, and which contained innumerable herds of cattle, under the protection of the god; but the Greek hero, little caring for their sanctity, had driven them away, and devoted them to *his own* gods. Epirus was always distinguished for its excellent breed of cattle, which were said to have sprung from the herds of Geryoneus, which Hercules offered to the Dodonæan Zeus.^b

6. We were led to these considerations by the Ætolian legends respecting Hercules, from which we

^a Herod. IX. 93. Conon, Narr. c. 30. Two legends connected with this fable are remarkable; first, the punishment of blindness for any one who had neglected the worship of the Sun; secondly, the tale that the Greek gods themselves had sent wolves against their herds. The cattle of the Sun in the *Odyssey* are only those of Tænarum and Epirus transferred to a greater

distance: there was likewise a fabulous reason for the *νηφάλιοι θυσίαι* of the Sun, as they were performed in many cities of Greece, Od. XII. 363.

^b Paus. II. 1. 6, &c.

^c Proxenus ἐν Ἑπειρωτικοῖς ap. Suid. et Apostol. in *λαρινοὶ βόες*. Compare Lycus of Rhægion ibid. Ælian, N. H. XII. 11. III. 33.

will now return to the Dorians, who possessed the mountainous tract along mount Cēta towards Thermopylæ. There was perhaps no region in the whole of Greece which abounded more in local fables of Hercules. It was in the pass of Thermopylæ that he caught those strange monsters the Cercopes;^c here it was that Athene caused a hot spring to issue for him from the ground;^d on the top of mount Cēta, on the Phrygian rock,^e was raised the fatal pile, which the brook of Dyrras in vain strove to extinguish;^f and many adjacent cities claimed a connexion with his exploits:^g even the Ænians (who at a later period settled in this district) attempted to appropriate to themselves these traditions;^h and Heraclea Trachinia, not founded till the Peloponnesian war, and the neighbouring Cylicrani, were referred to the mythology of Hercules.ⁱ It is certain that local traditions of this kind must have originated with the inhabitants of this district. Is it at least probable that the natives of Argos would

^c Herod. VII. 216.

^d Peisander ap. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1047. τῷ δ' ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη ποιεῖ θερμὰ λουτρὰ παρὰ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης, which verses are referred to by Zenobius Prov. VI. 49. Compare Ruhnken ap. Heyn. ad Æn. II. Exc. I. p. 287. Wesseling ad Diod. IV. 23. Herod. VII. 176. Phileas ap. Harpocrat. in Θερμοπύλαι. The fable was carried over to the hot spring near Himera in Sicily, Boeckh Explic. Pind. Olymp. XII. p. 210.

^e Callim. Hymn. Dian. 159. Schol. ad l. Arrian ap. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. p. 107. The Φρύκιον ὄρος should be distinguished from the place where

Hercules slew a Centaur, Steph. Byz. in Φρύκιον.

^f Strabo IX. p. 428. The part of Cēta, where the funeral pile is said to have stood, was called *Pyra*: Theophrast. Hist. Plant. IX. 10. Livy XXXVI. 30.

^g Steph. Byz. in Τύφρηστος. The ἀσέληνα ὄρη of Trachis were mentioned in the fourteenth book of the Heraclea of Rhianus, Etymol. M. in v. Suidas in Πίανος.

^h Strabo XIII. p. 613. Diod. XII. 59. the coins in Eckhel Num. Anecd. tab. 6. p. 89. Dodwell's Travels vol. I. p. 76. Clarke's Travels vol. IV. p. 197.

ⁱ Scythinus and Polemon ap. Athen. XI. p. 461.

have placed the death of their deified hero in a foreign region, if they had been the original inventors of this fiction? The career of the Doric hero doubtless closed on the funeral pile of Cēta; and this adventure ended a series of fables, of which there are now extant only some fragments. In this point of view we may perceive a connexion between many of the legends detailed above.

The general tendency and spirit of these legends may be described in the following proposition: The national hero is represented as everywhere preparing the way for his people and their worship; and as protecting them from other races. Thus he opens a communication between Tempe and Delphi, between the fabulous worshippers of Apollo, the Hyperboreans, and the worshippers of his own age. At the same time his own person is an outward symbol of the national worship; he complies with its rites of expiation for homicide, being himself both the victim and the sacrificer.

7. We will next consider the Theban legends of Hercules; and will, for the sake of clearness, first state the propositions which the following discussion is intended to establish.

Hercules at Thebes is not to be considered as a Cadmean; and has no connexion with the ancient gods, and traditions of the Cadmeans; but his mythology was introduced into Bœotia partly by the Doric Heraclidæ, and partly from Delphi, together with the worship of Apollo.

To prove that Hercules has no connexion with the Cadmean gods, temples, and princes, it is only necessary to refer to a genealogical table of the Theban mythology, and a plan of Thebes sketched after

Pausanias. From the former we perceive that Hercules (whose father is represented as having arrived as a fugitive from Mycenæ) is not made the relation either by blood or marriage of the Cadmeans, Creon (κρέων, the ruler), his supposed father-in-law, being only a fictitious personage, invented to fill up a chasm in the pedigree;^k from the latter, that the temples of Hercules were not only not in the citadel (like those of Cadmus, Harmonia, and Semele), or within the walls of the city, but were all without the gates. This fact is of great importance as to the antiquity of any worship in a city. The ancient and original deities, which enjoyed the honours of founders, possessed the citadel as their birthright; while all gods afterwards introduced enjoyed a less honourable abode in the suburbs of the town. Now it is known that the house of Amphitryon and the Gymnasium of Hercules stood in front of the gate of Electra, opposite the Ismenium;^l and to this we may add the account of Pherecydes^m respecting a village near that same gate, which the Heraclidæ had founded before their invasion of Peloponnesus, and where there was a statue of Hercules in the market-place. What can be clearer than that these Heraclidæ established the worship of their hero at Thebes? Near this place (it should be observed) was the Ismenian sanctuary of Apollo. Opposite to this

^k Heyne ad Apollod. II. 4. 6. remarks with judgment, "*Herculis Thebani facta et fata ad Thebanas historias accom-modare difficile est.*"

^l Annual sacrifices were here offered to the eight children of Hercules. See Pausan. Pind. Isthm. III. 79. and Chrysippus in the Scholia. The graves of

Amphitryon, Iolaus, and Alcmena, and the Gymnasium for the Iolaan or Heracleian games, were in front of the gate of Proetidæ, Pind. Pyth. IX. 82. Nem. IV. 20. Schol. et Dissen. Explic. p. 382. where the subject is very clearly explained.

^m Ap. Antonin. Liberal. c. 33.

temple Hercules was said to have been educated; and at a festival of Apollo to have carried the laurel before the chorus of virgins; and afterwards to have consecrated a tripod in the temple, as was the general custom in later times. This tripod is represented on the famous relief of the Argive apotheosis of Hercules, with the inscription 'Αμφιτρύων ὑπὲρ Ἀλκαίου τριπόδ' Ἀπόλλωνι.ⁿ

With this is evidently connected the story of the robbery of the Delphian tripod, of which the common version is as follows: Hercules was visited with a severe illness, as a punishment for the murder of Iphitus; and, in consequence, he had recourse for relief to Delphi; but as the Pythian priestess refused to answer the questions of one guilty of homicide, he threatened to plunder the temple, and carry off the tripod. Apollo accordingly pursued him, till Zeus separated the combat of his two sons by lightning.^o The fable went on to say that a new consecration of the Delphian tripod took place, and a reconciliation of the god and hero: of this part we are only informed by works of art, these being indeed of tolerable antiquity.^p But it

ⁿ Marini Ville Alban. p. 150. Compare Boettiger's Amalthea, vol. I. p. 130.

^o Other versions of this story may be seen in Cicero De Nat. D. III. 16. where see Creuzer's note, and in Paus. X. 13. 4. See also Visconti, Museo Pio-Clementino, II. 5. Zoëga, Bas-sirilievi, vol. II. p. 98.

^p The reconsecration on the foot of a candelabrum at Dresden. The atonement, on a Corinthian puteal, in the genuine archaic style, published by Dodwell in his Travels and his col-

lection of Bas-reliefs, Rome, 1820. It afterwards came into the possession of the late lord Guilford. In this Apollo, Artemis, and Latona are met by Pallas, Hercules, and Alcmena, or some other woman: the Graces follow behind. Perhaps this is a copy of the Sicyonian group of Dipœnus and Scyllis (Plin. H. N. XXXVI. 4.) unless this also represented the contest, as the one in Paus. ubi sup. There is a similar composition on a vase in Millingen's Vases de Coghill, pl. 11. Apollo δαφνηφόρος,

is manifest that this is not the genuine, ancient, and sacred tradition. How could this hero, who in other respects was entirely dependent on the mandates of the oracle, and who in so many ways protected and promoted the worship of Apollo,^a suddenly become a sacrilegious violator of his most holy and ancient temple? This carrying away of the tripod appears from other traditions to signify nothing else than a propagation of the worship of Apollo.^r Whither, then, is this tripod stated to have been first moved? By the Arcadians Hercules was said to have brought it to Pheneus, but was compelled again to restore it to Apollo.^s The hero, on his journey to Elis, is said to have built a temple to the Pythian Apollo;^t which, however, can scarcely be more ancient than the Doric migration. The foundation of this temple, as dependent on the Delphic oracle, was therefore by the tradition expressed under this image of the transportation of the tripod, the bearer of it being Hercules. But it is more important to our present purpose that, according to the Bœotian account,^u Hercules was supposed to have brought the tripod to Thebes, that is probably to the Ismenium. This fable therefore shows the con-

sitting by the tripod with Artemis and Latona, receives Hercules; a goddess with a sceptre (Vesta, according to Zoega), and Hermes, are standing by. Hercules is always drawn as a youth in this subject.

^a Hence also his labours were represented on the metopes of the Delphian temple, Eurip. Ion. 196, 239.

^r See the legend of Tripodiscus in Paus. I. 43. 7. comp. above, p. 14.

^s Plutarch de sera Num. Vind.

12. p. 245.

^t He erected three statues of Demonesian brass; above, p. 250. note 1. Comp. Callim. fragm. 75. v. 5.

^u It can indeed be only collected from coins. See Visconti, Mus. Pio-Clement. tom. VII. 4. b. N^o. 11. Mionnet Descript. tom. II. p. 109. N^o. 94. and Planches LIII. 4. Pouqueville, Voyage, tom. IV. p. 208. I likewise saw a similar coin in lord Northwick's collection.

nexion between the Ismenium and the great sanctuary of Apollo; and represents Hercules as the intermediate link between these two temples.

8. Several other traditions current in Bœotia are connected with the above explanation of this tradition. The Cretan colony, which, setting out from Cirrha, established the Tilphosian temple at Ocalea in Bœotia, was represented under the person of Rhadamanthus.^x Rhadamanthus is said to have there dwelt with Alcmena, and to have instructed the youthful hero in the Cretan art of archery.^y For this reason also Zeus raised Alcmena from the dead, and conducted her to the islands of the blest as the wife of Rhadamanthus. A stone remained in her tomb, which was set up in her sacred grove at Thebes.^z

9. The Theban traditions of Hercules are not all equally significant; but some, such as those just mentioned, had a religious, some a political^a import, and others only express the bodily strength of that hero. The education of Hercules is confided to certain fabulous personages, most of whom were supposed to reside in Bœotia.^b His most remarkable instructor is the minstrel Linus, whom (probably in execution of the will of Apollo) he put to death,^c justifying him-

^x Above, ch. 2. § 11. Hence the scene of the Rhadamanthus of Euripides was laid in Bœotia, fragm. 1.

^y Plutarch, Lysand. 18. De Socrat. Genio 5. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 50. Apollod. II. 4. 11. Pherecydes ap. Antonin. Liberal. c. 32. fragm. 50. ed. Sturz. comp. Visconti ad Herod. Att. Inscript. Triop. fin.

^z Pherecydes ubi sup. Paus. IX. 16. 4.

^a Orchomenos, pp. 84. 208.

On Hercules *Ἰπποδότης* see the story in Plutarch, Parallel. p. 416.

^b The passage most in point is in the Theocritean poem XXIV. 100. where, however, much Alexandrine fiction may be discerned.

^c See, among other writers, Alcidas Rhetor adv. Palamed. § 25. ed. Bekker. where for *Τέννος* write *Λίνος*, with two manuscripts.

self by the law of Rhadamanthus. The destruction of the lion of Cithæron is an imitation of the legend of Nemea, of which we shall speak hereafter.^d After this adventure he went to Thespiæ, to the house of Thestius, where he deflowers in one or in fifty-seven nights the fifty daughters of his host, a fable which has perhaps an astronomical reference.^e

With respect to the singular legend of Hercules murdering his children by Megara by throwing them into the fire,^f it cannot be denied that this had some symbolical meaning, derived from an ancient elementary religion. In general, however, this temporary fury is merely an exaggerated picture of that heroic mind whose courage and endurance had carried Hercules through so many dangers and difficulties for the good of mankind.^g According to the Boeotian version, it was a melancholy madness, in which Hercules, regardless even of all that was most dear to him, murdered his children, and was even on the point of slaying his father.^h Upon this the hero, oppressed with a deep melancholy, turned for relief to the atoning Apollo; and either to the god of the Ismeniumⁱ or of Pytho.^k The oracle commands him to serve as a

^d Below, ch. 12. § 1.

^e See Boeckh Explic. Pind. Olymp. III. 18. above, ch. 3. § 2. At Nemea honours were paid to the 360 supposed companions of Hercules, Ælian, V. H. IV. 5; evidently referring to the year of 360 days.

^f Heyne ad Apollod. Dissen. Expl. Pind. p. 509.

^g The madness of Hercules also occurred in the Κύπρια ἔπη, as appears from the extract of Proclus (at the end of Gaisford's Hephæstion); but in that

poem it was, if I rightly apprehend the context, represented as caused by a love and seduction of Hercules.

^h Eurip. Herc. Fur. Paus. IX. 11. 1.

ⁱ In this temple a λίθος σωφρονιστής, which had restored him to his senses, was shown under the altar, Paus. IX. 11. 5.

^k It is to this that the verses of Panyasis refer, in which Hercules is described as coming over Parnassus to Castalia (fragm. 7. ed. Gaisford).

slave, in the same manner as Apollo himself had served after the destruction of the Python. In the broken narrative of Apollodorus a remarkable trace has been preserved as to the time during which, according to the Boeotian tradition, the slavery of Hercules lasted, viz., eight years and one month.¹ This cannot be considered as an accidental number; but it is probable that the Ennaëteris is signified, which was a period of eight years and three intercalary months; of which only the last month is here mentioned, because the two inserted in the middle were less conspicuous. Hercules, therefore, like Apollo at Pheræ, was supposed to have served for an αἰδῖος ἐνιαυτός, for the octennial period of mythology and ancient astronomy.^m

10. We will here add some observations on the Attic worship of Hercules, which was celebrated chiefly at Marathon in the Tetrapolis,ⁿ in the three villages of Melite, Diomea, and Collytus,^o which lay close to one another in the vicinity of Athens; at Cynosarges^p in particular, which belonged to the demus

¹ Apollod. II. 5. 11. conf. Heyn. According to Herodorus apud Schol. Soph. Trach. 253. Hercules afterwards serves an ἐνιαυτός of three years; and so also Apollod. II. 6. 4. See above, ch. 11, § 2.

^m Above, ch. 7. § 9. ch. 8. § 4. The verses from the Heraclæa of Panyasis, Fragm. 4. ed. Gaisford, appear to have been spoken by Hercules as a consolation for his slavery. Comp. Iliad XXI. 443. They seem to be incorrectly applied by Heyne ad Apollod. II. 7. 3. p. 188.

ⁿ Herod. VI. 116. Paus. I.

15. 4. 32. 4. Harpocrat. in Ἡρακλῆς. Schol. Pind. Ol. IX. 92. XIII. 184. cf. Boeckh Explic. p. 193. Elmsley ad Eurip. Heraclid. 32.

^o Aristoph. Ran. 504. Schol. ad l. et ad 664. Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1209. Harpocrat. in Μελίτη, Hesych. in ἐκ Μελίτης, Μήλων et Διομεία, Suidas in Διομεία. Tzetzes Chil. VIII. 192. Comp. Corsini Fast. Att. II. p. 335. where, however, there are some inaccuracies.

^p Together with Hebe, Alcmena, and Iolaus, Paus. I. 19. 3. This temple is frequently mentioned.

of Diomea; at Acharnæ^a and Hephæstia,^r and in the city itself; and likewise near the sea in the Tetra-comæ, or "Four Hamlets."^s The circumstance that those temples which were not situated in the vicinity of the city were all in the northern part of Attica, seems to prove that the worship was derived from the northern frontiers; and it was attributed to the presence of the Heraclidæ in Attica, though the fable of the great assistance which Athens lent to the Heraclidæ was peculiar to the Athenians.^t It is probable, however, that at some early period a division of the Doric people passed through Attica, and there founded that worship which, by the supremacy of the Dorians and their various connexions with other nations, increased in character and importance. If the Lacedæmonians really spared the Tetrapolis in the Peloponnesian war,^u their forbearance must be attributed to the respect which they showed to their national hero. There is a tradition worthy of notice, that Theseus consecrated to Hercules all the temples which had been dedicated to himself;^x whence it may be inferred that the worship of the former demigod was thus transferred at some early period; only not, it should be observed, at the time of Theseus himself. That the worship of Hercules was only half-nationalized may (as it appears) be inferred from the custom of the Parasiti of that hero at Cynosarges being always

^a Paus. I. 31.

^r Diog. Laert. III. 41.

^s Steph. Byz. in Ἐχελίδαί. Hence, according to some writers, a dance called τετράκωμος derived its name, Pollux IV. 14. 99. 105. Athen. XIV. p. 618. Hesych. in τετράκωμος.

There was a temple of Hercules, not far off, on the road to Salamis, Plutarch Themist. 13.

^t Book I. ch. 3. § 5.

^u Diod. XII. 45. Schol. Soph. Œd. T. 701.

^x Plutarch, Thes. 35. Eurip. Herc. Fur. 1333.

Athenians, of whose parents one only was a citizen; a symbolical allusion to the half-foreign origin of their worship.

Of the same description are the traditions which were peculiar to the villages of Aphidna, Decelea, and Titacidæ (likewise situated in the north of Attica), respecting the expedition of the Tyndaridæ; who were said to have conquered Aphidna with the aid of Decelus and Titacus.^y From this plunder, according to a Spartan legend, the very ancient temple of Pallas Chalciæcus at Sparta was built. In this instance, likewise, the tradition was recognised as real history; for the Lacedæmonians always kept up a friendly intercourse with Decelea; nor was it, we may be assured, without some particular reason that in the Messenian war at the command of the oracle they called to their aid Tyrtæus, the man of Aphidna. But as the Tyndaridæ, i. e., their images (as was mentioned above),^z accompanied every Spartan army on its marches, it is probable that these stories originated in some Doric expedition into the northern parts of Attica, which left behind it these permanent traces and recollections.

^y See the Κυκλικοὶ in Schol. Il. Γ. 242. Herod. IX. 73. Paus. I. 41. 4. III. 18. 3. Isocrat. Encom. Helen. p. 211 E. Plutarch, Thes. 32. Steph. Byz. and Harpocrat. in Τιτακίδαί. To this also the verse of Callimachus refers, Frag. 234. ἄνδρ' ελαιοὶ (write Ἐλαον) Δεκελειόθεν ἀμ-πρέοντες, "dragging Elatus from Decelea," i. e., as a

guide to Aphidna. According to Alcman (Fragm. 3. ed. Welcker) and the inscription on the chest of Cypselus (Paus. V. 19. 1.) they even conquered Athens. How this is connected with the gloss in Hesychius, Ἀσαναίων πόλιν τὰς Ἀφίδνας, which probably refers to Alcman, does not appear.

^z Above, ch. 10, § 8.

CHAP. XII.

§ 1. Peloponnesian mythology of Hercules. Adventures of Hercules: his combats with wild beasts. § 2. His martial exploits. § 3. His establishment of the Olympic games. § 4. Complexity of the mythology of Hercules. § 5. Worship of Hercules carried from Sparta to Tarentum and Croton. § 6. Coan fable of Hercules. § 7. Hercules and Hylas. § 8. Identification of Hercules and Melcart. § 9. Human character of Hercules. § 10. His joviality and love of mirth.

1. WE must now entreat the indulgence of our readers when we enter upon an obscure and difficult part of our subject, and one lying beyond the limits of historical record. We allude to the Peloponnesian mythology of Hercules; a collection of legends doubtless for the most part invented subsequently to the Doric invasion, and intended by that nation in great measure to justify their conquest of the peninsula, and to make their expedition appear, not as an act of wrongful aggression, but as a re-assertion of ancient right. Some hero (perhaps even of the same name) must have existed in the Argive traditions in the time of the Persidæ, and the resemblance may have been sufficiently striking to identify him with the father of the Doric Hyllus. We shall therefore consider the destroyer of the Nemean lion as a native Argive hero; but the delay experienced at his birth, and his consequent exposure to want and toil, evidently belong to the Doric tradition, as well as the enmity of Here; fables which were partly borrowed from the worship of Apollo, and may partly have been intended to indi-

cate the contrast between the ancient worship of Argos and that of the invading race.^a

We shall now proceed without further preface to consider the different adventures of Hercules, which may be divided into two classes; the first consisting of his warlike exploits, the second of his combats with wild beasts. We shall commence with the examination of the latter.^b

Nemea was separated from the Argive temple of Here, the most ancient one in the country, by a chain of mountains and a long rocky ravine. It cannot be denied that the moon was often invoked in this worship, although it would not be safe to consider Here as the goddess of the moon. Now Nemea is called the daughter of the moon,^c from which deity the Nemean lion is also said to have sprung; the antiquity of which fable may be inferred from the circumstance that Anaxagoras availed himself of it, as being generally received, to account for the physical hypothesis of the Antichthon.^d Connected with this is Hesiod's tradition that the goddess Here had herself brought

^a See book I. ch. 3. § 2.

^b The striking difference between the two has been remarked, amongst others, by Dio Chrysost. Orat. 47. p. 523. B.C. The Alexandrine fiction of the *twelve* labours is satisfactorily treated of by Zoega (Bassiril. II. p. 46.) and also by Ouwaroff, Examen critique de la Fable d'Hercule.

^c Schol. Pind. Nem. Arg. p. 425. ed. Boeckh. Argus was also fabled to have there pastured the sacred cows of Here.

^d Ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 498. comp. Orph. Fragm. 9.

A fragment of Epimenides ap. Ælian. Nat. Anim. XII. 7. also mentions this fable, and Herodorus apud Tatian. I. p. 164. (ap. Justin. Martyr. ed. Col.), where for 'Hpoδórov we should read 'Hpoδώρου, and again by Euphorion Fragm. 47. p. 111. ed. Meineke. To the passages there collected add Hesiod. Theog. 331. Pindar Fragm. inc. 100. p. 660. ed. Boeckh. Callim. Fragm. 82. Plutarch de Facie in Orbe Lunæ 24. de Fluv. 18. 4. Steph. Byz. in 'Απέρας. comp. Hygin. Fab. 30.

up the lion, which she is by that poet represented as having done out of enmity to Hercules. Hence we detect the symbolical character of the fable, which resembles that of Perseus and Gorgo, &c.; although we can scarcely attempt to explain the whole legend in a similar manner. The combat with the Lernæan hydra may also be thus explained. Hercules is represented as employing in this contest the same sickle with which Perseus beheaded Medusa.^o

Whatever meaning we may attach to these combats, whether we consider them as symbolical, or as memorials of a remote antiquity, in which it was the hero's principal occupation to free Greece from monsters and wild beasts, it is nevertheless evident that they are as little adapted to the time assigned to them (shortly previous to the Pelopidæ) as to the character of the other parts of the fable. A mere consideration of Hercules' costume will sufficiently convince us of this fact. It is certain that the Hercules of the early poets was either a hero armed with a spear and buckler, as in the poem attributed to Hesiod,^f or with a bow and sword, as in the Odyssey.^g The latter description occurs particularly in the battle of the giants; the former is founded on all the traditions which represent Hercules as the first of warriors and conquerors. Pisander and Stesichorus were the first who

^o Compare the vase published by Müllin. II. tab. 75. with the description of the metopes on the temple at Delphi in Eurip. Ion. 196. On the chest of Cypselus, however, he is represented as slaying them with arrows.

^f Heinrich Proleg. in Hesiod. Scut. pag. 69. Dissen. Explic.

Pind. Isthm. V. p. 525. Buttmann ad Soph. Philoct. 726. On the chest of Cypselus Hercules was represented with arrows, and also with a sword: he is called *αἰχμητής* in Archilochus Frag. 60. ed. Gaisford. ^g Odyss. XI. 600. cf. VIII. 224. II. V. 393.

introduced him as a half-naked savage, with the lion's skin round his loins, the jaws covering his head instead of a helmet, and merely a club in his hand.^h There were extant so late as the time of Strabo some ancient wooden statues of Hercules very different from this description. Pisander, too, was (as far as we know) the first who represented in detail the combats of Hercules with wild beasts, collected from scattered accounts in the Theogony, and who composed the 'Labours of Hercules;' for which he perhaps availed himself of different local traditions.

2. We now come to the martial exploits of Hercules, which, as it appears, were intended to represent the conquests of the Dorians in Peloponnesus. We have only to direct our attention to the account that Hercules, towards the close of his life, being prince of Mycenæ,ⁱ delivered Sparta from the Hippocentidæ into the hands of Tyndareus, and, after conquering Pylos from Neleus, transferred it to Nestor,^k in order to perceive the coincidence of tradition and history. The circumstances which have chiefly contributed to the formation of these traditions may best be traced in the combat at Pylos. The share which Hades had in this adventure, when that god was himself wounded by the bold son of Zeus,^l may be con-

^h Athen. XII. p. 512 F. Strab. XV. p. 688. Eratosth. Cataster. 12. Suid. in Πείσανδρος. comp. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II. 1197. concerning the brazen club of Hercules mentioned by Pisander.

ⁱ See above, b. I. ch. 3. § 5.

^k Comp. Isocr. Archid. p. 119 D. Marm. Farnes. p. 152. in Marini and others.

^l I understand ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν

νεκύνεσσι, II. III. 395 in the same manner as Pausanias does VI. 25. 3. Apollod. II. 7. 3. The wounding of Hades was also mentioned by Panyasis, Arnob. adv. Gent. IV. 25. According to the same author (ap. Clem. Alex. Protr. p. 25. ed. Sylb.) Here was also wounded at Pylus. The passage in the Iliad V. 392. leaves this undecided. Comp. Schol. Venet. ad

sidered, according to the connexion established above, as having been transferred from Ephyra, where Hades had a greater inducement to the protection of oppressed cities than at Pylos.^m But Hercules is said to have destroyed Pylos because Neleus would not purify him from the murder of Iphitus;ⁿ an act which Deiphobus afterwards performed in the temple of Apollo at Amyclæ.^o Here it seems to be assumed that Œchalia, the native city of Iphitus, was situated in Messenia, which, as we have shown above,^p was not the original tradition.

3. The influence of historical facts upon mythology is most clearly perceivable in the legend of Hercules having founded the Olympic games when he returned victorious from his expedition against Augeas of Elis.^q Afterwards the same hero celebrates the first Olympiad as a festival of all Peloponnesus, with various combats, in which heroes from Tiryns, Tegea, Mantinea, and Sparta were victorious.^r It was also Hercules who fixed the quinquennial period, and established the sacred armistice.^s His bringing the wild olive-tree from the Hyperboreans, and planting it

Il. XI. 689. Lycophr. 39. with the Commentary of Tzetzes. The wounding of Ares is connected with the above by Hesiod Scut. 368. the battle with Apollo and Poseidon by Pindar Olymp. IX. 33. Boeckh Expl. p. 189.

^m Nevertheless there was also near Pylos Triphylacus a sanctuary of Hades on mount Minthe.

ⁿ Schol. Il. V. 392. Venet. II. 336. from the Κατάλογοι of Hesiod. Diod. IV. 31.

^o Apollod. II. 6. 2. Schol. Venet. II. II. 88. Marm. Farnes. p. 151.

^p Ch. 11. § 1.

^q Olymp. XI. 57. The names of the conquerors were perhaps taken from public registers, ἀναγραφαί, which usually went back to the mythical period, like those of the priestesses of Here at Argos (see book I. ch. 7. § 2). Comp. with ibid. v. 59. Etym. Mag. Δαιτῆριον ἐν Ἰλιάδι, read ΗΛΕΙΑΙ; the spot where Hercules distributed the booty of the Elean war.

^r Provided that Doryclus is the Δορυκλῆς mentioned in Apollod. III. 10. 5.

^s Polyb. XII. 26. 2 comp. above, ch. 3. § 2.

in the grove of Altis, was probably derived from the traditions of Northern Greece;^t in which Hercules was represented as more closely connected with Apollo than in the common Peloponnesian legends. It should, moreover, be remarked that Hercules in his expedition against Elis is reported to have founded or visited several temples of Apollo at Pheneus and Thelpusa;^u both lying on the road which connected the isthmus and the north of Greece with Olympia.^v It would, however, involve us in no slight difficulties to date the tradition of Hercules founding the Olympic games later than the Olympiad of Iphitus; for as since that period the Eleans conducted the festival, and therefore showed a particular veneration for Hercules, it is scarcely probable that a war *against Elis* should have been considered as the cause of the establishment of this festival, had not the report been handed down from an earlier period. The continual claim of Pisa, that the presidency of the games should be restored to her as an ancient right, is, however, one of several circumstances which render it probable that she had once enjoyed this privilege before the festival had acquired its subsequent celebrity; and that Hercules, to whom a very ancient wooden statue had been erected at Pisa,^y was, even at this early

^t See Pind. Olymp. III. 14. where the connexion seems to be as follows: Hercules, while chasing the hind of Artemis, arrives at the country of the Hyperboreans, at the source of the Ister, and there sees the beautiful olive-trees. Afterwards, when about to found the Olympic games, he remembers these trees, and procures some young

shoots to plant the bare and sunny plains of Elis. On the κόρινος of Olympia see Schneider Index Theophrast. vol. V. p. 424.

^u Pausan. VIII. 25. 5. 15. 2. comp. above, p. 220, note ^b.

^v See the map of Peloponnesus.

^y Apollod. II. 6. 3.

period, regarded as the founder: to which facts the story of a war against Elis was easily subjoined. The combat with Augeas, a son of Helius, seems to have been in great part borrowed from some Epirotan fable respecting Geryon.

4. In tracing the various steps which led to the formation of the Peloponnesian mythology of Hercules, it has by no means been our aim to enter minutely into the details of the subject, which would carry us far beyond the limits of the present inquiry; the distinction between the ancient and recent parts of the tradition being so undefined that an accurate separation of the two is almost impossible. Enough has been said to show how frequently the same legend reappears in different shapes; and consequently that some original version was variously modified in different places. We shall once for all remind those who imagine the northern legend of Hercules to have been of later date than the Peloponnesian because the latter is mentioned by the early epic poets, that some higher source must be sought for than a few passages of those poets which have been accidentally preserved: that it should be looked for (if anywhere) in some connected mythological tradition, to which the particular fables owed their rise and development.

The task is comparatively easy to examine the history of fables, the scene of which lies in colonies or countries with which the Greeks did not become acquainted till a late period, as the events on which they are founded took place within the era of our historical knowledge. At the same time the analogy of these facts, sufficiently ascertained, enables us to conjecture as to those which are enveloped in fabulous

obscurity; we can reason from what we know to what we do not know.

5. From Sparta the worship of Hercules spread to her colonies, particularly Tarentum^a and Croton. In the latter city Hercules enjoyed the honours of a founder,^a being reported to have established it on his return from Erythea.^b Afterwards the tradition of his purification and atonement was transferred from Amyclæ in Laconia to Croton, an event to which the high reputation enjoyed by the worship of Apollo in the latter town greatly contributed. Hence we perceive on the coins of this place the youthful hero sitting with a bow, quiver, and arrows before a blazing altar, on which he scorches a branch of laurel.^c Connected with the above is the tradition of Philoctetes having deposited the arrows of Hercules in the temple of Apollo Alæus at Croton, from whence they were said to have been brought by the Crotoniats into the temple of Apollo within the precincts of their town.^d On the coins of that city Hercules is frequently seen with a goblet in his hand, either in a recumbent or erect posture. The allusion is explained by the following story: Hercules, who was always thirsty, had asked for some wine at Croton; but the woman of the house dissuaded her husband from tapping the cask for a stranger; on which account the women of that country never drank wine.^e

6. Our readers are, we take for granted, well ac-

^a See Heyne Excurs. 14. ad Æn. III. From hence the colony of Heraclea was sent.

^b OIKIMTAM on coins, i. e. οἰκιστής.

^c Jamblich. Vit. Pythag. 10.

^d Mus. Pembrock. P. II. tab.

16. Eckhel N. Anecd. tab. I. N^o. 13, from whose explanation mine differs in some respects.

^e Aristot. Mirab. Ausc. § 115.

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quainted with the fable of Hercules in the island of Cos, as related by Homer.^f The events which contributed to its formation are, in the first place, the existence of several noble families of Heraclide descent, whose origin, according to ancient traditions, was connected with the conquest of Ephyra, though they were afterwards said to have sprung from the supposed residence of Hercules in the island itself, where the ancestor of these families sprang from his connexion with a daughter of the king of the Meropians. This fiction of his abode in Cos took its rise in a mistaken view of certain ceremonies there practised: for the peculiarity of the worship in question, in which the priest at the festival *ἀντιμαχία*, celebrated in the spring, put on a female dress (as Hercules is said to have disguised himself in woman's clothes),^g betrays an Asiatic origin; which induced the poets of ancient times to consider Hercules of Cos as identified with the Idæan Dactyli.^h This dress was also probably worn in the Lydian worship of Sandonⁱ (who was called Hercules by the Greeks); for Omphale is said to have attired the effeminate hero in a transparent garment dyed with sandyx, a custom which evidently originated in the practice of some festival. The man described as the slave of a lascivious woman was a symbolical representation of a soft and voluptuous ele-

^f See book I. ch. 6. § 3.

^g Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. 58. p. 409. Nicomachus ap. Lyd. de Mensibus, p. 93.

^h Dissen. Expl. Pind. Isthm. V. p. 525. It may, perhaps, be collected from Ovid. Metam. VII. 369. that at this festival the women were disguised as cows. Perhaps the festival of Hercules was connected with

that of Here, concerning which see Athen. VI. p. 262.

ⁱ Laur. Lydus de Magistr. III. 64. p. 268. On the connexion between the Lydian worship of Sandon or Sandes and the Hellenic worship of Hercules see a paper by the author in the *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. III. p. 22—39.

mentary religion; while the same allegory was by the Greeks referred to the servitude of Hercules in the house of Eurystheus. This legend is first mentioned by Pherecydes, then by Hellanicus of Lesbos (who refers to the traditions current in the city of Acele),^k and also in Herodotus, whose genealogy of the ancient kings of Lydia—Hercules, Alcæus (from the Greek mythology, Belus, the god of Babylon), Ninus (Nineveh), Agron, &c., refers to the Assyrian origin of the ancient Lydian kings, and agrees remarkably with the statement that Hercules-Sandon or Sandes, was originally an Assyrian deity belonging to the same religious system as Belus.^l

7. We now come to a fable of kindred origin, the fable of Hylas. Hylas was invoked during midsummer at the sides of fountains by the aboriginal inhabitants of Bithynia,^m long before the Greeks founded their city of Cios; but the latter adopted the story of the boy falling into the water, connecting it (as they worshipped Hercules as their founder)ⁿ with the fable of that hero. Indeed a legend very similar had previously existed, the minion of Hercules being (according to Hellanicus) Theiomenes, the son of Theiodamas the king of the Dryopes.^o The death of Lityerses was in Phrygia the subject of an ancient song; and who else should have slain him, according to the tradition of the Greeks, than he whose power was dreaded throughout the countries of the barbarians?^p The Greeks introduced such

^k Steph. Byz. in Ἀκέλη.

^l Berosus ap. Agath. Hist. Justin. II. p. 62. ed. Vulcan.

^m Strabo XII. p. 564 B. Solinus 42, &c. comp. *Orchomenos*, p. 293.

ⁿ Κτιστής on the coins.

^o Ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I.

131. Hence this genealogy was afterwards transferred to Hylas. In the Spartan fable, Elacatus was represented as the παῖδικα of Hercules (Sosibius ap. Hesych. in Ἡλακία).

^p See the fragments of the Lityerses of Sositheus, Her-

heterogeneous matter without hesitation into their mythology. Hercules, even in the spot where his worship originated, was represented as a hero of great power abroad: he was the protector of boundaries and (if I may be allowed the expression) of marches: afterwards, when his worship was adopted by the whole of Greece, he was considered as the general guardian of the Grecian colonists. Thus he is represented as contending for the territory of Heraclea on the Pontus, against the aboriginal Bebryces, and in defence of Cyrene against the native Libyans. For it seems very probable that the combat with Antæus,¹ who derived new vigour from touching the earth, was merely emblematical of the contests sustained by the Greek colonists against the Libyan hordes, which, though often conquered, always sallied forth from the deserts in increased numbers. Thus the fable of Hercules and Busiris was invented at a time when the Greeks first became known in Egypt, and had as yet only an imperfect acquaintance with that country; for which reason Herodotus ridicules it as a silly invention of the Ionians. Busiris appears to me to have been the name of the principal deity with the addition of the article. In this story he is described as a ferocious tyrant, who orders Hercules to be sacrificed, until the latter, recovering himself suddenly, slays the tyrant and his cowardly retinue.

8. While attempting to reconcile these discordant traditions, and mould them into one connected story, it was natural that the Greeks should find some affinity

mann, Opuscula, vol. I. p. 54. and above, ch. 8. § 12.

¹ Amongst the passages quoted in Creuzer's Symbolik, vol. I.

p. 326. those of Pherecydes, Pindar, and Apollodorus should be particularly noticed.

of character between Hercules and the Phœnician god Melcart, the son of Baal and Astarte ('Αστειρία). It was to the existence of a temple of Hercules at Gadira that the fable of this hero having there terminated his voyage after the battle of Geryon, owed its origin; and the neighbouring pillars of Hercules or Briareus² were originally considered as the work of Melcart. The Hercules of the Carthaginians was also represented as a wanderer and conqueror;³ his particular province was the island of Sardinia;⁴ which island became also included in the Grecian mythology: he is likewise said to have passed through Spain.⁵ The discoverer of the purple dye, in the Tyrian tradition, is the same personage;⁶ the quail was sacred to him, the smell of that bird having resuscitated him from death.⁷ Great as the confusion soon became between the Doric and Phœnician traditions respecting Hercules, they may still be easily distinguished from each other; and the first effect of their union may perhaps be traced in the wish of Dorieus, the son of Anaxandridas, to found a kingdom near mount Eryx, because Hercules had for-

² Aristot. ap. Ælian Var. Hist. V. 3. comp. Schwarz de Columnis Herculis, Opuscula, vol. II. p. 205. Peringer de Templo Herculis Gaditani. Concerning Hercules-Briareus, see also Zenob. Prov. οὗτος ἄλλος Ἡρακλῆς.

³ The African Hercules Maceris, according to Pausan. X. 17. 2; the Phœnician Διωδᾶς, according to Euseb. Scal. p. 26. in the Greek text. Islands of Hercules near New Carthage in Spain, Athen. III. p. 121 A. We find also an Iolaus connected

with the Carthaginian Hercules, Polyb. VII. 9. 2. Eudoxus ap. Athen. IX. p. 392 D.

⁴ Pausan. ubi sup.

⁵ Sallust. Bell. Jugurth. 21. which passage also mentions his death in Spain. Comp. Strabo XVII. p. 828.

⁶ Pollux I. 4. 45.

⁷ Eudoxus ubi sup. Eustath. ad Il. p. 1702. 50. Zenobius in ὀρνυξ ἔσωσεν. Compare with these passages the very ingenious explanation of this fable in Heeren's Ideen, vol. I. part 2. p. 129.

merly conquered that country;* now the worship and name of the Phœnician Aphrodite (Astarte) existed on mount Eryx, and probably also that of her son Melcart.

9. Notwithstanding the long digression into which the examination of our subject has led us, we are afraid that the following positions, attempted to be established as the result of the preceding investigation, will by no means carry with them conviction to all readers. We may, however, rest assured, that whatever traces of an elementary religion can be discovered in this fable, they were additions totally at variance with its original structure. The fundamental idea of all the heroic mythology may be pronounced to be a proud consciousness of power innate in man, by which he endeavours to place himself on a level with the gods, not through the influence of a mild and benign destiny, but by labour, misery, and combats. The highest degree of human suffering and courage is attributed to Hercules: his character is as noble as could be conceived in those rude and early times; but he is by no means represented as free from the blemishes of human nature; on the contrary, he is frequently subject to wild, ungovernable passions, when the noble indignation and anger of the suffering hero degenerate into phrensy.^a Every crime, however, is atoned for by some new suffering; but nothing breaks his invincible courage, until, purified from earthly corruption, he ascends mount Olympus, and there receives the beauteous Hebe for his

* Herod. V. 43. Paus. III. Hercules was subject to epilepsy. 16. 4.

^a Hence also the legend that

bride, while his shade threatens the frightened ghosts in Hades.^b As in the fable of Apollo, the godhead descends into the circle of human life, so in Hercules a purely human power is elevated to the gods. Hercules also corresponds to the last-mentioned deity, in his divine attributes, as an averter of evil (*ἀλεξίκακος* and *σωτήρ*);^c which the Cœtæans carried so far as to worship him as the destroyer of grasshoppers (*κορυπίων*), and the Erythræans as the killer of the vine-worm (*ἰποκτόνος*).^d We cannot, however, agree with Herodotus, who derives the deification of Hercules from a combination of the Phœnician or Idæan god, and the hero of Thebes, since Hercules also enjoyed divine honours at places (as Messene and Marathon^e) where such an amalgamation can scarcely be imagined. But he is a deity representing the highest perfection of humanity, and therefore the

^b Od. XI. 605.

^c This worship certainly originated at Delphi, since the Delphic oracle in Demosth. in. Mid. p. 531. 7. orders the Athenians to offer sacrifices *περὶ ὑγιείας* to the supreme Zeus, Hercules, and Apollo *προστατήριος*. Concerning Hercules *ἀλεξίκακος* see Libanius Ep. 12. Dio Chrysost. Orat. I. p. 17. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1375. and Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1218. comp. Marini Ville Alban. p. 141. No. 152. This character of the hero is generally alluded to in the exclamations *Ἡράκλεις*, *Me Hercules*; and as such, representations of sheep were offered to him (otherwise the usual sacrifices were swine); and he was called *Μήλων* at Thebes, Pollux I. 1. 27.

30. and at Melite in Attica.— See Apollod. ap. Zenob. V. 12. Hesych. in *Μήλων*. Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 42. cf. 740. Suidas in *Μήλιος*.

^d Strab. XIII. p. 613. This, however, was not the original Grecian Hercules; above, § 8. Hercules *ἀπόμνιος* (the averter of flies) was worshipped at Rome, according to Clemens Alexand. Protrept. I. p. 24. ed. Sylb. a title of Zeus at Olympia.

^e According to Pausanias, who also gives an account of several Dædalian wooden images of Hercules. The divine worship at Sicyon (Paus. II. 10. 1.) may, however, be referred to the Idæan Dactylus, since this town was anciently connected with Phæstus.

model and aim of human imitation; and the summit of heroic energy was seen where the human passed into the divine nature. His life and actions on earth are in ancient mythology perfectly human; and those fables, which raise him above humanity, for instance, those alluding to the combat with the giants,^f betray a later origin.

10. How little the ancient mythology was desirous of divesting Hercules of any feelings of humanity may be collected from various features in his character. Hercules, whether invited or not invited, is a jovial guest, and not backward in enjoying himself. This explains the frequent allusions to him as a great eater (*βουβοίνας*) and tippler, and also the Herculean goblets and couches. The original source of all these fictions was the ancient tradition of the residence of Hercules with Ceyx and Dexamenus: nay, they may be traced to the ceremonies observed at his worship and festivals.^g The Doric,^h like the Athenian comic poets and satirists, merely adopted the general outline of the story, filling up the details to suit their own fancy and humour: the latter adding some jokes upon the gluttony of their Boeotian neighbours.ⁱ It was Hercules, above all other heroes, whom mythology endeavoured to place in ludicrous situations; and

^f Pind. Nem. I. 67. (cf. VII. 90) represents Hercules as engaged in this contest with the gods, probably a short time before his deification. The first representations of Hercules the giant-destroyer occur on the throne of the Amyclæan Apollo. Pausan. III. 18. 7. and some very ancient vases.

^g In making libations to Hercules not a drop was left in the

goblet, Athen. XII. p. 1512 F. Those who wished to make libations brought him a measure of wine, Hesych. in *Οἰνιστήρια*.

^h For instance, Epicharmus in the Busiris, and The Marriage of Hebe (frequently quoted in Athenæus), and Rhinthon in the Hercules. See Athen. XI. p. 500 F.

ⁱ See e. g., Eubulus ap. Athen. XIII. p. 567.

sometimes made the butt of the buffoonery of others. This was the case in the fable of the Cercopes (treated of in a ludicrous epic poem ascribed to Homer),^k who are represented as alternately amusing and annoying the hero. In works of art they are often represented as satyrs, who rob the hero of his quiver, bow, and club.^l Hercules, annoyed at their insults, binds two of them to a pole, in the manner represented on the bas-relief of Selinus,^m and marches off with his prize. Happily for the offenders, the hinder parts of Hercules had become tanned by continued labours and exposure to the atmosphere: which reminded them of an old prophecy, warning them to beware of a person of this complexion;ⁿ and the coincidence caused them to burst out into an

^k On this poem see Fabric. Biblioth. Gr. vol. I. p. 378. ed. Harles. Thermopylæ appears to have been the earliest locality of this fable (Herod. VII. 216. above, ch. 11. § 5.), but in this poem the scene was perhaps laid in Œchalia in Eubœa; at least Tzetzes, enumerating the poems attributed to Homer, mentions the *Κέρκωπες* next to the *Οἰχάλιας ἄλωσις* (ap. Bentl. Epist. ad Mill. p. 505. ed. Lips.).—Hence Diotimus, in his poem on the labours of Hercules, called the Cercopes Œchaliens, viz., in Eubœa, whence they ravaged the territory of Boeotia (Suidas in *Εὐρύβατος*. Apostol. IX. 33. Schol. Lucian. Alexand. 4. 71.): Æschryon of Sardis, in his Ephesis, was probably the first who transplanted them to Lydia (Lobeck *de Cercopibus et Cobalis* p. 7.), and Xenagoras to the Pithecusæ (apparently

in his treatise *περὶ Νήσων*, ap. Harpocrat. in *Κέρκωπες*. Lacrant. Fab. XIV. 3. Zenobius, Apostol. XI. 24.). Among the Athenian comic poets Hermippus and Plato treated this fable; but the composition in Hancarville III. 88. in which Hercules reaches two monkey-shaped Cercopes in nets or cages to Eurys-theus sitting on a throne, seems to be a representation of an Italian farce.

^l Millingen *Peintures Inédites* pl. 35. Tischbein III. 37. See Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 691.

^m See Reinganum's Selinus, plate 3. (Leipsig. 1827).

ⁿ *Μὴ τευ μελαμπύγου τύχοις*. See the Paræmiographers, Photius, Suidas, &c., in this expression, Diod. IV. 31. and others. The proverb occurred in Archilochus, fragm. 106. ed. Gaisford.

immoderate fit of laughter. This surprised Hercules, who inquired the reason, and was himself so diverted by it, that he set both his prisoners at liberty. And in general no company better agrees with the character of Hercules, even in his deified state, than that of satyrs and other followers of Bacchus, as might easily be proved by many works of Grecian art. It also seems that mirth and buffoonery were often combined with the festivals of Hercules: thus there was at Athens a society of sixty men, who, on the festival of the Diomean Hercules, attacked and amused themselves and others with sallies of wit.^o We shall hereafter show how these exhibitions originated in the propensity of the Doric race to the burlesque and comic.^p

^o Athen. VI. p. 260. from Hegesander, *ibid.* XIV. p. 615 D. from Telephanes. Perhaps Hercules had *παράσιτοι* here as well as at Cynosarges and other

demi. See Diodorus of Sinope in Athen. VI. p. 239 E.
^p Book IV. ch. 6. § 9. 10. ch. 7.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

On the settlements, origin, and early history of the Macedonian nation.

General outline of the country.^a

1. IN the Thermaic bay, the modern gulf of Salonichi, three rivers of considerable size fall into the sea at very short distances from one another, but which meet in this place in very different directions. The largest of the three comes from the north-west, and is now called (as indeed it was in the time of Tzetzes and Anna Comnena) the *Bardares* (or *Vardar*), and was in ancient days celebrated under the name of *Axius*. Its stream is increased by large tributary branches on both sides, and chiefly by the *Erigon*, which flows from the mountains of Illyria.^b The river next in order runs from the west; it is now called in the interior of the country *Potova*, and on the coast *Carasmac*: its ancient name, as is evident from passages in Herodotus and Strabo, was *Lydias*, or *Ludias*.^c And, lastly, after many turnings and windings,

^a Our knowledge of Macedonia has been much increased by the Travels of F. C. H. L. Pouqueville from Janina to Greveno and Castoria, of H. Pouqueville from Guilan to Mezzovo, and Barbié du Bocage's (the younger) Examination of the Ruins of Pella; although in the *Voyage dans la Grèce* (tom. II.) of the first-named writer some singular notions, arising from an imperfect knowledge of ancient geography (e. g., of *Haliacmonts*), somewhat confuse the description. But the *Carte de la Grèce Moderne*, by J. D. Barbié du Bocage, is a work of great accuracy, and it has been implicitly followed in the annexed Map.

^b Its rise in these mountains, and course through Pœonia (Liv.

XXXIX. 53. Strabo VII. p. 327. cf. Exc. 9. p. 330. ed. Casaub. Ptolem. p. 82. ed. Montan.), prove that it is the modern Cara-Sou.

^c Strabo VII. 9. p. 330. states that the Ludias runs out of the lake on which Pella is situated; which is now the lake of Jenidge. (According to modern maps it is not true that the lake is formed by an *ἀπὸρρασμα* of the Axius; but in ancient times also the marshes reached to the east of Pella, Liv. XLIV. 46.) Compare Strabo VII. 8. p. 330. It is evident from Herodotus VII. 127. that the Lydias was next to the Axius. *Λυδίας* was the reading found by Harpocration in Æschines de Fals. Leg. p. 44.

the Haliacmon, now called *Bichlista*, flows from the south-west; in the time of Herodotus it fell into the sea through the same mouth as the Lydias, probably being widened by marshes; and in modern maps the interval between the two rivers is represented as very small.^d It may be easily conceived that this whole maritime district must have been low and marshy; and by this means Pella, as Livy remarks, was of all towns in the country best fitted for being the fortress of the Macedonian kings, and the place of deposit for their treasure, since it lay, like an island, in the morasses and swamps formed by the neighbouring lakes and rivers. These marshes were called by the expressive name of *βόεβορος*, or *mud*.^e

2. Although the mouths of these rivers were so near together, the extent of mountains, valleys, and plains which they encompassed in their course was very considerable, amounting, according to modern maps, to 140 geographical miles from north and south, and more than 60 from east to west. The Axios, together with its minor branches, runs from the great Scardian chain, which further on receives the names of Orbelus, Scomius, and Hæmus; while the course of the Haliacmon is close to the heights of mount Olympus (part of which ridge in later times was called the Cambunian mountains), and therefore to the borders of Thessaly. Both ridges run at right angles from the great mountain-chain which cuts the upper part of Greece in a direction from north-west to south-east, its southern parts bearing the name of Pindus, the ridge towards Thessaly and Epirus of Lacmon,^f and further to the north-west it is called

^d Herod. VII. 127. Scylax agrees with Herodotus, p. 26. ed. Hudson, where the places come in the following order: "Pydna, Methone, the mouth of the Haliacmon, Alorus, the Lydias, then Pella, the Axios, the Echeidorus, and Therma." On the other hand, Strabo, who represents the Haliacmon as falling into the sea near Dium (VII. 8. p. 330.), perhaps confounding it with the Helicon, (Pausan. IX. 30. 4.) is supported by Ptolemy, p. 82. "Thessalonice, the

"Echeidorus, the Axios, the Lydias, "Pydna, the Haliacmon, Dion, "Pharybas (read Baphyras), the "Peneus."

^e Plutarch de Exilio 10.

^f Or Lacmus, in which mountain the Aous and the Inachus, a branch of the Achelous, have their source, Hecataeus ap. Strab. VI. p. 271. VII. p. 316. Steph. Byz. in v. *Λάκμων*. Sophocles ap. Strab. VI. p. 271. Herod. IX. 93. The *Lingus* of Livy XXXII. 13. is nearly the same mountain.

the Candavian chain^g and mount Barnus.^h It stretches behind the whole of the district just named, and forms, as it were, the spine, to which the mountains of Illyria, Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly are attached like ribs. From this chain the two lines of mountains proceed, which separate the valleys of the Haliacmon and the Axios. The name of the ridge between the Haliacmon and the Lydias is known by the mention of mount Bermius above Berœa;ⁱ and Berœa is certainly the modern Veria, or Cara Veria,^k near the northern bank of the Haliacmon. It will be shown presently that Dysorum was the name of the mountain which divided the Lydias and the Axios.^l And the ridge, which, stretching southward from the Scardian chain, parted the valley of the Axios from the plains to the east, was called (in one point at least), as we know from Thucydides'^m account of the Odrysian king's march, Cercine.

3. The valleys beyond the last-mentioned ridge are those of the Strymon and the Angites. As the Axios falls into the sea in a gulf to the west, so does the Strymon join the sea to the east of the Chalcidian peninsula. Not far from its mouth the Strymon forms a lake, into which the Angites runs; a stream of considerable size, its course lying westward of the Strymon. For that the eastern stream is the ancient Strymon (notwithstanding the opinion of most modern geographers) is, in the first place, evident from its size; secondly, from the name *Struma*, which it now bears; and, thirdly, from the statement of Herodotus,ⁿ that the district of Phyllis reached southwards to the Strymon, and westward to the Angites; it lay, therefore, above the con-

^g Ptolemy. It seems plain that the *Καναλίου ὄρη* of Ptolemy, in which the Haliacmon rises, and the *Κανδαυία ὄρη* before Lychnidus, in Strabo, Cæsar, Cicero, and the Tab. Peutling, are the same name, and that the passage of Ptolemy is corrupt. The ridge is, indeed, broken by the Genusus.

^h See next note.

ⁱ Strabo VII. Exc. 11. p. 330. This *Bermius* is a continuation of mount *Barnus*, at the foot of which the Via

Egnatia passes (Strab. VII. p. 323.), and the same as the *Bernus* of Diosdorus, fragm. 27. p. 229. ed. Bipont, or the *Bora* of Livy XLV. 29. 30. where it must be distinguished between what properly belongs to a *regio* and what *adjicitur*. See below, p. 459, note ⁿ.

^k Mannert's *Geographie*, VII. p. 516.

^l Below, § 17.

^m Below, § 11.

ⁿ VII. 113.

fluence of the two rivers and the lake which they formed by their junction. The ridge which lies to the east of the Strymon was called, at least where it widens along the coast, Pangæum.^o

Thus much is sufficient to give a general notion of the geographical structure of the region, the ancient inhabitants of which form the subject of the present inquiry.

Ancient names of the several districts.

4. We will now chiefly follow the full and accurate accounts of Herodotus respecting the districts situated near the mouths of the three rivers just mentioned. First, MYGDONIA, on the Thermaic bay, and round the ancient city of Therma, extended, according to Herodotus, to the Axios, which divided this district from Bottiaïs;^p and it agrees with this statement that the small river Echeidorus (probably the modern *Gallico*), which fell into the sea at the marshes near the Axios, in the lower part of its course passed through Mygdonia.^q To the east this district extended still further; lake Bolbe, beyond Chalcidice, was either in or near Mygdonia.^r Thucydides, indeed, makes Mygdonia reach as far as the Strymon;^s but this cannot be reconciled with the account of Herodotus (who appears to have possessed a very accurate knowledge of this region), that both the maritime district, west from the Strymon, in which was the Greek city of Argilus, and the land further to the interior, was called BISALTIA.^t On the other side, above Mygdonia, was situated (according to Herodotus) the district of CRESTONICA, from which the river Echeidorus flowed down to the coast.^u

^o Herodotus (ubi sup.) appears also to call the mountain between the Strymon and Angites, Pangæum.

^p Herod. VII. 123. cf. 127.

^q Herod. VII. 124.

^r Thuc. I. 58.

^s II. 99.

^t Herod. VII. 115. Diodorus XXVII. p. 229. also places the Bisaltæ to the west of the Strymon; somewhat differently Liv. XLV. 29, 30. Compare Gaiter's excellent

Dissertations de Herodoti et Thucydidis Thracia, and *Commentat. Gotting.* vol. 5. p. 33.

^u Herod. VII. 124. cf. 127. It is, however, singular that Xerxes should go from Acanthus to Therma in Mygdonia, beyond Pæonia (on the Axios?) and Crestonica. This Crestonica is probably quite different from the Crestonæi at the source of the Echeidorus, and is a district of Chalcidice. See the author's *Etrus-*

5. Beyond the Axios, to the west of the stream, immediately after Mygdonia, came BOTTIAIS, which district was on the other side bounded by the united mouth of the Haliacmon and the Lydias;^x and thus towards the sea it terminated in a narrow wedge-shaped strip. On this tongue of land were the cities of Ichnæ and Pella,^y the first of which was celebrated for an ancient temple;^z while Pella became afterwards the royal residence, situated on the lake of the Lydias, at the distance of 120 stadia from the river's mouth,^a and may now be recognised by these marks of its position and some ruins. According to Strabo,^b also, the river Axios made the boundary of Bottiæa, and divided it from the district of Amphaxitis, which was the name of the opposite and more elevated side of the Axios.^c Thucydides also calls this tract of country Bottiæa;^d and distinguishes it from the more recent settlements of the Bottiæans, near Olynthus, in Chalcidice,^e which he calls *Bottica*.^f

6. The united mouth of the Lydias and Haliacmon, according to Herodotus,^g divided Bottiæis from MACEDONIS; for he can only mean this common mouth when he says that "the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon divide the districts

ker, vol. I. p. 96. 'Ες τῇ Κρηστωνίᾳ παρὰ τὴν τῶν Βισαλτῶν χώραν, Pseud-Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. p. 710. ed. Casaubon.

^x Herod. VII. 127.

^y VII. 123. Βοττιαῖδα, τῆς Ἰχνοῦσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν στυνὸν χωρίον πόλις Ἰχναί τε καὶ Πέλλα. It does not follow that Pella was, in the opinion of Herodotus, a coast-town.

^z Of Apollo, according to Hesychius in Ἰχναίην. Macedonia had been called from it Ἰχναίη by some poet, Hesychius and Suidas in v. The city is mentioned by Eratosthenes ap. Steph. Byz. Plin. H. N. IV. 17. and Mela II. 3. Stephanus Byz. confounds with this town that in Thessaly. Themis was worshipped at Ichnæ, according to Strabo IX. p. 435.

^a Strab. VII. 8. p. 330. compare Scylax and Æschines above, in notes c and d.

^b Strab. VII. 9. p. 330.

^c In Polybius V. 97. 4. Bottia and

Amphaxitis are also mentioned together.

^d Bottiæa in II. 99, should probably be written Βοττιαῖα, as in II. 100. (or the reverse; see notes e and f in this page, and Etym. Mag. in v.)

^e See below, p. 465, note k.

^f Thucyd. I. 65, II. 79, 101. The passage of Theopompus ap. Steph. Byz. in v. Αἰόλιον should be thus written: πόλιν Αἰόλιον τῆς Βοττιαῖς (vulg. Ἀττικῆς) μὴν οὖσαν, πολιτισμὸν δὲ μετὰ τῶν Χαλκιδίων. The inhabitants, however, are always called Βοττιαῖοι in Thucydides. Βοττιαῖα for Βοττιαῖη, Dionysius ad Amm. I. 9. The great etymologist in Βοττιαῖα also notices the distinction between Βοττιαῖη and Βοττιαῖα; where write Βοττιαῖη ἢ Χαλκιδικὴ γῆ (ΧΑΛΚΙΔΙΚΗ for ΧΑΛΔΑΙΚΗ).

^g VII. 127. Compare the expression οἱ οὐρίζουσι γῆν Βοττιαῖδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα, with VII. 123. δὲ οὐρίζει χώραν τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοττιαῖδα.

"of Bottiaïs and Macedonis, uniting their waters in the "same channel." Further on in the interior the Lydias alone must have been the boundary of Bottiaïs, since otherwise this district would not end in a narrow strip of land; Macedonis, therefore, began on the western bank of the Lydias. In this place nothing more can be said as to the meaning of the word *Macedonis*, before the precise signification of some other names has been determined.

7. Proceeding along the coast, *PIERIA* borders upon *Macedonis*, the district under Mount Olympus,^h which ridge, where it approaches this coast, splits into two branches, the one stretching towards the mouth of the Peneus, the other towards those of the three rivers. Herodotus cannot make Pieria reach as far as the Haliacmon,ⁱ as they are here separated by *Macedonis Proper*; ^k he probably supposes it to begin just at the rise of mount Olympus, and divides the narrow plain on the sea-coast from the tracts to the interior. The southern boundary of Pieria is stated by Strabo^l and Livy^m to have been the district of Dium;ⁿ so that these writers leave a narrow and mountainous strip of land, stretching towards Tempe, which belonged neither to Pieria nor Thessaly. The chief place in Pieria was Pydna, also called Cydna (according to Stephanus Byz.), and in later times Citron (according to the epitomizer of Strabo),^o which name still remains in the same place.

8. Now that we proceed from the divisions of the coast to the interior, we are deserted, indeed, by the excellent account of Herodotus; but there are nevertheless statements

^h Pausan. IX. 30. 3. *χώραν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἑσος, τὴν Πυρίαν*. Livy XLIV. 43. calls the mountain-forest above Pydna *Pieria sylva*.

ⁱ With Strabo VII. 8. p. 330. who makes Pæonia extend to the Axios (and so Ptolemy, p. 82.); though he afterwards places Alorus to the south of the Lydias, and yet in Bottiæa. There is, however, much confusion in this passage.

^k See below, § 17.

^l VIII. 8. p. 330.

^m Liv. XLIV. 9, 20. Hence also Pausanias (IX. 30. 3. X. 13. 3.) ap-

pears to distinguish Dium (τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς Πυρίας), and Strabo (IX. p. 410. X. p. 471.) Leibethrum, from Pieria. On the other hand, Arrian. Anab. I. 11. places the *ξόανον* of Orpheus at Leibethra (Plutarch Alexand. 14.) in Pieria.

ⁿ I have placed Dium at the ruins in B. du Bocage; Platamona is perhaps the ancient temple of Hercules.

^o VII. 8. p. 330. comp. Wesseling ad Anton. Itin. p. 328. and Drakenb. ad Liv. XLII. 51. The *Citium* of Livy must be sought for near Edessa.

sufficiently accurate to determine the ancient name of each district. The high and mountainous valley of the Haliacmon was, according to Livy,^p called *ELIMEIA*; the inhabitants Elimiotis, who are included by Thucydides^q among the Macedonians: the district is also called after their name *Elimiotis*.^r From thence proceeds the road to Thessaly over the Cambunian mountains;^s and another almost impracticable road to Ætolia over the mountainous country to the south of Elimeia.^t To Elimeia succeeded *PARAUÆA*, a fertile district, near the sources of the river called Aous, *Æas*, or *Auus*;^u and to the south again lay *PARORÆA*, which was crossed by the river Arachthus at the beginning of its course from under mount Stympha;^v the country near this mountain was called *STYMPHÆA* (or *Tymphæa*), extending to the sources of the Peneus and the land of the Æthicians.^w The *ATINTANIANS* reached beyond the country of the Parauæans, and within that of the Chaonians as far as Illyria.^x All these districts are indeed divided from Elimeia by the great chain of Pindus; but, from their connexion with that region, some account of them in this place was indispensable.

9. A small valley in the district of Elimeia, which lay to

^p XLII. 53.

^q II. 99.

^r Liv. XLV. 30.

^s Liv. XLII. 53. Compare Plutarch. Æmil. 9. *βιαζόμενον κατὰ τὰς Ἑλμιῶνας* (the passes of Elimeia?).

^t Liv. XLIII. 21. see above, § 2.

^u Steph. Byz. in *Παραυαίαν*. According to Arrian I. 7. the *ἄκρα Τυμφαίας* and *Παραυαίας*, between Elimeia and Thessaly. Plutarch Qu. Gr. 13. cf. 26. places Parauæa in Molossis, Stephanus in Thesprotis, as well as Tympe. Comp. Thuc. II. 80. It is now called *Zagori*. See *Geographische Ephemeriden*, vol. XVII. p. 429.

^v Strab. VII. p. 325. cf. 326. The Paroræa in Pæonia, Liv. XLII. 51. Plin. IV. 17. should be distinguished from it.

^w Strab. VII. p. 327. cf. 326. Liv. XLV. 30. According to Marsyas in

Steph. Byz. in v. *Αἰθιμία*, Æthicia lay between Tymphæa and Athamania. In Liv. XXXII. 13. should probably be written, in *Tymphæa terra Molottidis*, where you would arrive by mounting the course of the Aous. Plutarch Pyrrh. 6. connects Stymphæa and Parauæa: *τὴν τε Στυμφαίαν καὶ τὴν Παραυαίαν τῆς Μακεδονίας*. Comp. Niebuhr's *Römische Geschichte*, vol. III. p. 536.

^x See particularly Polyb. II. 5. Scylax, p. 10. Comp. Thucydides, Livy, and Strabo as above. In Proxenus ap. Steph. Byz. in v. *Χαονία*, for *Ταραύλιοι*, *Ἀμύμονες* read *Παραυαίοι*, *Ἀτίντανες*. It is mentioned in Pseud-Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. p. 704. ed. Casaub. that Atintania borders on Apolloniatis; and hence in p. 710. for *Ἀτλαντίων* read *Ἀτίντάνων*, or *Ἀμαντίνων*.

the north towards the Illyrian Dassaretians,^a was inhabited by the Orestian Macedonians,^b who doubtless were so called from the *mountains* (*ὄρη*) in which they dwelt, and not from *Orestes*, the son of Agamemnon. The valley of Orestis^c contained a lake, in which was the town Celetrum, situated on a peninsula.^d Its position coincides with that of the modern Castoria;^e and it cannot be doubted that the wild mountain-valley near the source of the Haliacmon was the ancient Orestis. Another valley in Elimeia was called AL-MOPIA, or Almonia, an ancient settlement of the Minyans, situated on the confines of Macedonia and Thessaly, apparently not far from Pieria.^f

10. Elimeia, together with the surrounding highlands, was cold and rugged, and difficult of cultivation.^g The same was the case with the neighbouring district of LYNCESTIS, the country of the Lyncestæ, who had received their name, according to a Macedonian inflexion,^h from Lyncus.ⁱ Lyncus was the name of the whole district, and not of any one city, as in early times there were only unfortified villages

^a In Liv. XXXI. 40. Sulpicius goes from Elimeia to Orestis, and from thence to Dassaretis (on the lake Lychnidus, XXVII. 32. near Lyncestis, XXXI. 33. XXXII. 9. cf. Polyb. V. 108. Ptolem. p. 83.), and conquers Pelion on the Erigon (see Arrian I. 5.).

^b Μακεδόνων οἱ Ὀρίσται, Polyb. XVIII. 30. Liv. XXXIII. 34. cf. XLII. 38.

^c Or Ὀρεστιάς, Strab. VII. p. 326.

^d Liv. XXXI. 40.

^e Mannert denies this (VII. p. 519.); but without the authority of any good map. See Pouqueville tom. II. p. 322. Orestia was beyond Macedonia, according to Steph. Byz.

^f This is evident from the following passages, Plin. H. N. IV. 15. *In Thessalia autem Orchomenos Minyeus ante dictus, et oppidum Almon ab aliis Salmon.* Schol. Apollon. II. 1186. *δύναται δὲ καὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ μνημονεύειν τοῦ μεθορίου Μακεδονίας καὶ Θισσαλίας.* Steph. Byz. *Μινία πόλις Θισσαλίας ἢ*

πρότιον Ἀλμονία; Diod. XX. 110. where Orchomenus and Diu are mentioned together as cities in existence in Olymp. 119. 3; Eustath. ad Il. IX. p. 661. 4. ed. Bas. (cf. II. p. 206. 22.) who states that the Thessalian or Macedonian Orchomenus was in his time called Charmenas. See *Orchomenos*, pp. 139, 249. where it is also shown that the Hal-mopians, or Salmonians, were an ancient tribe of the Minyæ.

^g Livy XLV. 30. says of Eordæa, Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Atintania, Tymphæa, and Enniotis, *frigida hæc omnis duraque cultu et aspera plaga est.*

^h Among the Macedonian gentile-names, such as Lyncestæ, Orestæ, Diastæ (Steph. Byz. in *Δῖον*), may also be included the Cyrrhestæ (Plin. H. N. IV. 17.) of the region Cyrrhus (Thuc. II. 100. Diod. XVIII. 4. Steph. Byz. in *Μανδραῖ*).

ⁱ Thuc. IV. 83. 124, 129. Liv. XXVI. 25. XXXI. 33. see p. 459, note ^m, p. 460, note ^z, and § 27.

in this part.^k It was surrounded on all sides by mountains; a narrow pass between two heights being the chief road to the coast.^l The position of Lyncus is accurately determined by the course of the Egnatian Roman road from Dyr-rachium, which, after crossing the Illyrian mountains at Pylon (or the gateway), led by Heraclea Lyncestis, and through the country of the Lyncestæ and Eordians, to Edessa and Pella;^m as well as by the fact that the *mons Bora* of Livy, i. e. the Bermius, lay to the south of it.ⁿ Consequently the Lyncestæ must have inhabited the mountains south of the Erigon, and a part of the valley in which that river flowed; which is confirmed by other accounts of ancient writers.^o The country of the EORDIANS is also determined by the direction of the Egnatian way; viz., to the east of Lyncus and west of Edessa, and therefore in the valley of the Lydias, to the north of Elimeia^p and the Bermius.^q In order to go from the valley of the Erigon to Thessaly, the way passed first through Eordæa and then through Enniotis.^r

11. DEURIOPUS (ἡ Δευρίοπος) was the name of a tract of country along the Erigon,^s which was considered as belonging to Pæonia,^t and probably lay to the east of Lyncestis

^k Thuc. IV. 124. *τὰς τοῦ Ἀγριβαίου πόλεις.* Heraclea Lyncestis appears to have been a late settlement.

^l Thuc. IV. 127.

^m Strab. VII. p. 323. This road, which, according to the tab. Peutinger. and the Itin. Anton. p. 318, 329. passes through Lychnidus, Heraclea Lyncestis, Cellæ, Edessa, Pella, and Therna, evidently in the higher parts followed the direction of an ancient pass, the *εὐπορος ὁδὸς διὰ τῆς Δασσαρήτιδος* (see p. 458, note ^a) κατὰ Λύχον, Plut. Flamin. 4. and also Liv. XXXII. 9. where for *Lychnidum* read *Lyncum*.

ⁿ This follows from Liv. XLV. 29. *Quarta regio trans Boram montem* (with respect to which the *tertia regio* was *versus septentrionem*, and therefore *versus meridiem* of this), and XLV. 30. *Quartam regionem Eordæi et Lyncestæ et Pelagones incolunt.*

^o For example, the way in Livy XXVI. 25. cf. XXXI. 33. where the river *Bevus* is also mentioned, probably one of the branches, which, according to Strabo VII. p. 327, fall into the Erigon in *Λυχνιστῶν*.

^p In Liv. XLII. 53. Perseus goes from Pella through Eordæa to Elimeia. The *lacus Begorrites* appears to be the lake Citrini.

^q See above, note ⁿ.

^r Arrian I. 7. The river Eordæus, *ibid.* I. 5, probably runs from Eordæa into the Erigon.

^s Liv. XXXIX. 53. Strab. VII. p. 327. Places, Bryanum, Alcomenæ, Stymbara (*Stubera* Livy, *Στύβερρα* Polybius). In Livy XXXI. 39, 40. Sulpicius follows a mountain-road from Stubera to Eordæa, and then to Elimeia; compare Polyb. XVIII. 6. 3.

^t Liv. XXXIX. 53.

and north of Eordæa.^u In Pæonia also was situated the rugged district of PELAGONIA, to the north of Lyncestis,^x having on its northern frontiers narrow passes, which protected it from the incursions of the Dardanians.^y As to other parts of the extensive territory of PÆONIA (in comparison with which Macedonia was originally very inconsiderable in size), it is only necessary to observe, that, beginning near the source of the Axios, the banks of which river had from early times been occupied by Pæonian tribes, a narrow strip of land extended down to Pella and the coast;^z though, according to Herodotus, it could not have actually reached the edge of the sea, as the frontiers of Bottiæis and Mygdonia at this point came into contact with one another.^a Immediately to the north of Lower Macedonia, i. e., to the north of Macedonian Pæonia, Bottiæis, and Mygdonia, but without the confines of these provinces, was situated, as we learn from Thucydides,^b the Pæonian city of DOBERUS.^c The king of the Odrysians arrived, according to the same writer,^d at this place after having come from his dominions, which were bounded by the Strymon, over mount Cercine; in which passage he left the Pæonians to the right, and to the left the Sintes and Mædi (Thracian races, supposed by Gatterer to have penetrated hither when the Siropæonians and others crossed over to Asia).^e From which notices I have ventured to set down the mountain, the city, and nations just mentioned, as may be seen in the accompanying map.^f

^u See above, p. 459, note *.

^x By the road *per Pelagiam et Lynceum et Bottiæam in Thessaliam*, Liv. XXVI. 25. That it borders on Deuriopus is shown by Liv. XXXI. 39.

^y Liv. XXXI. 28, 33. comp. Gatterer Commentat. tom. VI. p. 67.

^z Thucyd. II. 99. τῆς Παιονίας παρὰ τὸν Ἀξίον ποταμὸν στήν τινα καθήκουσαν ἀνωθεν μέχρι Πίλλης καὶ θαλάσσης. The same strip of land was included by Æmilius Paulus in his *tertia regio*, according to Livy XLV. 29. *Adjecta huic parti regio Pæonia, qua ab occasu præter Axium amnem porrigitur.*

^a See above, p. 454, note P.

^b II. 99. where Sitalces is going

to make a descent into Lower Macedonia, the country of Perdiccas, from Doberus κατὰ κορυφὴν. He then invades (II. 100.) Eidomene, Gortynia, Atalante, and Europus (*Europus ad Axium amnem*, Plin. IV. 17.), probably places in Pæonia, but certainly not Bottiæa or Mygdonia.

^c II. 98. Παιονίης Δόβηρις, Herod. VII. 113.

^d II. 98.

^e Herod. V. 15. Concerning the settlements of the Sintians, see Man-nert, vol. VII. p. 502.

^f Doberus coincides with the modern Doiran. The Κερκινίτης λίμνη, Arrian I. 11, is probably the lake near Doiran.

Early history of the kingdom of Macedonia.

12. The subject of this dissertation made it necessary for us to enter into the above detail as to the several provinces and divisions of Upper and Lower Macedonia. We must now proceed to inquire into the gradual extension of the kingdom of Macedon; an investigation in which we are fortunately assisted by the clear and accurate account of Thucydides, who lived at no great distance from the country which he describes; and whose words I now transcribe as follows (II. 99.):

“Accordingly, the subjects of Sitalces mustered at Doberus, and prepared for a descent into Lower Macedonia, which country was under the rule of Perdiccas. For to the Macedonians belong^s the Lyncestæ and the Elimioti, and other nations in the upper parts of the country, which are the allies and subjects^h of these Macedonians,ⁱ but have nevertheless princes of their own. The present kingdom of Macedonia, extending along the sea,^k was first occupied by Alexander the father of Perdiccas, and his ancestors of the family of Temenus, who came originally from Argos; and ruled over it, having by force of arms expelled the Pierians from Pieria,^l and the Bottiæans from the district called Bottiæa. They also obtained in Pæonia a narrow tongue of land, extending along the river Axios down to Pella and the sea: and on the further side of the Axios they possess the district called Mygdonia, as far as the Strymon, of which they dispossessed the Edones. They also dislodged the Eor-dians from the country still called Eordia, and from Almopia the Almopians. These Macedonians also subdued those other nations which they now possess; viz., Anthemus, together with Crestonia and Bisaltia, and a large part of the Macedonians themselves. The whole of this country together is called Macedonia; and Perdiccas,

^s τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων τοῖς.

^h ὑπήκοα, as the Magnetes to the Thessalians.

Those of Perdiccas.

^k τὴν παρὰ (according to Bekker) θάλασσαν τὴν Μακεδονίαν.

ⁱ The substance of the clauses omitted is given below.

"the son of Alexander, was king of it when Sitalces made his invasion."

13. This chapter has not by any means been exhausted by those who have written on the growth and size of Macedonia; and therefore it will be convenient to set down some of the chief inferences which may be drawn from it.

In the first place, it is plain that the Macedonians, who made the conquest, and founded the kingdom of Macedon, were *not the whole Macedonian nation*, but only a part of it. There were in the mountainous districts Macedonian tribes, which had their own kings, and originally were not subject to the Temenidæ. These are the Macedonian highlanders of Herodotus,^m from whose district the road passed over mount Olympus (the Cambunian chain) into the country of the Perrhæbians;ⁿ and it began, as has been already remarked, in Elimeia.^o The Elimioti were, according to Thucydides, one portion of these Macedonians, the Lyncestæ another; both which appellations were merely local, and the full title was "*the Macedonians in Lynceus*," or "*the Macedonian Lyncestæ*."^p Of the *remaining* Macedonian nations in the mountain-districts we only know the name of the Orestæ;^q at least there are no others who can with any certainty be considered as Macedonians.

14. The name of Macedonia was not therefore, as some have supposed, confined to the royal dynasty of Edessa, but was a *national appellation*; so much so, that it is even stated that those very kings subdued, among other nations, a large portion of the Macedonians. The tribes of Upper Macedonia were long governed by their own princes; thus Antiochus was king of the Orestæ at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war;^r the Lyncestæ were under the rule of Arrhibæus, the son of Bromerus,^s the great grandfather, by the mother's side, of Philip of Macedon, who derived

^m VII. 128. cf. 131, 173.

ⁿ See book I. ch. 1. § 3.

^o Above, p. 457, note ^a.

^p Thus Thuc. IV. 83. comp. Xenoph. Hell. V. 2. 38.

^q Above, p. 458, note ^b. Thucydides II. 80. distinguishes the Orestæ from

the Macedonians, viz., from those of Perdiccas.

^r Thuc. II. 80. Perhaps from his name he was of the family of the Aleuadæ.

^s Thuc. IV. 79. 83.

his descent (not altogether without probability) from the Bacchiadæ, the ancient rulers of Corinth;^t and these kings, though properly recognising the supremacy of the Temenidæ, were nevertheless at times their nearest, and therefore most dangerous, enemies.^u

15. The Macedonian kingdom of the Temenidæ, on the other hand, began from a single point of the Macedonian territory, concerning the position of which there are various traditions. According to Herodotus, three brothers of the family of Temenus, Gauanes, Aëropus, and Perdiccas, fled from Argos to Illyria, from thence passed on to *Lebæa* in Upper Macedonia, and served the king of the country (who was therefore a Macedonian) as shepherds. From this place they again fled, and dwelt in another part of Macedonia, near the gardens of Midas, in mount Bermius (near *Berræa*), from which place they subdued the neighbouring country.^x Thucydides so far recognises this tradition, that he likewise considers Perdiccas as the founder of the kingdom, reckoning eight kings down to Archelaus.^y The other account, however, that there were three kings before Perdiccas, is unquestionably not the mere invention of later historians, but was derived, as well as the other, from some local tradition. According to this account the Macedonian kingdom began at *Edessa*,^z which had been taken by Caranus, of the family of the Temenidæ, and by him named after a goatherd, who rendered him assistance, *Ægæ* (or *Ægeæ*).^a Both narrations have equally a traditional character, and were doubtless of Macedonian origin, only that the latter appears to have been combined with an Argive

^t Strab. VII. p. 326. Comp. book I. ch. 7. § 15.

^u Περδίκκας ἦγεν ἀνέκρᾱται Μακεδόνων σὺν δυνάμει against Arrhibæus, Thuc. IV. 124.

^x Herod. VIII. 137, 138.

^y II. 100. These were, according to Herodotus, Perdiccas, Argæus, Philip, Aëropus, Alcetas, Amyntas, Alexander, and Perdiccas.

^z Edessa on the Via Egnatia, 28. m. p. from Pella, 62-66. from Heraclea Lyncestis (Antonin. Itinerar. pp.

319, 330; the tab. Peutling. gives less accurately 45 and 77 m. p.) is probably the modern *Vodina*.

^a See Dexippus ap. Syncell. p. 262. Euseb. Scal. p. 47. cf. 37. Justin VII. 1. Solin. IX. 14. Dexippus quotes Theopompus for Caranus. Marsyas (perhaps the cotemporary of Alexander and Antigonus) related a fable concerning Cœnus, the successor of Caranus, Etym. Mag. p. 523. 40. Etym. Gud. p. 332. 41.

legend of a brother of the powerful Phido having gone to the north. The claim of Edessa is also confirmed by the fact, that, even when it had long ceased to be the royal residence, it still continued the burial-place of the kings of Temenus' race, and, as Diodorus says, the *hearth* of their empire.^b

16. Edessa and the gardens of Midas were both situated between the Lydias and the Haliacmon, in the original and proper country of Macedonia, according to the account of Herodotus.^c The manner in which the dominions of the Temenidæ were extended along the sea-coast, and towards the interior, we learn from Thucydides, who comprises in one general view all the conquests of these princes until the reign of Alexander. For to suppose that Alexander, the son of Amyntas, made *all* these conquests, is an error which is even refuted by the words of Thucydides; although it is very possible that this prince, who began his reign about 488 B.C., at the time of the Persian power, and was the brother-in-law of a Persian general,^d added considerably to the territory which he had inherited.^e But when Xerxes undertook his great expedition against Greece, the power of Macedon was as great as it is described by Thucydides; nor was its territory much enlarged during the interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars.^f For at the time of the Persian war (481 B.C.) the Pierians were already settled in New Pieria, especially in the fortified towns of Phagres and Pergamus, at the foot of mount Pangæum,^g whither they retired, after having been driven out of Old

^b Diod. XIX. 52. XXII. p. 307. Bip. Plin. IV. 17. Solin. IX. 14. comp. Justin. VII. 2.

^c See below, § 17.

^d Herod. V. 21. VIII. 136. Justin VII. 3.

^e Consequently the story that Xerxes gave Alexander all the country between mounts Olympus and Hæmus (Justin VII. 4.) is not entirely fabulous.

^f Gatterer Commentat. vol. IV. p. 96. vol. VI. p. 15. is more accurate on this point than Poppo Thucyd. vol. II. p. 421.

^g Herod. VII. 112. Although 'Hδων ἐπὶ Θερμάκῃς in Thuc. IV. 7. cannot be that on the Strymon, yet Eustathius ad Il. II. 566. p. 217. ed. Bas. is incorrect in distinguishing 'Hδων in Pieria from that on the Strymon (comp. Steph. Byz. in 'Hδων, Schol. Thuc. I. 98.); and Raoul-Rochette, Histoire des Colonies Grecques, tom. III. p. 207, should not have followed him, since Pieria, viz. New-Pieria, reaches in this point to the Strymon. But the 'Hδων of Thucydides is not in Pieria, but in Chalcidice.

Pieria by the Macedonian kings;^h in fact, this extension of the territory of Macedon must have taken place at an early period.ⁱ Moreover, Olynthus was, according to Herodotus,^k at least *before* 480 B.C., in the hands of the Bottiæans, who had, as we learn from both Herodotus and Thucydides, expelled the Macedonians from the ancient Bottiæis; consequently this district had been under the rule of the Macedonians *before* the expedition of Xerxes. Thirdly, Amyntas the Macedonian, in 510 B.C., offered Anthemus in Chalcidice to the Pisistratidæ;^l the same argument therefore applies in this case also. Anthemus, however, could hardly have been obtained without Mygdonia: and that this district was then a part of the Macedonian dominions is probable also from the following reasons.^m According to Thucydides, the Macedonians drove out the nation of the Edoniansⁿ from Mygdonia, between the rivers Axios and Strymon; and accordingly we find the Edonians always mentioned as dwelling to the east of the Strymon, at the foot of mount Pangæum. Now Ennea Hodoi, situated on the eastern bank of the Strymon, was, according to Herodotus,^o in the possession of the Edonians in the year 481 B.C.; and Myrcinus, in the same region, was found by Histæus, when he visited it, to be an Edonian district,^p as it was at a later period by Brasidas.^q The latter argument is not indeed of itself decisive, as it might be said that the Edonians were

^h Thuc. II. 99.

ⁱ The expression of Thucydides, καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πιερικὸς πόλις καλεῖται, proves that the circumstance had taken place long before. Hence arose the fabulous genealogies of Pierus and Emathius, the sons of Macednus, &c.; Marsyas ap. Schol. Il. XIV. 226. comp. Pausan. IX. 29. 1.

^k VIII. 127. Thucydides also includes the Bottiæans, I. 57. (cf. IV. 57.) among those ἐπὶ Θερμάκῃς. Βοττιῶν ἐν Θερμάκῃ, Callimachus fragm. 75, 41.

^l Herod. V. 94. Concerning the position of Anthemus, see Plin. H.N. IV. 17. Hence the σάγμα Ἀνθιμουσία of the Macedonian army, Hesychius in v. Ἰλη ἱταίρων Ἀνθιμουσία, Arrian

II. 9. [See Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece, vol. V. p. 194. note.]

^m An objection which might be derived from Thucyd. I. 58. where, according to the old reading, Mygdonia is distinguished from the kingdom of Perdiccas, is removed by omitting the εἰ after Μυγδονίας, which Bekker and Poppo have expunged, with good MSS.

ⁿ The distinction taken by Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 419. between the 'Hδωνες and 'Hδωνοί, viz., that the former dwelt on the coast, the latter inland, cannot be supported. For instance, Thucyd. I. 100. calls those by Amphipolis 'Hδωνοί.

^o VII. 114.

^p Herod. V. 11, 24.

^q Thuc. IV. 107.

only driven together by the conquests of the Macedonians, and had *previously* been in possession of the further side of the Strymon; but when combined with the former facts, it offers an almost certain proof that the whole country, from lake Bolbè to within a short distance from the Peneus, was subject to the Macedonians before the expedition of Xerxes.¹ Methone² was on this coast the only interruption to the series of Macedonian possessions; this Eretrian colony had been, about 746 B.C.,³ together with the numerous Eubœan settlements in Chalcidice,⁴ at a period when the power of the Macedonians on this line of coast was very insignificant; and it preserved its independence until the reign of Philip the son of Amyntas.⁵

17. From the facts now ascertained, we may deduce a result of some importance with regard to the language of Herodotus. This historian clearly and precisely distinguishes between Bottiæis and Macedonia in the time of Xerxes,⁶ although it is certain that Bottiæis was then in the power of the Macedonians;⁷ Macedonia he classes as a district with Bottiæis, Mygdonia, and Pieria. He uses the word, therefore, not in a *political*, but in a *national* sense; i. e., he restricts it to the territory originally possessed by the Macedonian nation, not applying it to countries which had been obtained by conquest or political preponderance. The Macedonia of Herodotus is consequently the territory of the Macedonians *before* all the conquests of the Temenidæ. It extended, according to Herodotus, in a narrow tongue down to the sea;⁸ a fact disregarded by Thucydides, when

¹ But τὰ ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ ἴθια, Herod. VI. 44, are not the nations in Macedonia (Heyne Opuscul. Acad. IV. p. 164.), but those between Macedonia and Persia. See Boeckh's Economy of Athens, vol. II. p. 483. note.

² Forty stadia beyond Pydna, Strabo.

³ Plutarch Qu. Gr. 11.

⁴ Aristot. ap. Strab. X. p. 447. Conon Narr. c. 20. Raoul-Rochette, Histoire des Colonies Grecques, tom. III. pp. 198 sqq.

⁵ Pydna, however, early belonged to the Macedonians, Thucyd. I. 137. Diod. XIII. 49. Scylax, p. 26. calls

Pydna and Methone Greek cities; but that proves nothing for their independence.

⁶ Above, p. 455, note 8. No one surely will distinguish between γῆ ἡ Μακεδονία and ἡ Μακεδονία.

⁷ Above, § 16. Herodotus also mentions together, among the allies of Xerxes, VII. 185, the Eordians (in Phrygia, see below, p. 468. note 1), the Bottiæans (near Olynthus), and the Chalcidians. Concerning the Brygians, see below, § 30.

⁸ Besides VII. 127. see also VII. 173. concerning the road from Lower Macedonia to Thessaly.

he states that the coast of Lower Macedonia was first reduced by the Temenidæ.⁹ Further from the sea, however, the ancient Macedonia had a much wider extent, and included the districts of Edessa and Beroëa, Lyncestis, Orestis, and Elimeia: for Macedonia is stated by Herodotus to have been on the one side bounded by mount Olympus (which ridge, where it borders on Pieria,¹⁰ was called the Macedonian mountains),¹¹ and on the other by mount Dysorum. This last fact is evident from the statement of the same writer, that a very short way led from the Prasian lake to Macedonia, passing first to the mine from which Alexander obtained an immense supply of precious metal; and then, that having crossed mount Dysorum, you were in Macedonia;¹² i. e., evidently in the *original* Macedonia, since he expressly excludes from it the mine which had been a subsequent accession. The Prasian lake was in Pæonia;¹³ but in what district of it is not known;¹⁴ mount Dysorum, however, can only be looked for to the north of Edessa and to the west of the Axios, Macedonia Proper not extending so far as that river. In this manner it is placed in the accompanying map; in which also the ancient boundaries of the Macedonian race are laid down according to the results obtained by these researches.

18. On the other conquests of the Macedonians little need be said. The occupation of Bisaltia and Crestonica was subsequent to the expedition of Xerxes. The Thracian king of these districts fled away,¹⁵ and left his kingdom a prey to the ambition of Alexander, who thus extended his empire to the mouth of the Strymon, which was the boundary of Macedonia in the days of Thucydides and of Scylax, and remained so until the time of Philip. At what time the Macedonian kings reduced that part of Pæonia which stretched along the Axios, Eordæa, Almopia, and a large part of the Macedonians themselves, we are nowhere in-

⁹ πρῶτα (πρῶτον Bekker) ἐκείνη.

¹⁰ Near the pass Volustana, Liv. XLIV. 2, which led to Elimeia, p. 457, note 2.

¹¹ VII. 131.

¹² V. 17.

¹³ Herod. V. 15, 16.

¹⁴ See Poppo Thucyd. vol. II. p. 434. Mannert, vol. VII. p. 495.

¹⁵ Herod. VIII. 116.

formed; and to infer from Thucydides that these conquests succeeded that of Mygdonia and preceded that of Anthemus, would be laying too much weight upon the order in which he arranges the events; in which, although he doubtless paid some regard to chronology, the context required that the conquests on the coast should be mentioned before those of the interior. Eordæa was probably subjugated at a very early period, since it lay, as it were, in a bay of the Macedonian territory; and a very credible tradition has been preserved by Dexippus,¹ that Caranus had in early times made an alliance with the Orestæ against the Eordians, and founded his kingdom by the subjugation of that nation. In fact, the first nation with whom the king of Edessa had to contend was these Eordians. They were, according to Thucydides, nearly annihilated by a war of extermination; a small number of them escaped to Physca in Mygdonia;² which district therefore was not as yet under the power of the Macedonians.

19. Among those parts of Macedonia Proper which were reduced by the Temenidæ, Elimeia may be particularly mentioned, as is evident from the following circumstances. Perdiccas, the son of Alexander, was at war with his brother Philip, with whom he was to have divided his kingdom,¹ and also with Derdas.² The brothers of Derdas, before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, in alliance with the Athenians, made a descent from the highlands, that is, from one of the districts Elimeia, Orestis, or Lyncus, into the dominions of Perdiccas.³ Now Derdas⁴ was the son of Arrhibæus, and cousin of Perdiccas; and it is plain that the Temenidæ reduced Elimeia; and a branch of the same family received this district as their peculiar possession.⁵

¹ In Syncellus and Eusebius Scal. the reading is Dardanians for Eordians; the latter, which is evidently the correct reading, is preserved in the Armenian Eusebius, p. 168. ed. Mai. who follows Diodorus.

² According to Ptolemy, p. 83. In Steph. Byz. it should probably be written, 'Εορδαῖαι, δύο χώραι, Μαισδονίας καὶ Μυγδονίας.

³ Thuc. II. 100. cf. I. 57. VI. 7.

⁴ Thuc. I. 57.

⁵ I. 59.

⁶ According to Schol. Thuc. I. 57.

⁷ Hence perhaps we might separate *ξύμμαχα καὶ ἑσθήκη* in the beginning of the chapter, and refer the latter rather to Lyncus, the latter to Elimeia.

A separate king of Elimeia also existed in the time of Archelaus,¹ who doubtless belonged to the same family. For a later Derdas occurs as prince of the Elimioti in the time of Agesilaus,² who perhaps was the same as, or rather was the father of, the Derdas, whose sister Phila Philip married.³ In like manner, there was a separate sovereignty in Stymphæa and the neighbouring Æthicia, which was held by the family of Polysperchon, the general and guardian of the kingdom.⁴ Although in later times all these separate sovereignties, both of the Temenidæ and of other princes, were suppressed, and Upper and Lower Macedonia were equally ruled from the city of Pella; yet the tribes of the highlands still remained to a certain degree distinct. Even at the battle of Arbela, the Elimioti, Lyncestæ, Orestæ, and Tymphæans fought in separate bodies;⁵ and several persons are denoted in the history of Macedon by the surname of Lyncestes. Perdiccas came from Orestis, Ptolemy from Eordæa.⁶ Those in the lowlands, on the other hand, were known by the general name of Macedonians; and it should be observed, that there were also Macedonians dwelling in Pieria, Bottiaïs, Mygdonia, Eordæa, and Almopia,⁷ who had, according to Thucydides, driven out the native inhabitants; while Pæonia and Bisaltia, together with Anthemus and Crestonica, remained in the possession of those tribes which had been settled there before the conquest of Macedonia.⁸

¹ Aristot. Pol. V. 8.

² Xen. Hell. V. 2. 38.

³ Athen. XIII. p. 557. C. cf. X. p. 436 C.

⁴ To be inferred from Lycophron. Cass. 802. with Tzetzes.

⁵ Diod. XVII. 7.

⁶ Arrian VI. 28.

⁷ Pliny H. N. IV. 17. mentions *Almopians*, together with Eordians, on the banks of the Axios; and in Ptolemy p. 83. Almopia is the country near Europus; it was to this place that the Almopians probably fled. This also explains the genealogical connexion with Pæon and Edonus, *Orchomenos*, p. 250, note 2.

⁸ Of ancient wars of the Macedonians, not mentioned by Thucydides, I may mention the fabulous battle between Caranus and Cisseus (Pausan. IX. 40. 4.), probably a king of Cissus, near Therma, which is the explanation given by Strabo VII. exc. 10. p. 330. of Cisseus the Thracian in II. XI. 221. Euripides transferred this war, as well as the story of the goats, into his tragedy called Archelaus, perhaps only written from flattery, fragm. 33. ed. Musgr. Hyginus Fab. 219. See also Lycophr. 1237. Concerning the supposed war with the Phrygians, see below, § 30.

On the national affinity of the original Macedonians.

20. From what has been already said it is plain that there was, independently of the extension of the empire of the Temenidæ, a Macedonian nation possessing from early times a territory of considerable size, viz., the Macedonia of Herodotus; the area of which in the accompanying map amounts to 2400 geographical square miles.

We now proceed to the most important question to be considered in this treatise, viz., to what national family these Macedonians belonged.

21. The ancient writers distinguish in these regions the following nations; and in so marked a manner that it is evident that they differed from one another in their costume, language, and mode of living.^a

First, the THRACIANS. This great nation extended to the north as far as the Danube, where it included the Getæ;^b to the east beyond the sea, since the Thynians and Bithynians were Thracians;^c to the west within mount Hæmus as far as the Strymon, where it bordered on the Pæonians, widening still more as it receded from the coast, since it also included the Triballians.^d On the west bank of the Strymon the Sintians and Mædians were of Thracian origin;^e to which nation the Bisaltæ and Edones must also be referred.^f Thrace is often represented as having in early times extended to Thessaly and Bœotia,^g but merely in reference to the settlements of the Pierians at the foot of Olympus and Helicon; and there are many reasons against considering these Pierians as of the same race as the other

^a See Mannert, vol. VII. p. 281. In the catalogue of nations, however, in Appian Illyr. 2. Pæonian and Thracian (Mædi, Triballi) are mixed with Illyrian tribes.

^b Herod. IV. 93. V. 3. Menander ap. Strab. VII. p. 297. The language of the Getæ was Thracian, Strab. VII. p. 303.

^c Herod. VII. 75, &c.

^d According to Strabo VII. p. 305, 315. cf. VII. p. 323.

^e Strab. VII. p. 316. According to which passage they extended more

to the north as far as the Illyrian Dardanians. The Thracians beyond Crestona, mentioned by Herodotus V. 3. are probably the same people.

^f Conon Narr. c. 20. calls the Bisaltæ Thracians (*Αργυλος was also a Thracian name according to Heraclid. Pont. 41); and the Panæans, whom Thucydides II. 101. calls Thracians, were an Edonian nation according to Stephanus Byz.

^g Strabo X. p. 471. does not appear to make this supposition, but perhaps in VII. p. 321.

Thracians,^h although they were called Thracians at an early period.ⁱ Homer at least distinguishes between these two nations when he makes Here go from Olympus to Pieria, then to Emathia, and afterwards to the snowy mountains of the Thracians;^k by which he must mean the mountains of the Bisaltæ to the north of Edessa, since the goddess next rests her foot on mount Athos and the island of Lemnos.

Secondly, the PÆONIANS. A numerous race divided into several small nations,^l inhabiting the districts on the rivers Strymon and Axios and the countries to the north of Macedonia,^m together with Pannonia, according to the Greeks.ⁿ This race, according to *their own tradition* (if Herodotus's account is correct),^o derived their origin from the ancient Teucrians in the Troad; in their passage from which country they had been accompanied, according to Herodotus, by the Mysians, the same people that afterwards gave their name of Mæsiens to a great province.^p

Thirdly, the ILLYRIANS extended southward as far as the Acroceraunian mountains, eastward to the mountain-chain known in its southern parts by the name of Pindus, and northward as far as the Save and the Alps, if Herodotus is correct in considering the Venetians as of Illyrian origin.^q

Fourthly, *Nations of Grecian descent.*

22. Since the Macedonians evidently belonged to some one of these four races, our present object is to ascertain *which*. Now in the first place the *Greeks* may be excluded, since, although it is certain that a large portion of the Macedonian nation was of Grecian origin, the Macedonians were always considered by the Greeks as barbarians.—Alexander the Philhellene,^r the father of Perdiccas, repre-

^h By Thucydides II. 29. and by earlier writers.

ⁱ See above, p. 11.

^k Iliad XIV. 225. sqq.

^l Gatterer Commentat. VI. p. 37. Mannert, vol. VII. p. 487.

^m Solin. IX. 2, &c.

ⁿ See particularly Appian Illyr. I. But as in later times Pæonians and Illyrians were confounded (Appian Illyr. 14.) the Pannonians also were

called Illyrians.

^o Herod. V. 13. comp. VII. 20, 75, and see *Prolegomena zur Mythologie*, p. 351. The legend concerning the great expedition of the Teucrians is well given in Lycophron v. 1341.

^p Yet Strabo VII. p. 295. has the contrary tradition of the Mysians.

^q I. 196.

^r Gottleber ad Thucyd. I. 57.

sented himself to the Persians (according to Herodotus)^a as a Greek, and satrap over Macedonians; the same person who was driven off the course at Olympia for being a barbarian, until he proved his Argive descent.^b The mouth of the Peneus, or the Magnesian mountain of Homolè, was on the eastern side considered as the boundary of Greece,^c unless Magnesia also was excluded. Fabulous genealogies, representing Macedon as the son of Zeus and Thyia the daughter of Deucalion, or of a descendant of Æolus, are of no weight against the prevailing opinion of the Greeks; nor are they necessarily of greater antiquity than the fortieth Olympiad (620 B.C.),^d at which time Danaus and Ægyptus, and other races equally unconnected, were made the members of the same family, when the Scythians were derived from Hercules,^e and even the whole known world was comprised in extensive genealogies. It would be unreasonable to suppose, on the credit of these genealogies, that there was any other migration of Greeks into Macedonia except that of the Temenidæ.

23. Secondly, with regard to the PÆONIANS: it may be shown that the Macedonians did not belong to that nation.^f The possessions of the Macedonians in Pæonia are accurately described by ancient writers; these were, until the time of Perdiccas, only a narrow strip of land;^g Pelagonia and Pæonia on the Axios were subdued at a later date. As the Pæonian race was not aboriginal in this district, its

^a Herod. V. 20.

^b Herodot. V. 22. and see Valckenaer's note. The Attic orators evidently exaggerate; there is, however, perhaps a slight hyperbole in what Weiske *de Hyperbole*, p. 19. says on the other side.

^c See Scylax, p. 12. and the metrical Dicæarchus, p. 3. Comp. Salmas. Exercit. Plin. p. 100 A.

^d The passage of Hesiod appears to be from the *Hîas* (above p. 4. note ⁿ), and these poems come down as late as the 40th Olympiad (*Orchomenos*, p. 358). After Hesiod Solinus IX. 13. calls *Macedo Deucalionis maternus nepos*. comp. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 427.

^e The account of the Greeks living on the Pontus, according to Herod. IV. 8—10.

^f Although Mannert, vol. VII. p. 492. considers the Macedonians to be of Illyrian and Pæonian descent. Comp. p. 421.

^g See above, p. 460. note ^a. Pliny H. N. IV. 17. appears to say that the Eordi were Pæonians; and it is not improbable that this was the fact, though the passage of Pliny is corrupt. Herodotus VII. 185. mentions together Thracians, Pæonians, Eordians, Bottiæans, Chalcidians, Brygians, Pierians, Macedonians, and Perriæbians.

peculiarities were probably easy to be recognised in the time of Thucydides, and hence this national name occurs more frequently than those of the separate provinces. For this reason great importance should be attached to the circumstance that the ancients never refer the Macedonians themselves to the Pæonian race; and it should perhaps be considered as decisive. On the other hand, with aboriginal races having a large territory and numerous connexions, such a separation hardly warrants this inference, since otherwise the Macedonians, whom both Herodotus and Thucydides mention *together with* Thracians and Illyrians,^b could not have belonged to either of those two tribes, and therefore to no great national division of the human race. It is, however, plain that the ancients frequently used the national name in a limited sense, merely for the chief mass of the people, and did not apply it to particular *portions of it* which had acquired a character different from that of the rest of their nation,^c without by this meaning to express a diversity of origin. We have therefore now only to ascertain whether the Macedonians were of *Thracian* or *Illyrian* descent.

24. We shall gain one step towards a conclusion by inquiring in what region were the original settlements of the Macedonians; a question which should carefully be distinguished from the former investigation as to the first station of the Temenidæ. Now in pursuing this inquiry, we soon perceive that even of Macedonia Proper, from which Bottiæa, Pieria, and Eordæa were conquered, a large part was not always in the possession of the Macedonians. Homer, for example, places Emathia, not Macedonia, between Pieria and Chalcidice.^d Several writers state in general that Ma-

^b E. g. Thuc. IV. 124.

^c E. g. Thucydides II. 96. mentions Thracians between mounts Hæmus and Rhodope, Getæ and mountain Thracians together, as if the Getæ were not Thracians. Instances of this use are very common; e. g. the common case of Ionians and Athenians.

^d Il. XIV. 226. And hence in the

Hymn to the Pythian Apollo, v. 39. (according to Matthiæ's and Ilgen's conjecture), although Emathia does not suit very well there, and the preceding word (neither *Διόνειον* nor *Διόνειον* is in its place) remains uncertain. The Roman poets, as is well known, use the name in a very wide sense, Heyne ad Virg. Georg. I. 492.

cedonia had anciently been called Emathia;^o but, as will be presently shown, they do not so much mean the highlands as the country about the mouths of the three rivers and near Edessa.^f The fabulous name was renewed in later times; and Ptolemy^g even mentions the district of Emathia, in which were the towns of Cyrrhus,^h Eidomenæ, Gordynia, Edessa, Berrhœa, and Pella. According to Thucydidesⁱ and others, Eidomenæ and Gordynia must have been situated in the region near the Axios, in the early subdued country of Pæonia;^k whence it may be understood how Polybius^l could say that Emathia, at a distance from the coast, had in early times been called Pæonia. For the ancient name of Emathia had evidently been extended to a tract of land belonging to Pæonia, which had, perhaps, previously to the Pæonian conquests, once borne the name of Emathia.

25. Now although the country round Edessa, and nearer to the sea, was not originally called Macedonia, yet we find traces of the existence of the name of the Macedonians under its ancient forms of Μακέται and Μακεδνοί, in the hill-country near the ridge of Pindus. Herodotus says that the Doric race, having been driven from Hestiaeotis, and dwelling under mount Pindus, was called the *Macedonian nation*.^m By this statement he plainly means that the Dorians were first known by that name in Peloponnesus;ⁿ and indeed his other notions on the progress of this people are only

^o Plin. H. N. IV. 17. Justin. VII. 1. Gell. XIV. 6. 4. Solinus IX. 1. distinguishes between the Edonian, Mygdonian, Pierian, and Emathian territory, and IX. 12. derives the name of Emathia, as being that of the most ancient Macedonia, from an Autochthon *Emathius*. Tzetzes ad Hesiod. Op. 1. Chiliad. VI. 90. states, from the Delphica of Melisseus, that Aëropus, the eldest son of Emathion, had reigned over Lyncus, which had previously been called Pieria,—a very confused account.

^f See Justin VII. 1.

^g Pag. 84.

^h In Ptolemy the word is Κύριος. See above, p. 458. note ^h.

ⁱ II. 100. comp. Plin. H. N. IV. 17. The tabula Peutinger. which places

Idomenæ 53 m. p. from Therma, and 35 from Stoboi (Istip), agrees very well with Thucydides, Ptolemy, and Pliny.

^k Since he entirely separates Bottiæa from Pieria.

^l XXIV. 8. Liv. XV. 3. Justin VII. 1. says of Emathia, *Populus Pelasgi, regio Boeotia dicebatur*, where *Bottiæa* is a more probable correction than *Pæonia*, and is confirmed by the Vatican fragments of Diodorus, p. 4. Mai.

^m I. 56. cf. VIII. 43. and see book I. ch. 1. § 10.

ⁿ I. 56. Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη. And yet, according to Herodotus himself, they were governed by Dorus in Hestiaeotis.

sued to the childhood of history. But notwithstanding the erroneous conclusions of the narrator, it is allowable to infer from his statement that the Macedonians had once dwelt at the foot of Pindus—i. e., probably in one of the districts of Upper Macedonia; of which provinces Orestis may be considered (on the faith of a conjectural emendation) as the ancient Maceta.^o For it cannot be a Thessalian district that is alluded to, since Maceta was, as we know from certain testimony, in fact a part of Macedonia. This hypothesis is also supported by the ancient patronymic surname of the Macedonian kings, “Argeadæ;” if it is rightly derived by Appian from Argos in Orestis.^p

The fact that the ancient country of the Macedonians was near the ridge of mountains on the confines of Illyria, and was at a considerable distance from Thrace, renders it probable that the Macetæ were of Illyrian blood; but this probability would yield to arguments drawn from the language, costume, and manners of the three nations. The question therefore is, whom did the Macedonians in the points most resemble, the *Illyrians* or the *Thracians*?

26. There is a passage in Strabo^q which, on account of its importance, I will give nearly at full length, omitting only those parts which are not necessary to the context. It contains an account of the population of Epirus.

“Of the nations of Epirus the Chaonians and Thesprotians inhabit the coast from the Ceraunian mountains to the Ambracian gulf; behind Ambracia is Amphilocheian Argos. The Amphilocheians also are Epirots, together with the tribes lying more in the interior, and joining the mountains of Illyria—viz., the Molotti, the Athamanes, the Æthices, the Tymphæi, the Orestæ, the Paroræi, and

^o Constantin. Porphyrog. II. 2. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Μακεδονίας μοῖρα Μακίται, ὡς Μακεδῶν ἐν πρώτῃ Μακεδονικῶν καὶ τὴν Ὀρισταῖαν (vulg. Ἡρίστειαν δὲ) Μακίταις λίγυσσιν. See above, p. 458. note ^c. Scymnus calls the Macedonians γηγενεῖς, and makes them come from Macessa and Emathia, v. 657.

^p Appian Syr. 63. Ἀργεῖς ἐν Ὀρεσ-

ταῖς (ὅθεν οἱ Ἀργεῖδες Μακεδόνες). Concerning the name of the Argeadæ see Pausan. VII. 8. 5. and the note of Siebelis. Perhaps the entire legend of the Argive origin of the Macedonian kings properly refers to this Argos Orestikon.

^q VII. p. 324. sqq.

"the Atintanes, some dwelling nearer to the Macedonians, and others to the Ionian sea. With these the Illyrian nations were mixed which dwelt to the south of the hill-country, as well as those beyond the Ionian sea. For between Epidamnus and Apollonia and the Ceraunian mountains there are the Bylliones,^r the Taulantii,^s the Parthini,^t and the Brygi;^u and at a short distance, about the silver mines^v of Damastium,^v the Perisadies have established their dominion; the Enchelii^x and Sesarasii^a are also named as dwelling in these parts; and besides these, the Lyncestæ, the land of Deuriopus, the Pelagonian Tripolis,^b the Eordi, Elimeia, and Eratyra.^c Now in early times these tribes had severally rulers of their own; the Enchelians were governed by the descendants of Cadmus, the Lyncestæ were under Arrhibæus, and of the Epirots the Molotti were ruled by Pyrrhus and his descendants, while all the other nations of that tribe were governed by native princes. In process of time, however, as one nation obtained the dominion over others, the whole fell into the Macedonian empire, except a small tract beyond the Ionian sea. Also the country about Lyncestus, Pelagonia, Orestias and Elimeia was once called Upper Macedonia, and at a later period the Independent. Some persons, moreover, give to the whole country as far as Corcyra the name of Macedonia, assigning, as their reason, that the inhabitants nearly resemble one another in the mode of wearing the hair, in their dialect, in the

^r Bulini, near the modern *Valona*, Mannert, vol. VII. p. 388.

^s Near Epidamnus, according to Thuc. I. 24. Appian. Bell. Civ. II. 39. and extending as far as the Dalmatians according to Appian Illyr. 24.

^t Also near Epidamnus according to Liv. XXIX. 12. XLIII. 21. to the south of the Taulantians according to Plin. H. N. III. 26. Mela. II. 3. The country of the Parthini was called *ἡ Παρθία*, Polyb. XVIII. 30. 12. as *ἡ Λύγνος* (Thuc. IV. 83.) *ἡ Δευρίστος* above, § 11. *ἡ Κύρνος*.

^u See below, p. 481, note ^x.

^v Read *πλησίον δὲ τοῦ κατὰ (vulg. καὶ) τὰ ἀργύρια*.

^w Besides this passage Damastium is only known by its silver coins, Eckhel D. N. I. II. p. 164. Mionnet Descript. tom. II. p. 54.

^x Here those in the neighbourhood of Apollonia are meant, see below, p. 483, note ^a.

^a Probably the Dassaretians (Sesarethians) near Lychnidus.

^b In Northern Sicily.

^c Not mentioned elsewhere.

"use of the chlamys, and in other points of this kind: some of them likewise speak two languages."

27. Now, although the historical accounts of Strabo, collected at a time when these regions had been ravaged by conquest, and had undergone manifold changes, have not the value which the statements of Herodotus and Thucydides possess, yet it is possible to extract from them much information. In the first place it should be observed that the Epirots and the Illyrians are not considered as two wholly distinct nations. The Epirots, although in early times allied by blood with the Greeks, were always considered as barbarians,^d and Ambracia as the last city in Greece;^e which fact, since the original inhabitants were the same as in Arcadia, that is, Pelasgians, can only be explained by supposing that there had been a mixture of Illyrians. Hence it might be at that late time difficult to distinguish between the Epirots and the Illyrians; and thus Strabo includes the Atintanes, who according to Scylax^f and Appian^g were Illyrians, among the Epirot nations. It is more singular that he should consider the Orestæ, whom Polybius^h recognises as a Macedonian people, as Epirots; but it may be probably accounted for by the circumstance of their separation from the cause of the Macedonian kings, which procured them their independence in the year of the city 556.ⁱ But the other inhabitants of Upper Macedonia, the genuine Macedonians, such as the Lyncestæ and Elimioti (who probably, from being mountaineers, had preserved their national distinctions more than the civilised tribes of the lowlands), were considered by Strabo, as the context plainly shows, as original Illyrians; and it can hardly be doubted that they still bore the characteristic marks of that nation.

^d See particularly Thuc. II. 80. Scymn. 444. Concerning their *βαρβαρισμός* see Plutarch Pyrrh. 1.

^e Scylax, p. 12. Dicæarchus, p. 3.

^f Pag. 10.

^g Illyr. 7.

^h See above, p. 458, note ^b.

ⁱ Polyb. XVIII. 30. Liv. XXXIII.

34. *Liberi Amantini et Orestæ*, Plin. H. N. IV. 17. Hence Steph. Byz. makes Orestis reach to Molossia, in v. *Ὀρίσται*. These have been generally followed by modern geographers. Lyncus alone is mentioned by Steph. Byz. in v. *τόλιν Ἡπείρου*.

28. "Some again," as Strabo says, "give to the whole country as far as Corcyra the name of Macedonia." What country this is, is accurately known both from the testimony of other writers, and even of Strabo himself. The Romans called the whole region which opened to them the way to Macedonia^k by the name of Macedonia; and made it reach from Lissus (now *Alessio*) on the river Drilon (now the *Drin*) either to the Egnatian road,^l which begins between Dyrrhachium (or Epidamnus) and Apollonia, or, as Strabo states in the passage quoted in the text, for a short distance beyond.^m The inhabitants of this tract of country were beyond all question Illyrians (Taulantii, Parthini, Dassaretii, &c.ⁿ); and it is of *their* dress and language that Strabo here speaks. The importance of these points for the discovery of national affinity is easily perceived. Indeed, many Grecian tribes might be distinguished merely by their mode of wearing the hair.^o The chlamys had come to the Greeks from the Thessalians, and Sappho was the first Grecian writer who mentioned it: ^p afterwards it became a military dress, and supplanted the *ιμάτιον*, as in Italy the *sagum* took the place of the *toga*, which was originally girt up for military use.^q From this passage of Strabo we learn that it was the national habit of the Illyrian tribes above Epirus. In like manner the broad-brimmed, low, flat fur-cap, known by the name of *causia*, which was equally unlike the conical *κυνέη* of the Boeotians and the low, tapering^r *πέτασος*, was worn by these northern nations; it was the

^k According to the probable supposition of Mannert, vol. VII. p. 390.

^l Strab. VII. See Exc. 3. p. 329.

^m This usage first occurs in Caesar Bell. Civ. III. 34. although there it is not quite clear; on the other hand, Dio Cassius XLI. 49. distinctly says, *ἡ γὰρ τῇ πρότερον μὲν Ἰλλυρίων τῶν Παρθινῶν, νῦν δὲ καὶ πόσις γὰρ ἦδη Μακεδονία νομομισμένη*: the boundaries are given by Pliny N. H. III. 26. (from Lissus to Oricum) and Ptolemy.—Dexippus also, quoted by Constantinus Porphyrog. de Them. II. 9. includes Epidamnus in Macedonia, and the

tabula Peutinger. has only Macedonia between Dalmatia and Epirus.

ⁿ See e. g. Thuc. I. 24. Liv. XLV. 26.

^o It would lead me too far to treat here of the Thesean, Abantian, Laconian, and ancient Ionian *κουφέ*.

^p Book IV. ch. 2. § 4. The proper Thessalian appellation was, according to the Great Etymologist, *ἀλλήκη*, whence *allicula*.

^q See *Etrusker*, vol. I. p. 265.

^r Theophrast. Hist. Plant. III. 9.

^s Schneider's Lexicon in *πέτασος*.

ancient dress of state among the Macedonians, and worn by their kings;^t and it was likewise the dress of the Ætolians^u and Molossians.^v But the most remarkable circumstance is, that the same cap which is borne by the riders on the tetradrachms of the first Alexander also adorns the head of the Illyrian king Gentius.^w Lastly, the similarity of dialect is a decisive proof. Now that all these things should have been introduced by the Macedonian kings seems highly improbable, when it is remembered that their rule did not even extend over the whole of this tract, that it was also often interrupted, and in general not of a nature to alter the character, language, and costume of the natives.^x

From these facts it may, I think, be safely inferred that the Macedonians, viz., the people originally and properly so called, belonged to the ILLYRIAN race.

On the mixture of the Macedonians with other, particularly Greek, races.

29. It is, however, certain, notwithstanding the result which has been established, that the Macedonians in their advance from the highlands dislodged, and partly incorporated other, and particularly Grecian, tribes.

The first to fall in their hands was the ancient Emathia, near Edessa, and downwards to the sea, which Herodotus

^t Plutarch Amat. 16. Pyrrh. 11. Herodian. IV. 8. 5. Dio Chrysostom. Or. 72. p. 628. ed. Reisk. Pollux X. 162. Valer. Max. V. 1. ext. 4. Antipater Thessal. apud Brunck. n. 10. Suidas in *Καυρίη*. Compare Valckenauer ad Adonias. p. 345.

^u Polyb. IV. 4. 5.

^v Heracl. Pont. 17.

^w Eckhel Doct. Num. I. 2. pp. 83. 155. 158. A clear notion of the *causia* may be obtained from the representations of Macedonian coins in Pellerin Recueil de M. de Rois Pl. I. n. 1. of Ætolian in Combe Numi Mus. Britann. Pl. 5. 24. 25. and of Illyrian in Eckhel Numi. Vet. Anecd. (1775.) Pl. I. tab. 6. 22. 23.

^x Philip, the son of Amyntas, first conquered the country as far as the lake Lychnitis, Diod. XVI. 8. The

Taulantians in the time of Alexander had their own king, Arrian I. 5. The Illyrian king Argon ruled (about 240 B.C.) as far as Epirus, and the Atintanes were his subjects, Appian Illyr. 7. 8. When the Romans first went to Illyria they were joined by the Parthini and Atintanes, Polyb. II. 11. Atintania was first conquered by Philip the son of Demetrius, Schweighæuser ad Polyb. II. 5. p. 356. In the peace he only lost Lychnidus (with Dassaretis, Polyb. V. 108.) and Parthus (i. e. the Parthini), Polyb. XVIII. 30. 12. Liv. XXXIII. 34. The only countries which even Perseus possessed beyond the mountains were Atintania and Tymphaea, Liv. XLV. 30. See also Palmer Græc. Ant. I. 14. p. 78.

includes in *his* Macedonia. The name of the country appears to be Grecian;^a and since Justin^b distinctly affirms that the ancient inhabitants of Emathia were Pelasgians, and as Æschylus, a poet greatly versed in traditional lore, also makes the kingdom of the Pelasgians extend through Macedonia as far as the Strymon,^c it must be considered that, according to ancient tradition, the early inhabitants of this country were of the Pelasgic race. It is likewise fair, by the guidance of several parallel cases in the Greek mythology, to interpret the legend that Lycaon the Arcadian hero had once ruled in Emathia, and was the father of Macedon,^d as signifying merely the succession, *according to order of time*, of the Pelasgians and Macedonians in the occupation of this country; which the language of mythology expressed by placing the respective races in a *genealogical* connexion. So Thessalus is called a son of Jason, although the Thessalians belonged to a different race from the early rulers of the country, the Minyæ of Iolcus, of whom Jason was one. Hence it is highly probable that at the first conquest of this tract of land, viz., of Macedonia Proper, nations akin to the Greeks were mixed with the Illyrians.

30. One of the earliest conquests of the Macedonians was the country of their neighbours^e the Phrygians; i. e., according to the most exact statements, the district about mount Bermius, where in the ancient gardens of king Midas, the son of Gordias (in which Silenus had been once taken prisoner), the hundred-leaved rose still flourished at the time of Herodotus.^f It is exceedingly probable that, as Herodotus states, this district had been occupied by the Macedonians before the arrival of the Temenidæ;^g with

^a From *ἄμμος*, sea-sand.

^b V. II. 1.

^c Suppl. 257.

^d Apollod. III. 8. 1. Ælian de Nat. An. X. 48. Steph. Byz. in *Ἰσχυρὸς*.

^e *σύνοικοι*, Herod. VII. 73.

^f Herod. VIII. 138. Conon Narr. I. Concerning these roses see also Nicand. Fragm. 2. p. 278. ed.

Schneider. Conon ibid. and Apollodorus ap. Strab. XIV. p. 680. also speak of ancient mines near mount Bermius.

^g It might be inferred from Thuc. I. 61. that Beroia had not even *then* become a Macedonian possession; but it seems that *ἐπαισσαντες* merely signifies "they prepare to leave Macedonia."

which the tradition of an ancient migration of the Phrygians coincides;^h yet it is also stated that Caranus the Temenid expelled Midas.ⁱ That the Phrygians or Brygians were entirely incorporated in the Macedonian nation cannot be supposed, as we hear quite in late times of a tribe of Brygians (*Βρύγοι*) in these regions, who then dwelt near the Illyrian mountains beyond Lychnidus, not far from the Erigon, together with the Dassaretians.^k The tribe of Mygdonians, which was allied to the Phrygians,^l must have been lost in other nations at an early period, since their territory had been occupied by the Edones before it became a part of the Macedonian empire.

31. In their further extension the Macedonians fell in with Grecian, with Pæonian, and with Thracian tribes, which they either subdued or dislodged; but no expulsion was probably so complete that some part of the former population was not left behind. Among the tribes thus driven out were the Bottiæans, who were reported to have come from Athens and Crete;^m a tradition which could hardly have arisen, if they had not been a Grecian people. Notice should also be taken of the Grecian and Pelasgic names of the cities on the Axios, viz., Ichnæ, Eidomenæ, Gortynia, Atalante, and Europus,ⁿ which cannot have been

^h In Herod. VII. 73. Conon ubi sup. Xanthus placed it after, but probably soon after the Trojan war.

ⁱ Justin VII. 1.

^k Scymnus Chius v. 433. Strab. pp. 326, 327. There were *Βρύγοι* in Dyrrhachium, according to Appian B. C. II. 39. who states that they returned from Phrygia; comp. Steph. Byz. in *Βρύξ*. Herodotus indeed plainly distinguishes from the *Βρύγοι* *Φρύγοι* (VII. 73.) the *Βρύγοι Θετταί* (VI. 45. VII. 185.) in Macedonia, who revolted to Mardonius and came with Xerxes; and Strabo also appears completely to separate the *Βρύγοι* as an Illyrian people (in p. 327. write *Βρύγοι*) from the Thracian *Βρύγοι*, who are said to have entirely left Europe (VII. p. 295): still their names and settlements seem to establish a national affinity.

^l Mygdon, a prince of the Phrygians, is mentioned in Iliad III. 186. Comp. Strabo VII. p. 295.

^m Aristotle in *τῇ Βοτταίων πολιτείᾳ* ap. Plutarch. Thes. 16. Qu. Gr. 35. A similar, though still stranger, legend concerning the Bottiæans may be seen in Strabo VI. pp. 279. 282. Compare Etymol. Magn. in *Βόττια*. The Cretan traditions may perhaps have found a resting-place in the temple at Ichnæ.

ⁿ Thuc. II. 100. Plin. H. N. IV. 17. The name Europus (Justin. VII. 1. speaks of an ancient king Europus in this country, and according to Steph. Byz. *Εὐρωπὸς* and *Ἰσχυρὸς* were the sons of Macedon) reminds us of Demeter Europa, the Hermionean Europa, and the Cretan Europa. The Cretan *Ἰδομένης* implies the existence of a place named *Ἰδομένη*.

given by the Pæonians, and therefore must be referred to the ancient Greek population of this region. Beyond the Axios, according to Herodotus,^o was Creston, a settlement of Thessalian Pelasgians, whence they do not appear to have been expelled by the victorious Macedonians; which fate befell the Almopians, an ancient branch of the Minyæ.^p It has been already shown that the common population of Leibethrum and Pieria was at least nearly related to the Greeks: the names of Λεῖβηθρα, for a well-watered valley, Πίμπλη for a full fountain, and of Ἐλικὸν for a winding stream, are evidently Grecian.^q

As to the Eordians, the ancient foes of Macedon, it is uncertain whether they should be considered as belonging to the Illyrian or the Pæonian race;^r of this latter tribe, in earlier times, a small, and, in later, a considerable portion obeyed the Macedonian kings. And, lastly, the subjection of the Bisaltæ, who even in the time of Perseus formed one of the chief parts of the kingdom of Macedon,^s joined to that nation a people of purely Thracian descent; and the Macedonians, in the political meaning of the word, ceased more and more to be a regular nation, or a body of men of the same origin and language.^t

On the customs and language of the Macedonians.

32. In order to trace the national character and origin of the Macedonians, it is necessary to distinguish three things; first, their Illyrian descent; secondly, their exten-

^o I. 57. Compare *Orchomenos*, p. 444. note 1.

^p See above, p. 458, note f.

^q Πῖμπλη occurs again in the sacred Pytna of Crete. The poetical associations chiefly clung to the district above Dium, where Pimple and Leibethrum were situated.

^r See above, p. 472, note a. Strabo, who calls the Eordi Illyrians (above, § 26.), yet speaks only of the Macedonian inhabitants of Eordia. Hesychius and Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1342. call the Eordi Macedonians. Stephanus Byz. in Ἀμύριος has a con-

fused passage on the Amyri, who, according to Suidas, were Eordi.

^s Liv. XLV. 30.

^t Compare now Heyne Opusc. Acad. IV. p. 165. *Macedonas e multis barbarorum populis, Thracum imprimis et Pelasgorum, quibus Græcorum exigua pars accesserat, coaluisse.* Schlözer Weltgeschichte, vol. I. pag. 290. *The Macedonians, brothers of the Thracians, and entirely different from the Greeks, among whom they were long called barbarians, wandered about their mountainous country, divided into 150 hordes, when a Heraclide, &c.*

sion over other, for the most part Grecian countries; and thirdly, the introduction by the ruling family, of the civilisation and refinements of the Greeks; which must have gained great ground when Alexander the Philhellene offered himself as a combatant at the Olympic games, and honoured the poetry of Pindar;^u and when Archelaus, the son of Perdiccas,—the same person who first established many fortresses and roads in his dominions, and formed a Macedonian army,^v nay, even had it in view to procure a navy,^w—had tragedies of Euripides acted at his court under the direction of that poet. These changes must have chiefly affected the regions near the sea; for they could not have equally extended to the Macedonians of Lynceus, &c., who, even in the time of Strabo, had the greatest resemblance to the Dassaretians, Taulantians, &c., and, until the overthrow of the Macedonian monarchy, preserved their ancient savage habits; which Livy only partially accounts for by their intercourse with neighbouring barbarians.^x

33. Since the Illyrian tribes were never distinguished for that original invention which imagined new gods and established new modes of worship; while, on the other hand, they readily adopted strange deities;^a we find among the Macedonians more traces of foreign than native religion. Certain deities which the Greeks compared with the Sileni they called Sauadæ,^b as the Illyrians called them Deuadæ;^c a native Macedonian god of health was named Darrhon;^d there was also a god called Deipatyrus among the neigh-

^u Solinus, IX. 16.

^v Thuc. II. 100.

^w Solinus, IX. 17.

^x XLV. 30. *ferociore eos et accolæ barbari faciunt, nunc bello exercentes, nunc in pace miscentes ritus suos.* An intercourse in peace, among free and hardy nations, presupposes a certain degree of resemblance. At the present time the wild Orestæ are stated to be very different from the mild and social Zagoriots (Parauæans), *Geographische Ephemeriden*, vol. XVII. p. 430.

^a As the Encheleaus appear to

have carried from the Bæotian incursion (*Orchomenos*, p. 231.) the worship of Cadmus and Harmonia both to the region of Buthoë (Scylax, p. 9. Steph. Byz. in Βούθον), and to the Ceraunian mountains (Dionys. Perieg. v. 391. Apoll. Rh. IV. 517. for there were Encheleaus in both places). Compare Apollodorus III. 5. 4. Scymnus Chius v. 437. Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieg. v. 389. Interpret. Virg. Æn. I. 243. ed. Mai.

^b Amerias ap. Hesych. in v.

^c Hesychius in Δευάδα.

^d Hesychius et Favorinus in v.

bouring Stympheans.^o The wide extension of the worship of Bacchus must be ascribed to the vicinity of, and early intercourse with Pieria: the Macetian women were celebrated as wild and raging Bacchantes.^f The worship of Zeus appears to have been early introduced among the Macedonians from mount Olympus.^g Hercules, the heroic progenitor of the royal family, was worshipped in their first residence at Edessa:^h he was called in Macedonia Aretus.ⁱ The worship of Apollo, which was prevalent in Macedonia at an early period,^k probably was introduced from Pythium on mount Olympus:^l that of Pan, at Pella, was perhaps derived from the Pelasgians.^m

34. Many barbarous customs of the northern nations, as, for example, that of tattooing, which prevailed among the Illyrians and Thracians,ⁿ must have fallen into disuse in Macedonia at a very early date: for the Greeks would not have forgotten to mention such evident proofs of barbarian descent. Even the usage of the ancient Macedonians, that every person who had not killed an enemy should wear some disgraceful badge, had been discontinued in the time of Aristotle.^o Yet at a very late date no one was permitted to lie down at table who had not slain a wild boar without the nets.^p It is greatly to be lamented that we know much less of the ancient customs of the Illyrians than of the Thracians, of whose singular and almost Asiatic usages we are sufficiently well informed. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul in the worship of Zalmoxis, the lamentations of the Trausi at the birth of a man,^q and the slaugh-

^o Hesychius in v.

^f Plutarch Alex. 2. Polyæn. Strateg. IV. 1. Compare Athenæus V. p. 198 E. Etym. Mag. et Suidas in Κλωδίας, Lycoph. v. 1237. Conon Narr. 45. Creuzer's Symbolik, vol. III. p. 194. sq.

^g Jovis templum, veterrima Macedonum religio, Justin XXIV. 2. Archelaus established Olympic games (Arrian I. 11.), who had himself been a conqueror at the Olympic games at Elis, Solin. IX. 18. Perhaps also Musea in Macedonia, according to Arrian ubi sup.

^h Hesych. in Ἐδισσαῖος.

ⁱ Hesych. in Ἀρετός.

^k See above. p. 455, note 2.

^l Book II. ch. 1. § 2.

^m Eckhel D. N. I. 2. p. 74. The Macedonian Venus, Zeirene (Hesych. in v.) was perhaps the Zerynthian. Mars, according to Hesychius, was in Macedonia called Thaumus or Thaulus.

ⁿ Herod. V. 6. Strab. VII. p. 315. Comp. Salmas. Exerc. Plin. p. 169 A.

^o Polit. VII. 2. 6.

^p According to Hegesander ap. Athen. I. p. 18 A.

^q Herod. V. 4; according to Solinus X. 2. apud plurimos.

ter of the dearest wife on the grave of her husband among the Sintes and Mædi,^r point to a particular view of human life, foreign to the Grecian character, but familiar to many eastern nations.^s The prevailing custom of polygamy,^t the buying and inheriting of women, the selling of children as slaves,^u and the delight in intoxication,^x are traces of a genuine barbarian character; no one of which, as far as I am aware, can be discovered among the Macedonians: with whom, moreover, the Thracian names (e. g., Cotys, and those ending in *cetes* and *sades*) never occur.

35. On the other hand, a military disposition, which still distinguished the Macedonians in the time of Polybius, personal valour, and a certain freedom of spirit, were the national characteristics of this people. Long before Philip organised his phalanx, the cavalry of Macedon was greatly celebrated, especially that of the highlands, as is shown by the tetradrachms of Alexander the First. In smaller numbers they attacked the close array of the Thracians of Sitalces, relying on their skill in horsemanship and on their defensive armour.^y Teleutias the Spartan also admired the cavalry of Elimeia;^z and in the days of the conquest of Asia the custom still remained that the king could not condemn any person without having first taken the voice of the people or of the army.^a

36. It is difficult to treat of the Macedonian language, as not only the *ancient* period of the native dialect must be distinguished from the *second*, in which the Grecian language was partially introduced, after Archelaus, Philip, and Alexander made their people acquainted with Athenian civilisation, but also from a *third*, in which many barbarous words were adopted from the mixture of the Macedonians

Herod. V. 5. comp. Solinus X. 3.

^r Solinus X. 1. concludes *Thracibus barbaris inesse contentum vitæ ex quadam naturalis sapientiæ disciplina.*

^s See besides Herod. V. 5. Heraclid. Pont. Polit. 27. Strab. VII. p. 297. Salmas. Exerc. Plin. p. 112 A.

^t Herod. V. 6. Heraclid. ubi sup. Solin. X. 4.

^u Solin. X. 5.

^v Thuc. II. 100. The ἀνὰ ζυμμάχοι are the Lyncestæ, &c.

^w Xenoph. Hell. V. 2. 41. V. 3. 1. cf. Thuc. I. 61, 62.

^x Polyb. V. 27. 6. Curtius VI. 8. 25. (with Freinsheim's note) VI. 9. 34.

^y Crophius Antiq. Maced. I. 6. II. 4.

with Indians, Persians, and Egyptians.^b Nevertheless it is possible to form a well-grounded opinion as to the form of the Macedonian language in the first period. In the first place, they had many barbarous words for very simple and common objects,^c which may be certainly considered as Illyrian, since among the *very scanty* relics of the Illyrian and Athamanian dialects^d there are some words which are also mentioned as Macedonian.^e Indeed, without supposing some barbarous foundation of this kind, we could hardly account for the Macedonian language being still unintelligible to the Greeks in the time of Alexander the Great.^f Yet it cannot be doubted that the Greek had passed into the Illyrian dialect *before* the introduction of Athenian literature, and that their combination produced the mongrel language which was afterwards called Macedonian. The nominatives in *α*, such as *ἱππότα*, *πολιτα*, &c., could not have been derived from the Athenians; but the Thessalians, the Dryopians, and probably all the Pelasgians, used that form.^g That some mixture of Greek had taken place at an early period seems also to be proved by the great and almost inexplicable change which the Grecian words experienced in the mouth of the Macedonians, who appear to have been unable to pronounce the letters Φ and Θ, and

^b Hence, for example, it cannot be inferred from the distinction between the Illyrian and Macedonian languages in Polyb. XXVIII. 8. 9. that the nations were originally of a different descent. Sturz *De Dialecto Macedonica et Alexandrina* has not sufficiently distinguished the third period from the two first.

^c For example, Steph. Byz. in v. *Βορμίσκος*—*ὅς κινεῖ τὴν παστέραν φωνὴν ἰσχυρίως παλοῦσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες*. The barbarous word *σκώδης*, signifying a kind of steward, which was used by Alexander in letters, and adopted by Menander (Photius, p. 523. 5.) can hardly be oriental. See also the collection of Sturz in the words *ἄβαγνα*, *ἄδδαι*, *ἄδῃ*, *ἄκρία*, *ἄζος*, &c.

^d The Athamanes were Epirots according to Strabo, Illyrians according to Steph. Byz. in v. The words are

not Grecian.

^e See above, *Σαυάδαι*, and Athenæus III. p. 114 B. concerning the Macedonian and Athamanian word *δράμις* or *δράμις*.

^f This fact may be believed on the testimony of Curtius VI. 9. 35.

^g Apollonius de Construct. III. 7. calls it the Macedonian or Thessalian usage. Sturz, p. 28. 5. infers chiefly from this that the Macedonian language was originally nearly the same as the Dorian. The coins, I may remark incidentally, prove nothing, as they were struck for intercourse with the Greeks. Adelung, on the other hand, considers the Macedonians as Thracians (to which nation he also refers the Illyrians), with a tinge of Greek civilisation, Mithridat, vol. II. p. 359.

hence they always substituted B for the former, and Δ for the latter,^h perhaps from a peculiarity of the Illyrian nation. On the other hand, the Macedonian language had a consonant OT or V, as *Volustana*, the name of the country round Olympus,ⁱ the *Candavian* mountains,^k &c., prove; and thus both in this and the former respect it approximated to the vocal system of the Latin.

^h See above, p. 3. notes ^g and ^h.

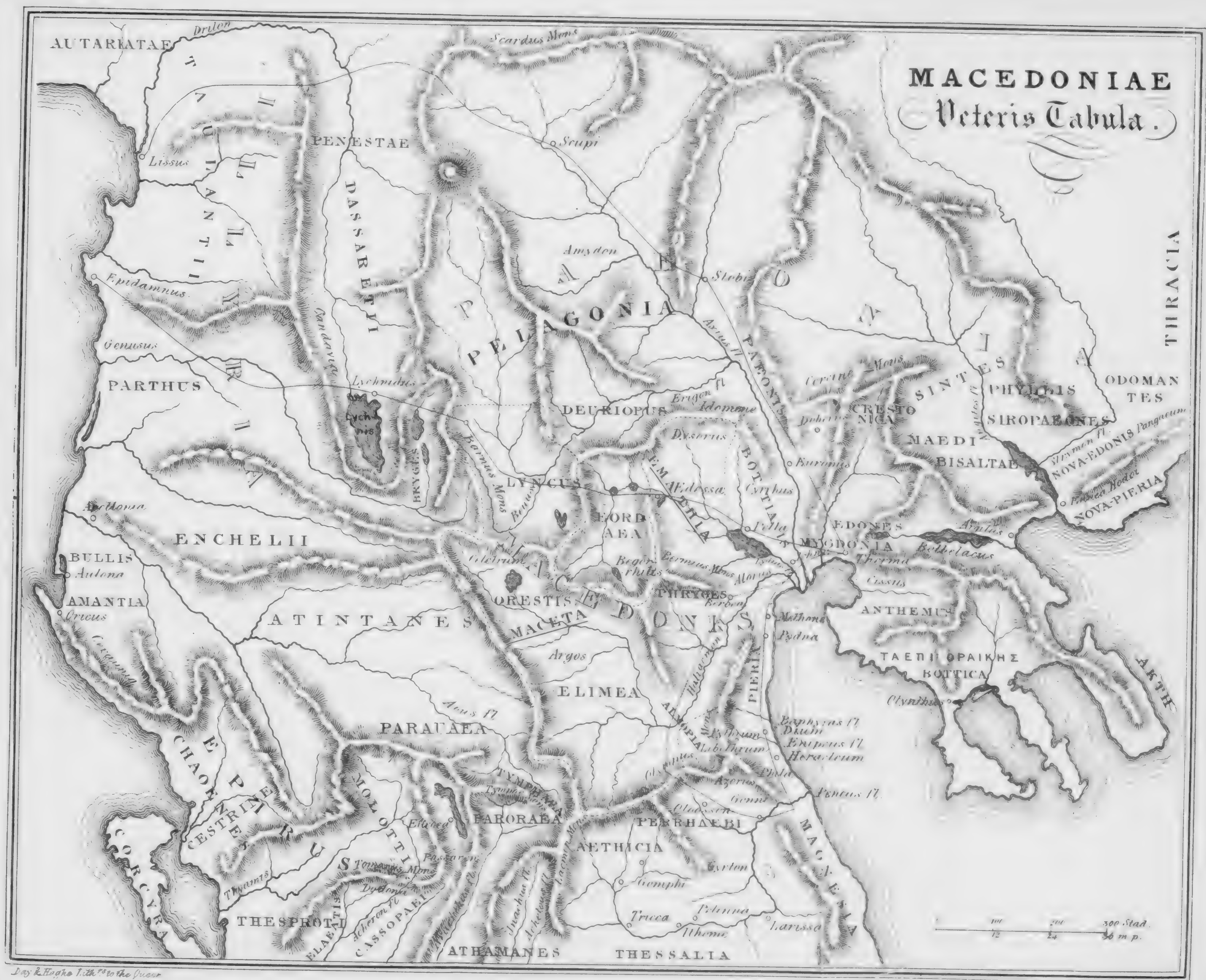
ⁱ Above, p. 467. note ^c. Hence the Cambunian mountains are now called Volutza.

^k Above, p. 453. note ^e. The first syllable of this name appears to be the same as of *Cambunus montes*, in

which the second part is probably the word *βούνης*, which in modern Greek still means "a hill." In the names of Macedonian mountains, *Barnus*, *Bermius*, and *Bertiscus* (Ptolemy), there is probably the same root.

Note on the Map of Macedonia.

Since the annexed Map is entirely copied from that of Barbié du Bocage, as far as the country is concerned, I will only remark some important points in which Arrowsmith's great Map of Turkey, which is in part founded on quite different authorities, differs from it. In this Map the small lake to the east of Lychnis, or Lychnitis (the lake of Ochrida), is not connected with any river running to the coast, and the mountains to the west of it stretch uninterruptedly to the south. (Perhaps this is correct: see p. 453, note ^g.) The Haliacmon rises rather more to the north than in Barbié du Bocage's Map. The Cara-Sou, which is certainly the Erigon, runs into the lake of the Lydias. (Incorrect, according to Strabo, quoted in p. 451, note ^b.) The Lydias has a longer course, and rises in the Illyrian mountains. The modern river Gallico, which I make the Echeidorus, flows at some distance from the sea through a lake into the Axius. The tributary branch of the Achelous, called by the ancients the Inachus, rises further to the south, under the Pindus-chain (contrary to the authors quoted in p. 452, note ^f). Upon the whole, Barbié du Bocage's Map is without doubt the more accurate.



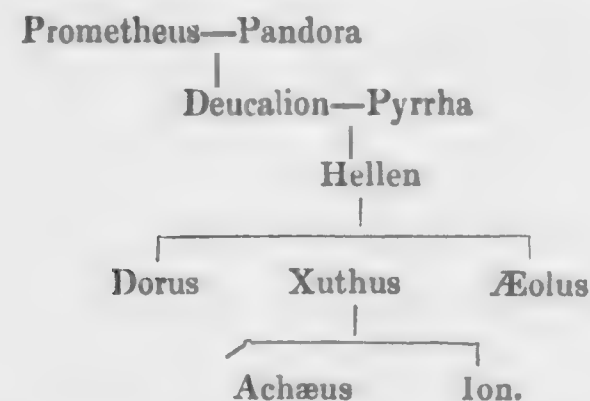
APPENDIX II.

Genealogy of Hellen.

THERE is a particular tendency which may be traced throughout all the accounts that have come down to us of early Grecian history, viz., of reducing everything to a *genealogical* form. It was much encouraged by the opinion of the later historians, that every town and valley had received its name from some ancient prince or hero; thus even Pausanias meets with persons who explained everthing by means of genealogies; ^a who, for example, out of the Pythian temple at Delphi made a son of Delphus Pythis, a prince of early times. This tendency, however, is manifestly founded on the genuine ancient language of mythology. With the inventors of these fabulous narratives, nations, cities, mountains, rivers, and gods became real *persons*, who stood to one another in the relation of human beings, were arranged in families, and joined to one another in marriage. Now although such fictions are in many cases easily seen through, and the meaning of the connexion may be readily deciphered, yet these genealogies, as there was nothing of arbitrary and fanciful invention in them, in after-times passed for real history; and were, both by early and late historians, with full confidence in their general accuracy, made use of for the establishment of a sort of chronology. On these principles, then, the genealogies which were formed in the age of the later epic poets, and perhaps even of the early historians, cannot be considered as pure invention; these too must have been founded on certain arguments and facts, which were generally believed at that time. We will endeavour to point this out in the famous genealogy of the

^a Pausan. X. 6. 5. οἱ μὲν δὲ γενεαλογεῖν τὰ πάντα ἰθὺλοντις, &c.

chief races of the Greeks, which was taken from the 'Hōiai of Hesiod.^b



Now the passage of Hesiod only mentions the three brothers, Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus, without naming the sons of Xuthus; but it is evident that in this series Xuthus must also represent some race or races; and since no tribe ever bore the title of *Xuthi*, this name must have been used by Hesiod to signify the Ionians and Achæans, as in Apollodorus, and other writers.^c According to another tradition, perhaps of equal antiquity, Zeus, the father of gods and men, was, instead of Deucalion, the husband of Pyrrha.^d

It is evident that the above genealogy was intended to represent the chief races of the Hellenes, or Greeks, as belonging to one nation; and consequently could not have been made before the name Hellenes was applied to the whole nation; which in the *Iliad*^e is only the name of a small tribe in Phthia.^f The more extended use of the name falls in the period of the poems which went under the name of Hesiod:^g it is first thus used in the 'Works and

^b "Ἕλληνες δ' ἐγένοντο θεμιστοκόλου βασιλῆος Δωρὸς τε Εὐδῶτος τε καὶ Αἰόλος ἰσπιοχάρμης. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 284. and Schol. Apoll. Rh. III. 1085. Other poems of Hesiod are made use of by Schol. Hom. Od. x'. 2.

^c Apollodorus I. 7, 3. Pausan. V. 1, 2. &c. from the circumstance that Achæus and Ion are represented as the only sons of Xuthus, I have inferred above that the Ionians were probably of an Achæan race.

^d Schol. Hom. Od. x'. 2. οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἕλλην γόνυ μὲν ἦν Διὸς, λόγῳ δὲ

Δευκαλίωνος. Compare Pindar Pyth. IV. 167. who alludes to this fable, and Eurip. Melan. IV. 2.

^e Il. II. 684. and compare IX. 395, 474. XVI. 595. The verse ἰγχεῖη δ' ἐκίκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς, II. 530, has been properly condemned by the Alexandrine critics.

^f Or rather "near Phthia." Homer distinguishes Hellas and Phthia (Il. IX. 395, 478, 479. Od. XI. 495.); the tetrarchy of Phthiotis in later times included both.

^g Æginetica, p. 155.

Days' of the real Hesiod,^h before which time, therefore, the above genealogy cannot have been formed. But that the author of it did not make an arbitrary fiction is evident from the circumstance that he put Xuthus instead of Achæus and Ion; by which he greatly deranged the symmetry of his genealogy. It is clear that he thought himself bound to respect the tradition, that Achæus and Ion were the sons of Xuthus; which prevented him from making Hellen their father. As yet, therefore, the other brothers were not recognised in tradition as having any fathers; and some obscure legends, such as that of Dorus, the son of Apollo,ⁱ had not obtained a general belief. There can be no doubt that Hellen was recognised in the most ancient tradition. Now in the fictions of mythology the invention was bound by a sort of fanciful regularity; and in a fabulous genealogy the part was deduced from the whole, the species from the genus, as an inferior and subordinate being: thus in the Theogony the hills are the children of the earth, and the sun and the moon of light.^k Accordingly the poet (or whoever was his authority) sang of Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus, the progenitors of nations, being the sons of Hellen, the son of Zeus, or grandson of Prometheus. It is possible that before this entire genealogy others had been invented, e.g., that *Dorus* was a son of Hellen; since, as early as the time of Lycurgus, the Spartans were commanded by the Pythian oracle to worship Zeus Hellanius and Athene Hellania;^l and since both the judges in the Spartan army^m and the judges of the Olympic games were called Hellanodicæ. And when I consider the celebrated oracle just quoted, and the close connexion of Sparta and Olympia with Delphi, the sacred families of the Delphians (the *ὄσιοι*), who referred their origin to Deucalion,ⁿ and on

^h Hesiod. Op. et Di. 526. Βράδιον δὲ Πανέλληνας φασίν. Compare Strabo VIII. p. 370. It may be observed, that in the three most ancient passages in which the collective name of the Greeks occurs, viz., the verse in the Works and Days, the spurious line in the *Iliad*, and the passage in the 'Hōiai referred to by Strabo, they

are called, not Ἕλληνες, but Πανέλληνας.

ⁱ Apollodorus I. 7. 6.

^k Hes. Theog. 129. 371.

^l Ap. Plutarch. Lycurg. 6. according to a certain emendation. See book III. ch. 5. § 8.

^m Book III. ch. 12. § 5.

ⁿ Book II. ch. 1. § 8.

the other hand remember that a Bœotian poem, composed in the neighbourhood of the Pythian oracle, first uses the word "Hellenes" in this extended sense; I cannot help conjecturing that this national sanctuary of the Hellenic name had a large share in the formation of that really beautiful legend; by which all the different races of Greece, separated for so many centuries by violent and unceasing contention, were united into the peaceable fellowship of brotherly affection and concord.

APPENDIX III.

The migration of the Dorians to Crete.

CNOSUS,^a the Minoian Cnosus, was, even so late as the time of Plato, the first city in Crete, and the chief domicile of the Cretan laws and customs: and Plato, in his Treatise on Laws, takes a Cnosian as the representative and defender of the Cretan laws in general;^b although Cnosus about his time had declined from internal corruption, and the fame of having preserved the good laws of ancient Crete soon passed from her to Gortyna and Lyctus.^c In earlier times, however, the Cretan laws (Κρητικοὶ νόμοι), which Archilochus even mentions as being of a distinct character,^d were preserved in the greatest purity at Cnosus. Now when modern writers admit indeed that the Cretan laws were founded upon the customs of the Doric race, but affirm that this race did not penetrate into Crete before the expedition of the Heraclidæ, and that migrations subsequently took place from Peloponnesus; it is necessary for them first of all to show that Cnosus received its Doric inhabitants from that country, that is, probably either from Argos or Sparta. But had such been the case, the memory of these migrations would assuredly never have been lost: Argos and Sparta would have been too proud to possess such a colony. Cnosus must therefore have received its Doric inhabitants at an earlier date, in the dark ages of mythology; and the subsequent colonies from Peloponnesus to Lyctus, Gortyna, and other places, helped to increase the Doric population, which in Homer's time^e was confined to a *part* of the island, over the *whole* of Crete; as was the case in

^a See book I. ch. 1. § 9.

^b See particularly Plato de Leg. I. p. 636. VI. p. 752. Κνωσίους ἀρεσβύειν τῶν πολλῶν πόλεων.

^c See Strabo X. p. 476. compare p.

481. after Ephorus.

^d Archilochus ap. Heraclid. Pont. πολιτ. Κρητῶν. fragm. 86. Gaisford.

^e Hom. Od. XIX. 175. sqq.

late ages. And at the time which Homer describes, not only the language, but the customs and laws were probably also different; whereas Archilochus appears to mention the Cretan laws as prevalent over the whole island. Upon the whole, the Dorians in Crete—and this is a fact of great importance—never seem to stand, with regard to the Dorians of Peloponnesus, in the relation of a colony to its mother country. In Greece, the parent state—so great was the pride of higher antiquity—never condescended to take the institutions of a colony as models for its own, as was the case with Sparta and Crete; nor did the mother country ever procure priests from its colony, as was the case when the Pythian Apollo sent Cretan priests to Sparta.^f In short, everything seems to prove that the Doric institutions were of great antiquity in Crete, and that the distinction which has lately been taken between the laws of Minos and the Doric institutions and customs of Crete—a distinction directly opposed to the unanimous testimony of antiquity—is false and untenable.

But in retaining his conviction respecting a Doric settlement in Crete before the migration of the Heraclidæ, and in viewing it as the only means of explaining many facts in the religious and political history of the Greeks, the Author does not imply that this Doric colony was exactly similar to a later migration of Dorians from Argos and Sparta. The condition of the Dorians in Hestiaeotis must have been very different from that to which the same race attained in Peloponnesus. The mixture with other races, which had gone so far, that the head of the mythical settlement bears a Pelasgic name (Teutamus), does not agree with the character of the later Dorians. At that time no line of princes, calling themselves Heraclidæ, could have stood at the head of the Dorians; for in Crete, Heraclidæ only occur in cities which were colonised from Peloponnesus; for example, they do not occur in Cnosus. Moreover, a maritime, and especially a piratical life (upon which the maritime supremacy

See book III. ch. 1. § 8.

of Minos was founded) does not agree with the principles followed by the Dorians in Peloponnesus, where they relied upon a tranquil and secure possession of land. These principles, however, could not be developed so long as the Dorians were excluded from the rich plain of Thessaly, and were forced to eke out their scanty means by hunting and piracy. How different was the rough and perilous life of the ancient sea-kings of the Normans from the proud and secure existence of the barons in Normandy! Yet the eye of the observant historian can trace a unity of national character even in the most different circumstances. By a similar analogy, this remarkable expedition of Doric adventurers from Hestiaeotis to Crete will explain the zeal of the Cretans for the worship of Apollo, the ancient connexion of Crete and Delphi, and the early existence in Crete of notions respecting a strict regulation of public life (κόσμος).

APPENDIX IV.

History of the Greek congress or synedrion during the Persian war.

1. IN the present article it will be my object to trace the foreign influence which Sparta possessed at the time of the Persian war, and for what length of time her supremacy in Greece remained uncontested and unshaken. This is chiefly seen in the proceedings of the congress of the allied Greek states: to ascertain which with precision, it will be first necessary to fix the chronology of the successive stages of the Persian war.

In the course of the year 481 B. C. (Olymp. 74. 3) Xerxes set out from his residence at Susa (Herod. VII. 20), found the great army assembled in Cappadocia, and marched to Sardis, from which town he sent ambassadors to the Greek cities (ib. 32). Having wintered here, the army marched in the spring of 480 B. C. (Olymp. 74. 4) to Abydos;^a when it had reached the passes of Pieria, the Persian envoys returned (ib. 131). Soon after this they met at Thermopylæ the Greek forces, which had set out before the 75th Olympiad and the Carnean games, about June 480 B. C. Battles of Thermopylæ and Artemisium in μέσον θέρος (VIII. 12.) both perhaps a short time before the Olympic festival (VIII. 26). Conquest of Attica, four months after the beginning of the διάβασις τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου (VIII. 51). Battle of Salamis, a little after the time of the Ιαχχός, after the εἰκάς of Boëdromion Olymp. 75. 1., as the Etesian winds were either blowing or had ceased to blow

^a The eclipse of the sun, however, mentioned by Herodotus, does not agree, and must be an error. VII. 37.

(they last from the summer solstice to the rising of the dog-star), VII. 168. Mardonius winters in Thessaly and Macedonia, the Persian fleet at Cume and Samos. Battle of Plataea on the 26th or 27th of Panemus (Metagitnion), Olymp. 75. 2. 479 B.C. at the same time as that of Mycale. The year ends with the taking of Sestos.

2. The Greeks certainly received early intelligence of the preparations in Persia (VII. 138), even if the story related by Herodotus (VII. 239.) about the secret message of Demaratus is not true. They either refused or gave earth and water to the envoys late in the year 481 B.C. (VII. 138.). The states which refused to submit held a congress;^b and they are now called by Herodotus, "the Greeks allied against the Persians," (οἱ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ, VII. 148.). This assembly of course was formed by deputies from the different cities: the *manner* of its formation may be inferred from the *place* at which it sat; and it will be shown presently that it first assembled at Corinth, which city belonged to the Peloponnesian confederacy. It appears therefore that Sparta must have convened an assembly at Corinth, to which the extra-Peloponnesian states, which had refused earth and water, sent envoys. This congress first put an end to the internal dissensions of Greece (VII. 145.), in which good service Chileus of Tegea and Themistocles are said to have earned the gratitude of their countrymen (Plutarch Themist. 6.). Secondly, when they heard that Xerxes was at Sardis, they despatched spies thither, and at the same time envoys to Argos, Sicily, Corcyra, and Crete. (VII. 145. 199.) The envoys are stated by Herodotus to have been sent by the Lacedæmonians and their allies.^c They also made a vow to decimate to the Delphian God all those Greeks who had unnecessarily given earth and water to the Persians (VII. 132.); the persons

^b Συλλεγομένων ἐς ταῦτ' αὐτὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἑλλήνων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονούντων, καὶ δίδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, Herod. VII. 145.

^c VII. 157. ἱππύσαν ἡμίας Λακεδαιμόνιοι [τι καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι] καὶ οἱ τοῦ-

των σύμμαχοι. The words included in brackets are wanting in the family of the Passioneus and Florence MSS., and appear to be interpolated from c. 161.

who made this vow are called by Diodorus XI. 3. "the Greeks assembled in congress at the Isthmus," οἱ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ συνεδρεύοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

3. In this narrative taken from Herodotus there still remains one contradiction, viz., that if the Greeks did not assemble till after they had refused earth and water (as appears from VII. 138. cf. 145.), the Argives had no longer any option whether they would join the league or not. Likewise the dismissal of the Greek envoys would fall too late in the unfavourable season for sailing, and there would scarcely be time for the messages to the oracles (c. 148, 169.), and the other proceedings. It is therefore probable that this congress was formed *before* the arrival of the Persian envoys, which was late in 481 B.C.: and Diodorus seems to be correct in stating that of the nations some gave earth and water, while the Persian army was in the valley of Tempe, and others after its departure (XI. 3.); and therefore none till early in 480 B.C.: previously the ambassadors were probably in the north; Herodotus in VII. 138. appears to mean only the ambassadors of Darius. With this the following statements agree, which he adds in VII. 172. "As soon as the Thessalians had heard that the Persians wished to invade Europe"—which they must have known in the winter of 481-80 B.C.—"they sent envoys to the Isthmus." Ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ (i. e., in the village which had grown up about the temple of Neptune), ἔσαν ἀλισμένοι πρόβουλοι (plenipotentiaries, VI. 7.) τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀραιορημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Now this assembly, while the Persian king was at Abydos, and therefore very early in 480 B.C., sent the army to Tempe, which soon returned (VII. 173.), and indeed returned to the Isthmus, which must therefore have been the head-quarters of the allied army. When it returned, the congress was still sitting at the Isthmus.^d This synedrion or assembly (which is again mentioned in this place by Diodorus XI. 4.) now resolved to defend the

^d Herod. VII. 176. where the words οἱ Ἕλληνες include both the troops and the congress.

passes of Thermopylæ and Artemisium: and when the intelligence arrived that the Persians were in Pieria, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ (i. e., departing from the Isthmus) ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον. But that the Isthmus was still the place in which the congress sat, is evident from the fact, that Sandoces, Aridolis, and Penthylus, who fell into the hands of the Greeks before the battle of Artemisium, were sent thither (VII. 195.). At this time indeed the Peloponnesians were celebrating the Olympiad, and the Spartans the Carnea, at their respective homes,^o after which, as had been previously arranged, they were to take the field with all their forces (πανδημεῖ, VII. 206. VIII. 26.). Nevertheless, the decree that the ships which came too late for Artemisium should assemble in the Træzenian Pogon (VIII. 42.), as well as the other, that the Isthmus should be fortified (VIII. 40, 71.), which measure was not thought of before the battle of Thermopylæ, must have been passed in this interval. Diodorus (XI. 16.) mentions the synedrion in connexion with this decree. The fortification began after the Carnea (VIII. 72.). The fleet was commanded (as is evident from VIII. 2, 9, 56, 58, 74, 108, 111. IX. 90.) by the Spartan admiral and a council, a συνέδριον of the στρατηγοὶ or ἐν τέλει ὄντες (IX. 106.), in which the admiral τὸν λόγον προετίθει (VIII. 59.) put the question to the vote (ἐπεψήφισε, c. 61.), and gave out the decree. This commander was armed with very large powers, and Leotychidas concluded an alliance with the Samians (IX. 92.), and even the captains of the fleet debated on the projected migration of the Ionians (IX. 106.). Nor is it ever mentioned that the fleet received orders from the Isthmus. But the circumstance of the fleet's sailing to the Isthmus, after the battle of Salamis, for the decree on the ἀριστεῖα (VIII. 123.), is a proof that the Isthmus was still the seat of the confederate assembly. Diodorus likewise represents this decree as proceeding from the συνέδριον (XI. 55.); probably the

^o The former in the first full-moon after the solstice, the latter about the second, Corsini Fast. Att. I. 2. p. 453.

"Greeks," who refused to confirm the vote of the commanders (VIII. 124.), were the members of the league. The ships which had been engaged in the battle returned home without any decision. Late in the year, after the eclipse of the sun on the 2nd of October, Cleombrotus had led the great allied army from the Isthmus, and soon afterwards died (IX. 10.). The decree for the following year, that the fleet should go to Ægina (VIII. 131.), may have proceeded either from the synedrium of the preceding year, or from Sparta. For that there were no longer any deputies assembled at Corinth is evident from the circumstance that the Ionian envoys only went to Sparta and Ægina (VIII. 132.); nor is the Isthmus afterwards mentioned as the seat of an assembly, although it was fortified until the middle of summer, till the time of the Hyacinthia (IX. 7.). After this time, Athens, Plataea, and Megara sent their envoys to Sparta, where there were also Peloponnesian envoys, as for instance Chileus of Tegea (IX. 9.), who was mentioned above among the πρόβουλοι; and all these, together with the ambassadors of the three states just mentioned, are, as it appears, called by Herodotus οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπινγμένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν, IX. 10. There must probably have been some joint act of the allies,^f by virtue of which Pausanias was able to collect the great Peloponnesian army. After the battle of Plataea there was in the army a kind of council of war, doubtless a συνέδριον τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων, which regulated the number of the sacred offerings, divided the booty (IX. 81, 85.), and determined on the expedition against Thebes (c. 86.): the persons who were given up, Pausanias seems at Corinth to have ordered to execution on his own authority (c. 88.).

4. Such is the substance of the narrative of Herodotus; in which we can only be surprised, that of the most remarkable event, viz., the treaty of Pausanias, he should say not a word: a silence which can only be explained by supposing

^f Diodorus speaks of a decree of this nature, but the oath on the Isthmus is a rhetorical invention, XI. 29.

that he had intended to mention it in another passage of his unfinished work. When Pausanias, with the assistance of the allies, had won the battle of Plataea, he sacrificed in the market-place of Plataea to Zeus Eleutherius, and convened an assembly of all the Greeks, in which the Plataeans (who annually performed certain honorary rites to those who had fallen in the battle, Thuc. III. 58.) were promised that their country and city should remain independent, and that no one should attack them without lawful reason, or with intention to reduce them to subjection: and that, in case these conditions were not observed, all the allies then present would protect them (Thuc. VI. 71. cf. III. 56, 59.); an engagement which the Spartans themselves afterwards broke, on the ground that the Plataeans had first unjustly given up τὸ ξυνώμοτον (II. 74.). For in "the ancient treaty of Pausanias after the Persian war," it was ordered that the allies in general, and the Plataeans among them, should remain at peace with each other (Thuc. III. 68. cf. II. 72.). The further conditions of this treaty may be collected from Thucyd. I. 67, (for it is evidently this treaty which is in question,) where the Æginetans complain that they are not independent, "according to the treaty;" for the thirty years' truce (I. 115.) cannot be meant, as it was not concluded till after the subjection of Ægina (the former in Olymp. 83. 3. the latter in Olymp. 80. 4.); whence it is likewise evident that the treaty, which was violated by the siege of Potidæa, and the exclusion of the Megarians from the market of Attica, (I. 67, 87. cf. c. 144.) was the same ancient act, only renewed by later treaties. Thus Plutarch states that the latter prohibition was "contrary to the common principles of justice, and the solemn oaths of the Greeks."^s And in another place he mentions that, in a general assembly of the Greeks after the battle of Plataea, Aristides proposed a decree that the Greeks should annually send deputies and sacred messen-

^s Pericl. 39. παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια καὶ τοὺς γιγινημένους ὅρκους τοῖς Ἕλλησι.

gers to Plataea, and that the Eleutheria should be solemnised every five years.^h Also, that it was agreed that an allied Greek armament should be organised against the Persians, consisting of 10,000 heavy-armed infantry, 1000 cavalry, and 100 ships: and that the Plataeans should be considered sacred and inviolable. From what has been stated above, it is clear how much of this account is true, and how much added by Athenian partiality.

5. In the following years, when Sparta still continued the war against the Persians and their allies by means of Pausanias and Leotychidas, there must have been a congress, though not constantly sitting; since the Spartans would not have determined the amount of "the war contribution"ⁱ on their own authority; and there is much probability in the account of Diodorus (XI. 55.), that the Spartans summoned Themistocles for his share in the treason of Pausanias before the common-council of the Greeks, which used at this time to assemble at Sparta. At least it is not contradicted by Thucydides; indeed his narrative (I. 135.) perfectly agrees in this point with that of Diodorus. The words ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, which are omitted in some MSS. of Diodorus, and suspected by Wesseling (yet, it should be observed, *only* these words), cannot be well spared; and, even if they were expunged, the whole chapter would show that the congress was sitting at Sparta; for it was evidently under Lacedæmonian influence, and therefore met in the Peloponnese; and, since the instance mentioned above, it does not appear that any of its meetings were held at the Isthmus.

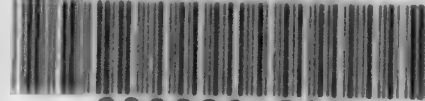
This account likewise proves that, after Pausanias had occasioned the defection of the Ionians and Æolians from Sparta, who were now considered as the separate allies of Athens, a confederate council, which included other states besides the Peloponnesians, continued to sit at Sparta; and

^h Aristid. 21. γινομένης ἐκκλησίας προβούλους καὶ θεωροὺς, ἄγεισθαι δὲ πινυμένης τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔγραψεν Ἀριστιδὴς ταισθηρικὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ἐλευθερίων. ⁱ ἀναφορά εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, Plutarch. Aristid. 24.

affords fresh grounds for supposing that this abandonment of the Spartan alliance was not considered as a transfer of the chief command to Athens, but that Sparta only intrusted the Athenians, together with those Greeks who dwelt in the territory of the Persian king, with the continuation of the war in Asia, and the management of all affairs connected with it; and still considered Athens as under her command, until that state revolted in Olymp. 79. At last the internal wars of Peloponnesus, Olymp. 79—81, subverted all the relations of Athens and Sparta.

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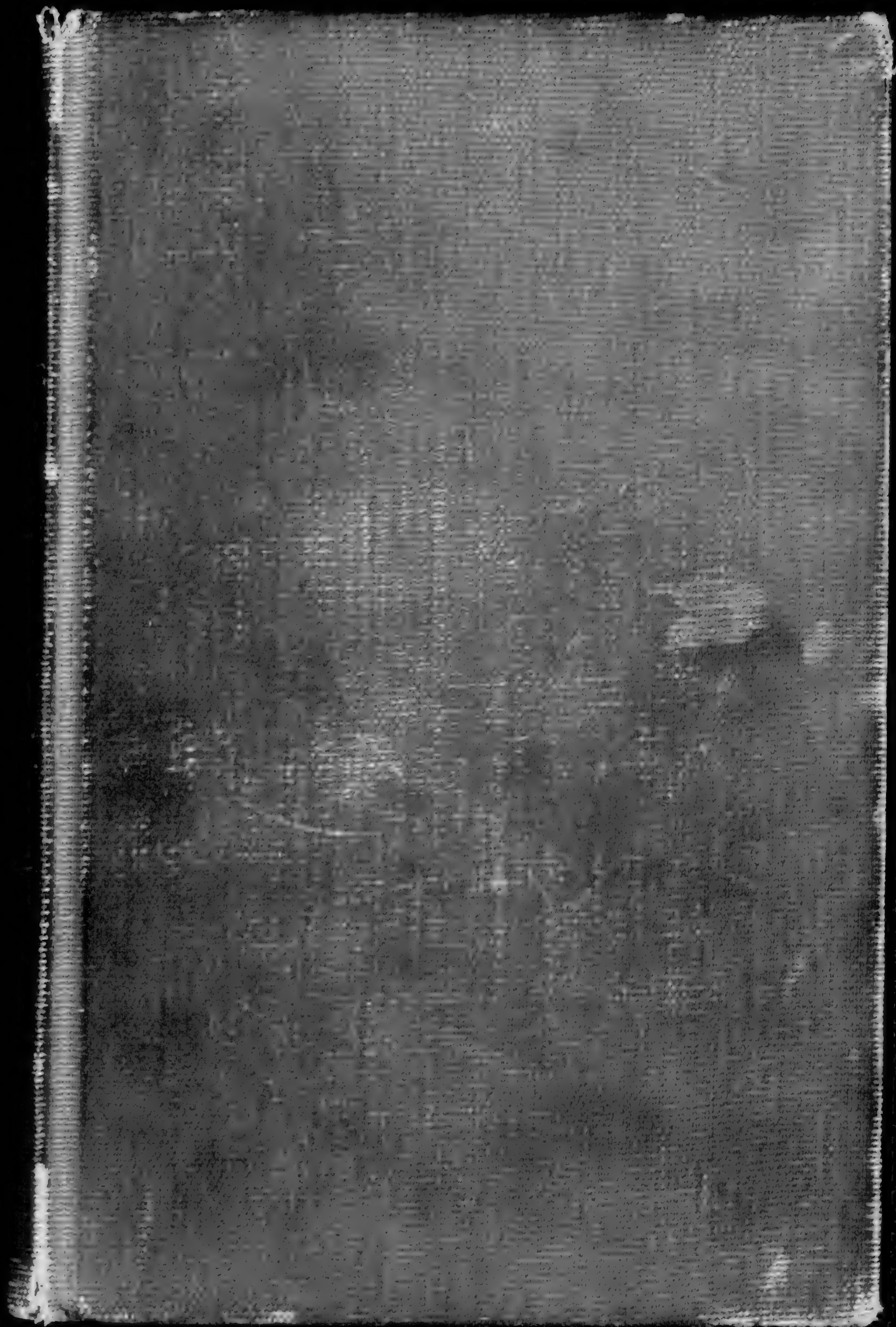
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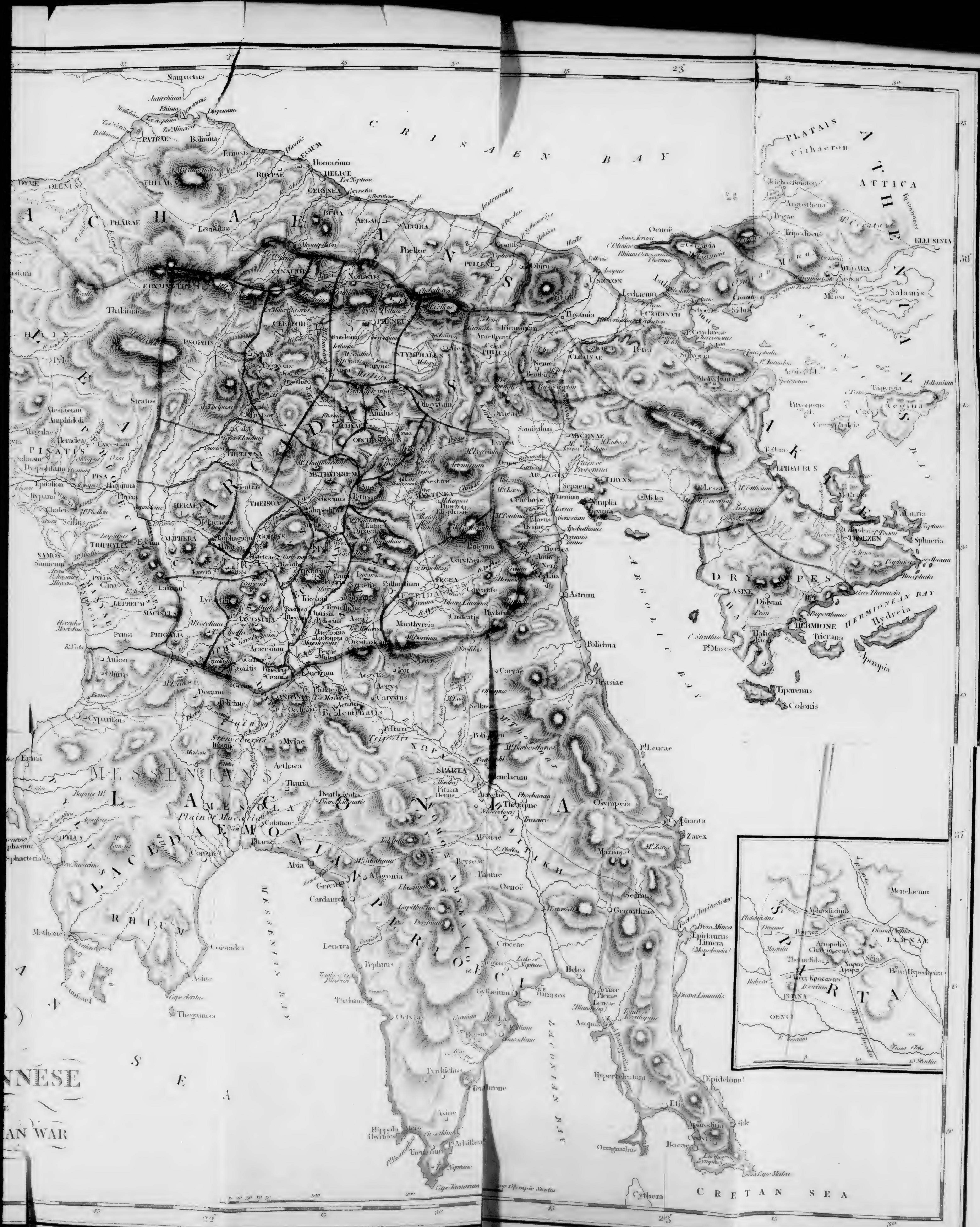




THE
JOURNAL
OF
THE
AMERICAN
MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
CHICAGO, ILL.



(MAP)
OF THE
PELOPONNESE
DURING THE
PELOPONNESIAN WAR



THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

DORIC RACE

BY

C. O. MÜLLER,

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

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AND

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STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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MDCCCXXXIX.

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LONDON:
Printed by W. Clowes and Sons,
Stamford-Street.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

BOOK III.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE DORIANS.

CHAP. I.

- § 1. End of the state according to the Doric notions. § 2. Difference between the political institutions of the Dorians and Ionians. § 3. Successive changes in the constitutions of the Greek states; 1st, royal aristocracy of the heroic ages. § 4. 2nd, Timocracy, or aristocracy of wealth. § 5. 3rd, Tyranny. § 6. 4th, Democracy. § 7. Form of government characteristic of the Doric race. § 8. Supposed Legislation of Lycurgus. § 9. Derivation of Spartan laws from the Delphic oracle. § 10. Characteristics of the Doric form of government. .Page 1

CHAP. II.

- § 1. Origin and distribution of the Periœci of Laconia. § 2. Their political condition and civil rights. § 3. Their service in war, and their occupation in manufactures, trade, and art. § 4. Noble families in Sparta not of Doric origin. Trades and crafts hereditary in Sparta.p. 17

CHAP. III.

- § 1. Helots of Sparta. Their political condition. § 2. Their service in war. § 3. Treatment of the helots. § 4. The crypteia. § 5. Various degrees of helotism. § 6. Number of the helots. § 7. The phylæ of Pitana, Limnæ, Mesoa, and Cynosurap. 29

CHAP. IV.

- § 1. Subject classes in Crete. § 2. In Argos and Epidaurus. § 3. In Corinth and Sicyon. § 4. In Syracuse. § 5. In Byzantium, Heraclea on the Pontus, and Cyrene. § 6. The bond-slaves of Thessaly. § 7. Cities and villages of Arcadia. § 8. The political opposition of city and country.p. 50

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CHAP. V.

- § 1. Three tribes of citizens in the Doric states. § 2. Additional tribes, of inferior rank, in some Doric states. § 3. Each tribe in Sparta was divided into ten obæ. § 4. Political importance of the Spartan obæ. § 5. Πάρραι, in other Doric states, corresponding to the Spartan obæ. § 9. Number of Spartan γένη. § 7. Distinction between Equals and Inferiors in Sparta. § 8. Powers of the assembly of citizens at Sparta. § 9. Names of the assembly of the citizens in the Doric states. § 10. Proceedings of the Spartan assembly. § 11. Public assembly of Crete p. 75

CHAP. VI.

- § 1. The Gerusia of Sparta, a council of elders. § 2. The Spartan Gerontes were irresponsible. § 3. Functions of the Spartan Gerusia. § 4. Gerusia of Crete and of Elis. § 5. Character of the Spartan royalty. § 6. Honours paid to the Spartan kings, and the mode of their succession. § 7. Powers of the Spartan kings in domestic; § 8. and in foreign Affairs. § 9. Revenues of the Spartan kings. § 10. Heraclide princes in Doric states other than Sparta. p. 93

CHAP. VII.

- § 1. Origin of the office of Ephor in the Spartan state. § 2. Period of its creation. § 3. Civil Jurisdiction of the Ephors. § 4. Increase in the powers of the Ephors. § 5. Their transaction of business with the assembly of citizens, and with foreign powers. § 6. The power of the Ephors, owing to their ascendancy over the assembly of citizens. § 7. Miscellaneous facts concerning the office of Ephor. § 8. Titles and duties of other magistrates at Sparta p. 114

CHAP. VIII.

- § 1. The Cosmi of Crete. § 2. Changes in their powers. § 3. The Prytanes of Corinth and Rhodes. § 4. The Prytanes of ancient Athens. § 5. The Artynæ of Argos; the Demiurgi in several states of Peloponnesus p. 133

CHAP. IX.

- § 1. Constitutions of Argos. § 2. Epidaurus, Ægina, Cos.

- § 3. Rhodes. § 4. Corinth. § 5. Corcyra. § 6. Ambracia, Leucadia, Epidamnus, Apollonia. § 7. Syracuse. § 8. Gela, Agrigentum. § 9. Sicyon, Philus. § 10. Megara. § 11. Byzantium, Chalcedon, Heraclea Pontica. § 12. Cnidos, Melos, Thera. § 13. Cyrene. § 14. Tarentum. § 15. Heraclea Sciritis. § 16. Croton; § 17. and Delphi. § 18. Aristocratic character of the constitution of Sparta . . . p. 145

CHAP. X.

- § 1. Tenure of land in Laconia. § 2. Partition of the land into lots, and their inalienability. § 3. Law of inalienability of land repealed by Epitadeus. § 4. Lacedæmonian law respecting marriage portions and heiresses. § 5. Similar regulations respecting landed property in other states. § 6. The syssitia of Crete and the phiditia of Sparta. § 7. Contributions to the public tables in Crete and Sparta. § 8. Domestic economy of Sparta. § 9. Money of Sparta. § 10. Regulations respecting the use of money in Sparta. § 11. Changes in these regulations. Taxation of the Spartans. § 12. Trade of Peloponnesus. Monetary system of the Dorians of Italy and Sicily p. 195

CHAP. XI.

- § 1. Simplicity of the Law of Sparta. § 2. Spartan System of Judicature. § 3. Penal system of Sparta: fine, infamy. § 4. Exile and death. § 5. Origin of the laws respecting the penalty of death in the Doric states. § 6. Connexion of Locri with the Doric race. § 7. Laws of Zaleucus p. 227

CHAP. XII.

- § 1. Study of the military profession at Sparta. Period of service. § 2. Arrangement of the army. Numbers of the military divisions. § 3. Arrangement of the enomoty and military evolutions. § 4. Arrangement of the Mora. § 5. Organization of the Spartan army. Its officers. § 6. Cavalry in the other Doric states. The Sciritæ in the Lacedæmonian army. Light-armed soldiers. § 7. Arms of the heavy infantry of Sparta. § 8. Spartan tactics. § 9. Steady courage of the Spartans. § 10. War considered as an art by the Spartans. Life of the Spartans in camp p. 242

BOOK IV.

DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS, ARTS, AND LITERATURE OF THE DORIANS.

CHAP. I.

- § 1. Subjects of the present book. § 2. Simplicity of the dwellings of the Dorians. § 3. Achæan style of buildings. § 4. Character of the Doric architecture p. 265

CHAP. II.

- § 1. General character of the Doric dress. § 2. Different dresses of married and unmarried women among the Dorians. § 3. Dress of the Spartan women. § 4. Dress of the Spartan men. § 5. Simplicity of the Doric dress. § 6. Doric and Ionic fashions of wearing the hair. Change of costume in many Doric states. Baths p. 271

CHAP. III.

- § 1. Syssitia of the Dorians and other Greek races. § 2. Simple fare of Sparta. § 3. Public tables of Sparta and Crete. § 4. Abandonment of the simple fare in some Doric colonies p. 283

CHAP. IV.

- § 1. Freedom of intercourse between unmarried persons at Sparta. § 2. Marriage ceremonies. § 3. Age of marriage. § 4. Relations of husband and wife. § 5. Different treatment of women among the Ionians. § 6. Παιδεραστία of Sparta. § 7. And of Crete. § 8. Origin of this custom p. 289

CHAP. V.

- § 1. Education of the youth at Sparta. Its early stages. § 2. Its continuation after the twelfth year. § 3. Education of the youth in Crete. § 4. Nature of the education: gymnastic and music. § 5. Influence of the Dorians upon the national games. § 6. The Spartan youth trained to hardships. § 7. Military games at Crete and Sparta. § 8. Athletic exercises of the women p. 307

CHAP. VI.

- § 1. Origin of the Doric musical mode. § 2. Character of the

- Doric mode. § 3. Progress of music in Sparta. § 4. Public musical performances. § 5. Progress of music in other Doric states. § 6. Connexion of dancing and music. Military music of Sparta. § 7. Military dances. § 8. Connexion of gymnastic exercises and dancing. § 9. Imitative dances. § 10. Dances of the Helots. Origin of bucolic poetry among the subject classes. § 11. Comedy connected with the country festivals of Bacchus p. 323

CHAP. VII.

- § 1. Origin of comedy at Megara. § 2. Life and drama of Epicharmus. § 3. Traces of theatrical representations on painted vases. § 4. Political and philosophical tendency of the drama of Epicharmus. § 5. Mimes of Sophron. § 6. Plays of Rhinthon. § 7. Origin of tragedy at the city festivals of Bacchus. § 8. Early history of the Doric tragedy. § 9. Character of the Doric lyric poetry. § 10. Doric lyric poets. § 11. Origin of the Doric lyric poetry. § 12. Character of the Doric style of sculpture p. 353

CHAP. VIII.

- § 1. History and rhetoric little cultivated by the Dorians. § 2. Apophthegmatic style of expression used by the Dorians. § 3. Apophthegms of the Seven Sages. § 4. Griphus invented by the Dorians. § 5. Symbolical language of the Pythagorean philosophy p. 384

CHAP. IX.

- § 1. Difference between the life of the Dorians and Ionians. Domestic habits of the Spartans. § 2. Opinions of the Dorians respecting a future life. § 3. General character of the Dorians. § 4. Its varieties. § 5. Character of the Spartans. § 6. Character of the Cretans, Argives, Rhodians, Corinthians, Corcyraeans, Syracusans, Sicyonians, Phliasians, Megarians, Byzantians, Æginetans, Cyrenæans, Crotoniats, Tarentines, Messenians, and Delphians p. 395

APPENDIX V.

On the Doric dialect p. 417

APPENDIX VI.

Chronological tables p. 441

Index p. 467

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BOOK III.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE DORIANS.

CHAP. I.

- § 1. End of a state according to the Doric notions. § 2. Difference between the political institutions of the Dorians and Ionians. § 3. Successive changes in the constitutions of the Greek states; 1st, royal aristocracy of the heroic ages. § 4. 2nd, Timocracy, or aristocracy of wealth. § 5. 3rd, Tyranny. § 6. 4th, Democracy. § 7. Form of government characteristic of the Doric race. § 8. Supposed legislation of Lycurgus. § 9. Derivation of Spartan laws from the Delphic oracle. § 10. Characteristics of the Doric form of government.

1. BEFORE we speak of the form of government which prevailed in the Doric states, it will be necessary to set aside all modern ideas respecting the origin, essence, and object of a state; namely, that it is an institution for protecting the persons and property of the individuals contained in it. We shall approach nearer to the ancient notion, if we consider the essence of a state to be, that by a recognition of the same opinions and principles, and the direction of actions to the same ends, the whole body become, as it were, one moral agent. Such an unity of opinions and actions can only be produced by the ties of some natural affinity, such as of a nation, a tribe, or a part of one: although in process of time the meaning of the terms *state* and *nation* became more distinct. The more complete the unity of feelings and principles is, the

more vigorous will be the common exertions, and the more comprehensive the notion of the state. As this was in general carried to a wider extent among the Greeks than by modern nations, so it was perhaps nowhere so strongly marked as in the Dorian states, whose national views with regard to political institutions were most strongly manifested in the government of Sparta. Here the plurality of the persons composing the state was most completely reduced to unity; and hence the life of a Spartan citizen was chiefly concerned in public affairs. The greatest freedom of the Spartan, as well as of the Greeks in general, was only to be a living member of the body of the state; whereas that which in modern times commonly receives the name of liberty, consists in having the fewest possible claims from the community; or in other words, in dissolving the social union to the greatest degree possible, as far as the individual is concerned. What the Dorians endeavoured to obtain in a state was good order, or *κόσμος*, the regular combination of different elements. The expression of king Archidamus in Thucydides,^a that "it is most honourable, and at the same time most secure, for many persons to show themselves obedient to the same order (*κόσμος*)," was a fundamental principle of this race. And hence the Spartans honoured Lycurgus so greatly, as having instituted the existing order of things (*κόσμος*):^b and called his son by the laudatory title of Eucosmus.^c For the same reason the supreme magistrate among the Cretans was called

^a II. 11.

^b Herod. I. 65. Concerning the expression *κόσμος*, with regard to the constitution of

Sparta, see also Clearchus ap. Athen. XV. p. 681 C.

^c Pausan. III. 16. 5. See above, vol. I. p. 69, note g.

Cosmus; among the Epizephyrian Locrians, Cosmopolis. Thus this significant word expresses the spirit of the Dorian government, as well as of the Dorian music and philosophy.^d With this desire to obtain a complete uniformity, an attempt after stability is necessarily connected. For an unity of this kind having been once established, the next object is to remove whatever has a tendency to destroy it, and to repress all causes which may lead to a change: yet an attempt to exclude all alteration is never completely successful: partly on account of the internal changes which take place in the national character, and partly because causes operating from without necessarily produce some modifications. These states, however, endeavour to retain unchanged a state of things once established and approved; while others, in which from the beginning the opinions of individuals have outweighed the authority of the whole, admit, in the progress of time, of greater variety, and more innovations, readily take up whatever is offered to them by accident of time and place, or even eagerly seek for opportunities of change. States of this description must soon lose all firmness and character, and fall to pieces from their own weakness; while those which never admit of innovation will at last, after having long stood as ruins in a foreign neighbourhood, yield to the general tide of human affairs, and their destruction is commonly preceded by the most complete anarchy.

2. This description expresses, though perhaps too forcibly, the difference between the Doric and Ionic races. The former had, of all the Grecians, the

^d That is, of the Pythagorean philosophy. See below, ch. 9. § 16.

greatest veneration for antiquity; and not to degenerate from his ancestors was the strongest exhortation which a Spartan could hear:° the latter, on the other hand, were in everything fond of novelty, and delighted in foreign communication; whence their cities were always built on the sea, whereas the Dorians generally preferred an inland situation. The anxiety of the Dorians, and the Spartans in particular, to keep up the pure Doric character and the customs of their ancestors, is strongly shown by the prohibition to travel,^f and the exclusion of foreigners, an institution common both to the Spartans and Cretans, and which has been much misrepresented by ancient authors.^g It is very possible, as Plutarch thinks,

° Thucyd. II. 11. cf. I. 70. 71. Athen. XIV. p. 624 C. &c.

^f Plat. Protag. p. 342 C. Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 14, 4. Plutarch. Inst. Lac. p. 252. and particularly Isocrat. Busir. p. 225 A. The Spartans were ἐνδημότατοι, according to Thucyd. I. 70. See below, ch. 11. § 7.

^g From Thucyd. I. 144. compared with Plutarch's Life of Agis, it may be seen that the ξενηλασία was only practised against tribes of different usages, particularly Athenians and Ionians. See Valer. Max. II. 6. ext. 1. Yet at the Gymnopædia (Plut. Ages. 29. cf. Cimon. 10. Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. I. 2. 61.) and other festivals, Sparta was full of foreigners, Cragius de Rep. Lac. III. p. 213. Poets, such as Thaletas, Terpander, Nymphæus of Cydonia, Theognis (who celebrates his hospitable reception in the ἀγλαὸν ἄστυ, v. 785.); philosophers, such as

Pherecydes and Anaximander and Anacharsis the Scythian, were willingly admitted; other classes of persons were excluded. Thus there were regulations concerning persons, and the time of admitting foreigners: and hence the earlier writers, such as Thucydides, Xenophon, and Aristotle, always speak of ξενηλασίαι in the plural number. (Compare Plut. Inst. Lac. 20.) See also Plut. Lyc. 27. who refers to Thuc. II. 24. Aristoph. Av. 1013. and the Scholiast (from Theopompus), and Schol. Pac. 622. Suid. in διειρωνόξενοι and ξενηλατεῖν, who, as usual, has copied from the Scholiast to Aristophanes, that the Xenelasia was introduced ποτὲ ΣΠΟΔΙΑΣ γενομένης, for which we should clearly write ΣΙΤΟΔΕΙΑΣ. Theophil. Instit. I. tit. 2. Comp. de la Nauze Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. XII. p. 159. It may be added that the nu-

that the severity of these measures was increased by the decline of all morals and discipline, which had arisen among the Ionians from the contrary practice; that race having in the earliest times fallen into a state of the greatest effeminacy and inactivity, from their connexion with their Asiatic neighbours. For how early was the period when the ancient constitution of the Grecian family degenerated among the Ionians into the slavery of the wife! how weak, effeminate, and luxurious do their ancient poets Callinus^h and Asiusⁱ represent them! and if the legend describes even the daughters of Neleus, the founder of the colony, as completely destitute of morality,^k what must have been the condition of this people, when the wives of the Ionians had mixed with Lydian women! The warning voice of such examples might well stimulate the ancient lawgivers to draw in with greater closeness the iron bond of custom.

3. But with all this difference in the races of

merous ξενίαι and προξενίαι, the hospitable connexions of states and individuals, served to alleviate the harshness of the institution. Thus the Lacedæmonians were connected with the Pisistratidæ (vol. I. p. 188, note °), and with the family of Callias (Xen. Symp. 8. 39); Endius with Clinias, the father of Alcibiades (Thuc. VIII. 6); king Archidamus with Pericles (ib. II. 13); Xenias the Elean with king Agis, the son of Archidamus, and the state of Sparta. (Paus. III. 8. 2.) See B. III. ch. 6. § 7, and vol. I. p. 209, n. °. The exchange of names, occasioned by προξενίαι, might be made the sub-

ject of a distinct investigation. See the note last cited, and Paus. III. 6. 41. Moreover the Spartans sometimes gave freedom from custom duties, and the privilege of occupying a seat of honour at the games at Sparta, to strangers, even of Athenian race; for example, to the Deceleans, according to Herod. IX. 73.

^h p. 100. ed. Frank.

ⁱ See Næke's Chœrilus, p. 74.

^k Archiloch. p. 226. Liebel. Lycoph. 1385. and Tzetzes, Etym. in ἀσελγαίνειν and ἑλεγγής. Concerning the effeminacy of the Codridæ, see Heraclid. Pont. I.

which the Grecian nation consisted, there was, in the development of the constitutions of the Greek states, a common progress, which extended a certain influence even to such as retained their earlier impressions with a firm adherence to antiquity. As it is our present object to give a general view of this advance, we will begin with the constitution of the heroic age, so clearly described in Homer. This can scarcely be called by any other name than that of *aristocracy*, as its most important feature is the accurate division between the nobles¹ and the people. The former composed the deliberative councils, and the courts of justice;^m and although both were commonly combined with a public assembly (*ἀγορά*), the nobles were the only persons who proposed measures, deliberated and voted; the people was only present in order to hear the debate, and to express its feelings as a body; which expressions might then be noticed by princes of a mild disposition.ⁿ The chief ruler himself was properly of equal rank with the other nobles, and was only raised above them by the authority intrusted to him as president in the council, and commander in the field. This form of government

¹ ἄριστοι, ἀριστεῖς, ἄνακτες, βασιλεῖς, ἐπικρατέοντες, κοιρανέοντες.

^m On the Gerontes, see below, ch. 6. § 1—4.

ⁿ We should particularly observe the assembly in the second book of the Odyssey, in which, however, Mentor (v. 239.) wishes to bring about a declaration of the people not strictly constitutional. But that the Homeric Ἀγορά independently exercised the rights of

government, I cannot allow to Platner, *De Notione Juris apud Homerum*, p. 108. and Tittmann *Griechischen Staatsverfassungen*, p. 63. It was a species of Wittenagemote, in which none but the thanes had the right of voting, as among the Saxons in England. The people composed a *concio*, but no *comitia*. My opinion more nearly coincides with that of Wachsmuth, *Jus Gentium apud Græcos*, p. 18, sq.

continued to exist for a considerable time in the Ionian, Achæan, and Æolian states; but the power of the chief ruler gradually declined, and was at last wholly abolished. With the Dorians, however, the case was very different; they were peculiar in possessing a very limited nobility, for the Heraclidæ had nearly an exclusive right to that appellation: while, on the other hand, a whole nation occupied by means of conquest a station analogous to that of an aristocracy, uniting military pursuits with independence obtained by the possession of the land.

4. About the 30th Olympiad (660 B.C.), however, on account of the increased trade and intercourse with foreign nations, and consequently of the greater demand for luxuries, the value of wealth rose in comparison with the honour of noble descent. The land, indeed, still remained for the most part in the hands of the aristocracy; but as it had at this time become more easy to dissipate an inherited estate, and to obtain consideration by the profits of trade, property was more exposed to sudden changes. It is probable that the Geomori of the Ionic Samos, as well as the Hippobotæ of Chalcis (which, as well as Samos, had once belonged to Ionians), whose distinction was derived from the possession of land, also carried on the extensive commerce of these two states; otherwise the wealth of the merchant would soon have exceeded that of the landowner. In the Doric states also, which were much engaged in trade, such as Corinth, Ægina, &c., it was attempted to unite the government of hereditary aristocracy and of wealth.^o The new importance attached to wealth, even at the time of the Seven Sages, gave rise to the saying of Aristodemus the Ar-

^o *Æginetica*, p. 133.

give, "Money makes the man;"^p and at a later period Theognis the Megarean complains that the pursuit of riches confounds all distinction of rank, and that estimation was derived from it.^q The ancient legislators of Greece considered the power of money, or moveable property (which is as changeable as property in land is durable), most prejudicial to the safety of states; and they endeavoured by oppressing the commercial classes, as well as by rendering the land inalienable, to palliate a danger which they were unable wholly to remove. Sparta alone, from the unchangeableness of her institutions, remained free from these revolutions. Solon, on the other hand, endeavoured to arrest and perpetuate a state of things which was merely fleeting and transitory. He left some remnants of the aristocracy, particularly the political union of the γένηα, or houses, untouched; while he made his government in principle a timocracy, the amount of property determining the share in the governing power; and at the same time showed a democratic tendency in the low rate at which he fixed the valuation. In his poetry also Solon considers the middle ranks as most valuable to the state; and therefore he endeavoured to give them political importance.^r But the temperature which he chose was too artificial to be lasting; and the constitution of Solon, in its chief points, only remained in force for a few years. In other Ionic states also similar reconciliations were attempted, but without obtaining any stability.^s The spirit of the age was manifestly turned towards democracy; and though at Athens

^p Χρήματα χρήματ' ἀνὴρ, Pindar. Isth. II. 11. See Dissen Explic. p. 493. Alcæus ap. Schol. et Zeeob. Prov. ^q V. 190.

^r Ap. Aristot. Pol. IV. 8. 7, 10. ^s See Hullmann, *Staatsrecht*, p. 103.

Solon, as being the friend of the people, succeeded perhaps in effecting a more gradual transition; in other places the parties were more directly opposed, as is clearly shown by the contest between the parties Πλοῦτις and Χειρομάχα at Miletus.^t

5. At Athens however, and generally throughout Greece, the first result of these democratic movements was the establishment of tyranny or despotism; which may be considered as a violent revulsion, destined to precede a complete subversion of all the existing institutions. It has been already shown that the tyrants of Corinth, Sicyon, Megara, and Epidaurus, were originally leaders of the popular party against the Doric nobility, or *demagogues*, according to the expression of Aristotle; and for this reason Sparta, as being the protector of aristocracy, overthrew them, wherever her power extended.^u In Ionia and Sicily the tyrants found an oligarchical timocracy, which was commonly opposed by a democratical party;^x and in some instances, as in that of Gelon, the tyrant acted against the popular faction. At the time of the Persian war democracy had struck deep root among the Ionians; and Mardonius the Persian, after the expulsion of the tyrants, restored it in their cities as the desired form of government.^y In Athens Cleisthenes had deprived the union of the houses (the last support of the aristocracy) of its political importance;

^t Plutarch. Qu. Gr. 32. The emendation Πλοῦτις is confirmed by the comparison of Athenæus XII. p. 524 A.B.

^u See book I. ch. 8.

^x See Aristot. Pol. V. 10. 4. Panætius of Leontini was a demagogue in a previously oligarchical state, of which the

constitution was similar to that of the Hippobotæ. See Polyænus V. 47.

^y Herod. VI. 43. — Pindar (Pyth. II. 87.) supposes three constitutions, Tyranny, Dominion of the unrestrained Multitude, and Government of the Wise.

and Aristides was at length compelled by circumstances to chance the timocracy into a democracy. For in the Persian invasion the lower orders had discovered, while serving as rowers and sailors in the fleet, how much the safety of the state depended upon their exertions, and would no longer submit to be excluded from a share in the highest offices.^a The democracy flourished so long as great men understood how to guide it by the imposing superiority of their individual characters, and educated persons (οἱ βέλτιστοι) dared to take a share in public affairs; it fell when the greedy and indolent people, allured by the prospect of rewards pernicious to the state, filled the public assemblies and courts of justice. We will not carry on any further our picture of the ochlocracy, in which all social union was entirely dissolved, and the state was surrendered to the arbitrary will of a turbulent populace.

6. The last of these changes, produced by what is called the spirit of the times, we have illustrated by the history of Athens, although the same course may be shown to have taken place in other, even originally Doric states. Thus in Ambracia, about the same time as at Athens, the timocracy gradually passed into a democracy,^a and at Argos also the democracy rose at the same period. At the time of Polybius, the people had in the Doric states of Crete so unlimited an authority, that this writer himself wonders that his description of them should be so entirely opposed to all former accounts.^b But since, in general, these alterations threw down the Doric families from their high station, and put an end to the Doric customs, they

^a Aristot. Pol. V. 4.

^a Aristot. Pol. V. 2. 9. V. 3.

6. with Schneider's notes.

^b VI. 46.

have not so strong a claim upon our attention, as the peculiar system of the Doric form of government, which was most strongly expressed in the ancient Cretan and Lacedæmonian constitutions: the latter of which, although in many points it yielded and adapted itself to the progress of civilization, existed in its essential parts for five centuries;^c and by its durability preserved Sparta alone among all the states of Greece from revolutions and revolutionary excesses.^d

7. But, it may be asked, what right have we to speak of a Doric constitution in general; and why should we select Sparta in preference to any other state of the Doric race, as a model of that system? May not Lycurgus have formed his legislation from reflection upon the condition and wants of his own nation, or have conceived it from arbitrary principles of his own, and have thus impressed upon Sparta the character which it ever after retained, as an essential element of its system?^e Against this opinion, not unfrequently advanced, instead of bringing forward any general arguments, we prefer adducing the words of Pindar,^f who, beyond a doubt, was far better acquainted with the basis and origin of ancient constitutions, than either Ephorus or Plutarch. Pindar mentions that Hieron, the Syracusan, wished to establish the new city of Ætna (which was inhabited by 5000

^c Plut. Comp. Lycurg. 4. According to Livy XXXVIII. 34. 700 years up to 190 B. C. Cicero pro Flacco 26. also reckons 700 years, but to a different period.

^d Isocrat. Panath. p. 285 C.

^e Thus Schiller severely censures this lawgiver, for having so selfishly for ever destined his people to that course, which ap-

peared to his own narrow and prejudiced mind to be the best.

^f Θεοδμάτῃ σὺν ἐλευθερίᾳ Ὑλ-
λίδος στάθμας ἱέρων ἐν νόμοις
ἐκτίσας· ἐθέλοντι δὲ Παμφύλου
καὶ μὲν Ἡρακλεῖδαν ἔκγονοι
ὄχθαις ὑπὸ Ταυγέτου ναίοντες
αἰεὶ μένειν τεθροῖσιν ἐν Αἰγυμίου
Δωρίοις. Pyth. I. 61. see
Boeckh's Explic.

Syracusans, and the same number of Peloponnesians) upon the genuine Doric principles; as in later times Dion wished to establish in Syracuse itself a Lacedæmonian or Cretan constitution.^g He founded it "with heaven-built freedom, according to the laws of the Hylean model;" i. e., after the example of the Spartan constitution. "For the descendants of Pamphylus, and of the Heraclidæ, who dwell under the brow of Taygetus, wish always to retain the Doric institutions of Ægimius." Now in the first place, this passage proves that the laws of Sparta were considered the true Doric institutions; and, secondly, that their origin was held to be identical with that of the people. It proves that the Spartan *laws* (νόμοι) were the true Doric *institutions* (νόμιμα), and indeed, in no other nation was the distinction between usage and positive law less marked; from which circumstance alone it is evident how little opportunity the legislator had for fresh enactments, since custom can never be the work of one person. From this view of the subject we can also explain why Hellanicus, the most ancient writer on the constitution of Sparta,^h made no mention of Lycurgus (for which he is ignorantly censured by Ephorus),ⁱ and attributed what are called the institutions of Lycurgus to the first kings, Procles and Eurysthenes. It also follows, that when Herodotus describes the Spartans before the time of Lycurgus, as being in a state of the greatest

^g Plutarch. Comp. Timol. 2. Dion. 53. Λακωνικὸν σχῆμα—κοσμεῖν. He was himself a citizen of Sparta, Plut. Dion. 17. 49.

^h Yet Herodotus cannot have been acquainted with his work, since he considered himself as

the first writer on the subject, Herod. VI. 55.

ⁱ Strabo VIII. p. 366. On the other hand, Ephorus is probably alluded to by Heraclides Ponticus 2. when he says τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν ΤΙΝΕΣ Λυκούργῳ προσάπτουσι πᾶσαν.

anarchy,^k he can only mean that the original constitution (the τεθμοὶ Αἰγυμίου) had been overthrown and perverted by external circumstances, until it was restored and renewed by Lycurgus. Lycurgus, of whose real or imaginary existence we have already spoken,^l must at the time of Herodotus have been considered a mythical personage, as he had a temple, annual sacrifices, and, in fact, a regular worship.^m Now it is the tendency of mythological narration to represent accordant actions of many minds at different times under the name of one person: consequently, the mere name of an institution of Lycurgus says very little respecting its real origin and author.

8. The legislation of Lycurgus was, however, according to ancient traditions, aided by the support of Crete and Delphi, and the connexion between the religious usages of these states thus influenced their political condition. The form of government which was prevalent throughout the whole of Crete, originated, according to the concurrent testimony of the ancients, in the time of Minos; and it has been already shown that the Dorians at that time extended their dominion to this island, which thus received their

^k I. 65. Aristotle Pol. V. 10. 3. also calls the kings of Sparta before Lycurgus *tyrants*. On the other hand, Strabo VIII. p. 365. states, that "the conquerors of Laconia were from the beginning a nation subject to legal and moral restraints; but when they had intrusted the regulation of their government to Lycurgus, they so far excelled all others, that alone among the Greeks they ruled by land and sea." That this is the meaning of the passage, is

proved by the word καὶ in the clause καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐσωφρόνουν. Isocrates de Pace, p. 178 C. also contradicts indirectly the supposed anarchy of the Spartans. But in Panath. p. 270 A. he follows Thucydides I. 18. στασιάσαι φασὶν αὐτοὺς οἱ τὰ ἐκείνων ἀκριβοῦντες ὥς οὐδένας ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

^l B. I. ch. 7. § 3, 5.

^m Herod. I. 65. Ephorus ap. Strab. VIII. p. 366. Plut. Lycurg. 31. Nicol. Damasc. p. 449.

language and customs.ⁿ In Crete therefore, the constitution founded on the principles of the Doric race, was first moulded into a firm and consistent shape, but even in a more simple and antiquated manner than in Sparta at a subsequent period.^o Thus Lycurgus was enabled, without forcing any foreign usages upon Sparta, to take for a model the Cretan institutions which had been more fully developed at an earlier period; so that the constitutions of Crete and Sparta had from that time, as it were, a family resemblance.^p When therefore we are told that a pæan singer and expiatory priest of Crete, by name Thaletas of Elyrus,^q sent by the command of the Pythian oracle, composed the troubles and dissensions of Sparta by the power of his music, and that he was the instructor of Lycurgus;^r it is easy to perceive that the latter part of this account is an addition, made without any attention to chronology; but the operation of Cretan music upon the regulation of political affairs, is strictly in the spirit of an age, and of a race, in which religion, arts, and laws conduced far more than among any other people to attain the same end, and had their basis in the same notions.

9. On the other hand, it was the pride of the

ⁿ B. I. ch. 1. § 9. Comp. b. II. ch. 2. § 2.

^o According to Aristot. Pol. II. 7. 1. The meaning of this writer appears to be, that the Dorians had received these laws from the early inhabitants, as the Periceci had retained them most truly; but from the account given in the text, we must reject that idea.

^p Plat. Leg. III. p. 685.

^q This statement appears more

correct than of Gortyna or Cnosus. Comp. Meursius, Creta, IV. 12.

^r See Aristot. Pol. II. 8. 5. Ælian. V. H. XII. 50. Diog. Laërt. I. 38. Plut. Lyc. 3. Philos. cum princ. 4. p. 88. Pausan. I. 14. 3. Philod. de Mus. Col. 18, 19. Boeth. de Mus. I. 1. p. 174. Sext. Empir. adv. Math. p. 68 B. Suid. vol. II. p. 163. Compare b. II. ch. 8. § 11.

Spartans, that their laws had proceeded from the oracle of the Pythian god:^a and Tyrtæus says, in some verses of his Eunomia, that the fundamental principles of the Spartan constitution had been laid down by Apollo.^b It is probable that these laws were really composed in the form of injunctions to Lycurgus, or to the people.^c The oracle, however, continued to possess a superintending power over the constitution, chiefly through the intervention of the Pythians,^d four persons appointed by the kings as messengers to the temple of Pytho, who delivered the oracles truly and honestly to the kings,^e and were equally acquainted with their purport. On account of the importance of these oracles, the Pythians were the assessors of the kings and the gerusia,^f and were always the messmates, both at home and in the field, of the kings. It is probable that the three "Pythian interpreters" at Athens, who, besides explaining the oracles, performed public and domestic expiatory sacrifices,^g once possessed a similar dignity, although they lost these powers at a very early period. The theori of Ægina, Mantinea, Messenia, Troezen, and Thasos, who composed separate colleges, eat together, and who were regular magistrates, not being like the theori of Athens,

^a Xenoph. Rep. Laced. 8. 5. According to whom Lycurgus asked the god, *εἰ λῶν καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη τῇ Σπάρτῃ*—doubtless a regular formula. This coincides with the dictum of the Pythian priestess in Plut. Quæst. Rom. 28. p. 329.

^b See below, ch. 5. § 8.

^c B. II. ch. 7. § 4. Later historians, from a mistaken explanation, suppose that the whole correspondence was a delusion, or a fraud of Lycurgus,

Polyæn. I. 16. 1. Justin. III. 3.

^d Called in the Lacedæmonian dialect *Πόλθιοι*, Photius in v.

^e That this could not always be said of the *θεοπρόποι*, may be seen from Theognis, v. 783.

^f This, I infer, nearly agreeing with Cragius, from Cicero de Div. I. 13. Conf. Herod. VI. 57. Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 15.

^g See particularly Timæus Lex. Plat. in v. *ἐξηγηταὶ Πυθόχρηστοι*.

chosen for a single theoria, may be compared with the Pythians.^b

10. This comparison again leads us back to our former position, that in the genuine Doric form of government there were certain predominant ideas, which were peculiar to that race, and were also expressed in the worship of Apollo, viz., those of *harmony* and *order* (τὸ εὐκοσμον); of *self-control and moderation* (σωφροσύνη), and of *manly virtue* (ἀρετή).^c Accordingly, the constitution was formed for the education as well of the old as of the young, and in a Doric state education was upon the whole a subject of greater importance than government. And for this reason all attempts to explain the legislation of Lycurgus, from partial views and considerations, have necessarily failed. That external happiness and enjoyment were not the aim of these institutions was soon perceived. But it was thought, with Aristotle,^d that every thing could be traced to a desire of making the Spartans courageous warriors, and Sparta a domi-

^b See Æginetica, p. 135. Compare Dissen Expl. Pind. Nem. III. p. 376. In the Thearion at Troezen there were expiatory sacrifices, book II. ch. 2. § 8. In Thasos they were called Θεῦροι, Inscript. ap. Choiseul. Gouff. Voyage pittoresque, I. 2. p. 156. Here also they were in connexion with the temple of the Pythian Apollo.

^c See Thuc. I. 84. Plat. Alcib. I. c. 38.

^d VII. 2. 5. Engel de Rep. mil. Spart., a Göttingen prize Essay for 1790., where Cosacks, Spartans, and Cretans are classed together. Compare

Heyne de Spartan. Rep. Comment. Götting. tom. IX. p. 8. It appears, indeed, from Aristotle Pol. VII. 14 (13) to have been the opinion of the writers who treated of the constitution of Sparta during the predominance of that state, that "the Lacedæmonians owed their external dominion to their constitution, according to which they had been trained to dangers and exertions from their youth (ὅτι διὰ τὸ γεγυμνάσθαι πρὸς τοῦς κινδύνους πολλῶν ἤρχον.)" But the intended effect of these institutions cannot be safely inferred from their actual consequences.

nant and conquering state; whereas the fact is, that Sparta was hardly ever known to seek occasion for a war, or to follow up a victory; and during the whole of her flourishing period (that is, from about the 50th Olympiad to the battle of Leuctra) did not make a single conquest by which her territory was enlarged. In conclusion we may say, that the Doric state was a body of men, acknowledging one strict principle of order, and one unalterable rule of manners; and so subjecting themselves to this system, that scarcely anything was unfettered by it, but every action was influenced and regulated by the recognised principles. Before however we come to the consideration of this system, it will be necessary to explain the condition of an order of persons, upon which it was in a certain measure founded, namely, the *subject classes* in the several Doric states.

CHAP. II.

- § 1. Origin and distribution of the Perioeci of Laconia. § 2. Their political condition and civil rights. § 3. Their service in war, and their occupation in manufactures, trade, and art. § 4. Noble families in Sparta not of Doric origin. Trades and crafts hereditary in Sparta.

1. THE clearest notion of the subjection enforced by the dominant race of Dorians may be collected from the speech of Brasidas to the Peloponnesians, in Thucydides.* "You are not come," he says, "from states in which the many rule over the few, but the few over the many, having obtained their

* IV. 126.

"sovereignty in no other manner than by victory in the field." The only right indeed which they possessed was the right of conquerors; the Dorians had by the sword driven out the Achæans, and these again could not rest their claim to Peloponnesus on any better title. It seemed also like a continuation of the heroic age, the existence of which was founded on the rule exercised by the military over the agricultural classes. The relative rights of the Dorians and Achæans appear, however, to have been determined by mutual compact, since the Dorians, obtaining the superiority only by slow degrees, were doubtless glad to purchase the accession of each town on moderate conditions; and this was perhaps especially the case in Messenia.^b The native inhabitants of the towns, thus reduced to a state of dependence, were called *Περίοικοι*.^c The difference of races was strictly preserved; and was not (as elsewhere) obliterated by an union in the same city and political community. The Perioeci were always considered as Achæans, that people having in early times composed the larger mass of the people thus subdued. So, for example, the inhabitants of the maritime town of Asopus were called by the title of *Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ παρακυπαρίσσιοι*.^d At a later date, when the power of Sparta had been long broken, and her freedom annihilated by the tyrant Nabis, Titus Quinctius detached the hamlets (once called *πόλεις*, then *κῶμαι*, *vici*) from all connexion with Sparta, and placed

^b Pausan. IV. 3. 3. *συγχωροῦσιν Ἀναδάσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Δωριέας τὴν γῆν*. Pausanias, however, very frequently makes use of this expression, and often perhaps without any

historical ground.

^c Why I take no further notice of the account of Ephorus is explained in book I. ch. 5. § 13.

^d Pausan. III. 22. 7.

them under the protection of the Achæan league.^e Augustus confirmed the independence of twenty-four Laconian towns under the name of Eleuthero-lacones; these, like the former, being entirely released from the power of Sparta, were governed by their own laws,^f and formed a small distinct confederation. Hence it is evident that these Perioeci had previously maintained a certain degree of independence, and composed separate communities. Of these twenty-four towns eighteen are mentioned—viz., Gerenia, Alagonia, Thalamæ, Leuctra, Cætylus, Cæneopolis, Pyrrhichus, Las, Teuthrone, Gythium, Asopus, Acriæ, Bœæ, Zarax, Epidaurus, Limera, Prasiæ, Geronthræ, and Marius;^g a small part only of the coast near Cardamyle remained at that time under the power of Sparta.^h The towns, however, belonging to the Perioeci did not lie merely on the coast, but

^e Polyb. XX. 12. 2. with Schweighæuser's note, Liv. XXXIV. 29. XXXVIII. 30.

^f *αὐτόνομοι*, Pausan. III. 21. 6.

^g III. 21. 6. cf. 26. 6. The other six were at the time of Pausanias either again comprised in Messenia, as Pharæ, which Augustus had annexed to Laconia, Paus. IV. 30. 2. after it had at an earlier period been separated with Thuria and Abea from Messenia, Polyb. XXV. 1. 1, or they had fallen to decay, and were then uninhabited, as Pephnos, Helos, Cyphanta, and Leucæ. Whether Abea was included by Augustus in Laconia is doubtful, but it is probable from the situation of the place. This, with the other five mentioned above, would therefore make the number twenty-four com-

plete. As proofs of the late independence of these towns we may mention decrees of Abea, Geronthræ, Gytheium, Cætylus, and Tænarus (Boeckh Corp. Inscript. Nos. 1307, 1334, 1325, 1336, 1391, 1392, 1323, 1321, 1322, 1393, 1394). There are also inscriptions of the Eleutherolacones jointly, *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἐλευθερολακῶνων* (ib. 1389). Likewise, according to Eckhel, there are genuine coins, belonging to this and the Roman period, of Asine, Asopus, Bœæ, Gytheium, and Las; those of Taletum and Cythera are doubtful.

^h Pausan. III. 26. 5. Sparta must, however, have retained some outlet to the sea. The Lacedæmonian coast is also called the territory of the Perioeci in Thucyd. III. 16.

also more inland; for example, Thuria and Æthæa, which were in what had formerly been Messenia.¹ This Æthæa is reckoned among the hundred cities of Laconia,^k which Androtion had enumerated at full length in his Atthis, and perhaps also Stephanus of Byzantium, on the authority of Androtion;^l the epitome of whose work which we now possess only mentions Æthæa, Amyclæ, Croceæ, Epidaurus, Limera, Dyrrachium, Tenos, Aulon, and Anthana. Now since two of these towns are known from other authorities to have belonged to Perioeci, we may perhaps infer the same of the whole hundred. The round number of a hundred cannot however have been fixed before the time when the whole of Messenia, as far as the river Neda (on which Aulon was situated), as well as Cynuria (to which Anthana, or Athene, belonged), came finally under the dominion of Sparta, that is to say, after Olymp. 58. 548 B.C.^m It must therefore have been subsequent to this epoch that Sparta fixed the exact number of the towns inhabited by her Perioeci, and somewhat arbitrarily set them at a hundred; as Cleisthenes at Athens, though by what means is indeed unknown, contrived likewise to raise the number of demi in Attica to a hundred.

We have alreadyⁿ taken notice of another division

¹ Thucyd. I. 101. The Θουριᾶραι of Thuria, near Calamæ. Welcker (Alcmanis Fragment. p. 87.) proposes Αἰθαίω for Ἀθηθαίω in Theognis v. 1216. Bekker.

^k Androtion ap. Steph. Byz. in v.

^l See also in Αἰτωλία. They are also mentioned by Strabo, VIII. p. 362. (Eustath. ad II. B. p. 293, 19. ad Dion. Perieg.

418). They had not however any connexion with the Hecatombeæ; for Argos had the same festival.

^m See book I. ch. 7. § 16. Lysias ap. Harpocrat. also calls Anthana a Lacedæmonian city. See *Æginetica*, p. 46, note ^q, p. 185. note ^v. Siebelis ad Pausan. II. 38. 6.

ⁿ Book I. ch. 5. § 10.

of Laconia besides that into towns, and shown that the Perioeci of this country had formerly dwelt in five districts, of which the chief towns were Amyclæ, Las, Epidaurus Limera (or else Gytheium), Ægys, and Pharis; as also Messenia, in addition to the territory round the city inhabited by Dorians, contained four provinces—viz., Pylos, Rhium, Mesola, and Hyamia. For what length of time these districts were retained, and what relation they bore to the division into a hundred towns or hamlets, cannot now be determined.

2. It will next be necessary to ascertain what were the political rights and condition of the Perioeci. The main circumstances are without doubt correctly given by Ephorus. "They were," he says, "tributary to Sparta, and had not equal rights of citizenship." If these words are taken in their literal sense, it is plain that the Perioeci had not a share in the great legislative assembly of the citizens. And in truth the passages adduced by modern writers to show that they had a vote in this assembly are not by any means satisfactory.^o Perhaps the following considerations are sufficient to convince us of the impossibility of such general assemblies. Had the Spartan constitution permitted the whole people to hold large assemblies with the right of deciding on all public questions, it would have been in principle completely democratic, and would have had a perpetual tendency to become

^o See Manso, Sparta, vol. I. p. 93. Tittmann, vol. I. p. 89. That even the Lacedæmonian πλῆθος did not comprise the Perioeci, is shown, e. g., by Polybius IV. 34. 7, where it rejects the alliance of the Ætolians, chiefly on account of the fear that they would ἐξανδραπο-

δίξεσθαι τοὺς Περιοίκους. The name Λακεδαιμόνιοι, which signifies all, Perioeci and Spartans, and frequently the former, as the early inhabitants, in opposition to the latter, is no more a proof of political equality than the appellation Θεσσαλοὶ of the freedom of the Penestæ.

more so, in the necessary course of events. But, in addition to this objection, let us only picture to ourselves the absurdity of the Perioeci, in the neighbourhood of Sparta, all flocking together between the brook Babyca and the bridge Cnacion! Where again were those, who took several days to arrive at Sparta from Cyphanta, Pylos, or Tænarus, to find houseroom and food? How could any of them be ready to leave their homes and trades at such a summons? It was esteemed a difficult matter even to collect an armed force of Perioeci at a short notice. A *city-community* was doubtless everywhere requisite for a popular assembly; and hence in the Athenian, and every similar democracy, each citizen was in some way settled in the town, and had the right of there possessing an house (ἐγκτησις οἰκίας), which a Perioecus most assuredly had not.^p

3. Now, if it is acknowledged that the distant situation and state of the Perioeci presented almost insuperable objections to their possessing a share in the general government, their political inferiority to the Spartans will not appear very oppressive. They were admitted equally with the Spartans to the honourable occupation of war, and indeed sometimes served as heavy-armed soldiers, or as troops of the line.^q There were at Platæa 5000 Dorian hoplitæ,

^p Χωρίτης, as the Lacedæmonians are often called, is probably identical with περίοικος, Ælian. V. H. IX. 27. Compare χωριτίδες Βάκχαι, in Hesychius. Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας in Athen. XV. p. 674 A. from Sosibius are opposed τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀγωγῆς παισὶν (those educated in Sparta), and see Casaubon's note. The edu-

cation of the Perioeci was therefore entirely different from that of the Spartans.

^q Isocrates Panath. p. 271 A. speaking of the Lacedæmonians having compelled the Perioeci κατ' ἄνδρα συμπαρατάττεσθαι σφίσι αὐτοῖς, confounds the Perioeci with the Helots, as also in what follows.

and the same number of Perioeci; at Sphacteria 292 prisoners were taken, of whom only 120 were Spartans.^r How, if the Perioeci had been an oppressed people, could Sparta have ventured to collect so large a number into her armies; and for what reason should the Perioeci have taken part in the heroic devotion of that small band, if they had not the victory and honour of Sparta as much at heart as their own? "Sparta," said the Spartan king Demaratus, to Xerxes,^s "contains 8000 Spartans, all of "equal bravery; the other Lacedæmonians, in many "surrounding cities, are indeed inferior to them, but "yet not deficient in courage." Nor do we hear of any insurrection of Perioeci (if we except the revolt of two Messenian towns in Olymp. 78. 468 B.C.) until the downfall of the constitution.^t Again, would it be possible, on the assumption of an oppressive subjection, to explain how the Asinæans and Nauplians, when deprived of their independence by Argos, fled to Laconia, that they might occupy the maritime towns of Mothone and Asine, manifestly as Perioeci? Nor is it consistent with a general contempt of the Perioeci that καλοὶ καγαθοὶ—"gentlemen"—are mentioned in their number.^u All trade and commerce, of indispensable need to Laconia, were in the hands of the maritime towns. Merchants from Libya and Egypt brought their cargoes to the Perioeci of Cy-

^r In later times very different proportions occur, e.g., a very small number of Spartans in the army, when the city stood in need of its own citizens, and could not send them to a distance, or from other causes.

^s Herod. VII. 234.

^t No disobedience of the Pe-

rioeci can be inferred from Thucyd. IV. 8. Some Perioeci deserted to Epaminondas, Xenoph. Hell. VI. 5. 25. 23. Xenophon expresses himself more strongly, Hellen. VII. 2. 2.

^u Xenoph. Hell. V. 3. 9.

thera,^a who, among other branches of trade, followed the lucrative employment of the purple fishery.^b All manual labour in Sparta, not performed by slaves, was in the hands of this class, since no Spartan, before the introduction of the Achæan constitution, was allowed to follow any trade.^c The low estimation in which trade was held was founded on the ancient Grecian customs and opinions, in departing from which the Corinthians were nearly singular among the Doric states, the productiveness of trade having taught them to set a higher value upon it.^d And yet in their colony of Epidamnus public slaves were the only manual labourers;^e Diophantus wished to introduce the converse of this system at Athens, and to make all the manual labourers slaves. The Spartans, moreover, appear to have admitted those alone of the Perioeci who were engaged in agriculture to serve among the heavy-armed, while artisans were admitted only to the light-armed infantry.^f This had been once the case at Athens, where the Thetes (to which class the artificers belonged) served only in that inferior rank. According to this, then, the 5000 Perioeci, who at the battle of Plataea were allotted as light-armed to the same number of heavy-armed soldiers, were in part perhaps artificers. The

^a Thuc. IV. 53. cf. VII. 57.

^b See Plin. H. N. IX. 36. 60. 21, 8. 36, 5. Comp. Meurs. Misc. Lac. II. 19. Mitscherlich ad Hor. Carm. II. 18. 7.

^c Plutarch, Lyc. 4. Ælian, V. H. VI. 6. Nicolaus Damascenus, and others.

^d Herod. II. 167. cf. Cic. de Rep. II. 4. *Corinthus pervertit aliquando—hic error ac dissi-*

patio civium, quod mercandi cupiditate et navigandi, et agrorum et armorum cultum reliquerant. Compare Hüllmann *Staatsrecht*, p. 128.

^e Aristot. Pol. II. 4. 13.

^f This follows from Xenoph. Rep. Lac. II. 2. καὶ ἰππεῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς χειροτέχναις.

industrious pursuit of trade did not, however, suffer so much as might be supposed, from the low estimation in which it was held; for not only were many raw commodities obtained in a high degree of perfection in Laconia, but many Lacedæmonian manufactures were also used and sought after in the rest of Greece. The Laconian *cotthon*, a drinking vessel used in camps and marches,^d the bowl,^e the goblet,^f tables, seats, elbow chairs,^g doors,^h and cars,ⁱ the Laconian steel,^k keys,^l swords, helmets, axes, and other iron fabrics,^m the shoes of Amyclæ,ⁿ the Laconian mantles,^o and woollen garments dyed with native purple, which adorned alike the warriors setting out to battle and the bloody corpses of the slain; all these bespeak an active pursuit of trade, and at the same time a peculiar sense of propriety and comfort, which brought several

^d Critias Λακεδ. πολιτ. ap. Athen. XI. p. 483 B. and Plutarch, Lycurg. 9. Pollux, VI. 46, 97. Hesych. Suid. Xenoph. Cyrop. I. 2. 8.

^e Athen. V. 198 D. 199 E.

^f κύλιξ Λάκαινα, Hesych. in χῆρον.

^g Plut. Lyc. ubi sup.

^h Meurs. II. 17.

ⁱ Theoph. Hist. Plant. III. 17. 3.

^k Daimachus ap. Steph. Byz. in Λακεδ. and from him Eustath. II. p. 294, 5. Rom.

^l Salmas. Exer. Plin. p. 653 B. Moser in Creuzer's Init. Philos. vol. II. p. 152. Compare also Liban. Or. p. 87. e cod. August. ed. Reiske.

^m Xenoph. Hell. III. 3. 7. Plin. H. N. VII. 56. ξυήλη Λακωνική Pollux, I. 10, 137. concerning which see Phot. and

Suid. in v., who refer to Xen. Anab. IV. 8. 25. ἐγχειρίδιον, I. 10, 149. *ferrei annuli*, Plin. XXXIII. 4. μάστιγες, Steph. Eust. ubi sup.

ⁿ Theocrit. X. 35. et Schol. Athen. XI. p. 483 B. V. p. 215 C. Steph. ubi sup. Hesych. in ἀμυκλαῖδες, λακωνικά ὑποδήματα, cf. in ἐννήυσκοι. Compare the shoes of the Amyclæan priestesses upon the monument of Amyclæ in Walpole's *Memoirs*, p. 454. Lacedæmonian men's shoes (ἀπλαῖ) are often mentioned elsewhere, Aristoph. Thesm. and Wasps. Schol. and Suidas, Critias ubi sup. Pollux, VII. 22, 80. cf. Meurs. I. 18.

^o Λάκωνες ἑνὶ πεπλοῖ Epig. ap. Suid. in Λακωνικά. Athen. V. 198. XI. 483 C. Compare book IV. ch. 2. § 3.

of these goods and implements into general use. Many men were probably employed in the iron mines and forges;^p stone quarries of Tænarus had also been worked from early times;^q and that their industry was not confined to the mere drudgery of manufactures is shown by the schools of Lacedæmonian embossers and brass-founders (probably a branch of that in Crete), to which Chartas, Syadras, Dontas, Dorycleidas and Medon, Theocles, Gitiadas, and Cratinus belonged,^r all of whom were probably Perioeci, although Pausanias, neglecting the distinction, calls them Spartans. Upon the whole we may venture to affirm that the Doric dominion did not discourage or stifle the intellectual growth of her dependent subjects, but allowed it full room for a vigorous development. Myson, by many reckoned one of the seven sages, was, according to some, and perhaps the most credible accounts, a husbandman of the Laconian town of Etia, and resided at a place called Chen in the same country.^s Even the highest honour among the

^p These mines are not indeed anywhere expressly mentioned, but we must infer their existence from the number of iron fabrics, and the cheapness of iron. See below, ch. 10. § 9. and book I. ch. 4. § 3.

^q The stone quarries upon mount Taygetus were, however, according to Strabo VIII. p. 367, first opened by the Romans. Compare Xenoph. ubi sup. Pollux, VII. 23, 100. Interp. Juven. XI. 173. Meurs. II. 18. Pliny also mentions Lacedæmonian *cotes* and *smaragdi*.

^r Compare Thiersch, Ueber die Kunstepochen, Abhandlung II. p. 51.

^s My opinion is, that in the oracle (Diog. Laërt. I. 106. Comp. Casaubon and Menage) 'Hrēios was the correct reading, for which Oīraios was long ago substituted from ignorance.—The point was doubted at an early period in antiquity; even Plato, Protag. p. 343, appears not to consider Myson as a Lacedæmonian. See also Diod. de Virt. et Vit. p. 551. Paus. X. 24. 1. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 299. Sylb. Steph. Byz. in Χην and 'Hria. There is a story in Plutarch, Quæst. Rom. 84, of Myson making in winter a fork for tossing the corn, and, when Chilon wondered at it, of his justifying himself by an appo-

Greeks, the victory at the Olympic games, was not denied to the Lacedæmonians; an inhabitant of Acrise was found in the list of the conquerors at Olympia:^t from which circumstance it is evident that the Perioeci of Sparta were in all other parts of Greece considered as free citizens. They must also without doubt have possessed civil rights, but only in those communities to which they immediately belonged, and which would never have been called *cities* (πόλεις) unless they had to a certain point been independent bodies. Isocrates,^u indeed, states that they possessed less freedom and power than the demi of Attica; but no general comparison can be drawn between the δῆμοι of Attica and πόλεις of Laconia. Perhaps they had the power of electing their own municipal magistrates, though we find that a Spartan was sent as governor to the island of Cythera.^v The same was the case in war. We find the command at sea intrusted to one of the class of Perioeci,^w doubtless because the Spartans did not hold the naval service in much estimation, and because the inhabitants of the maritime towns were more practised in naval affairs than the Dorians of the interior. Concerning the tribute of the towns belonging to the Perioeci no accurate account has been preserved.

4. Though for the most part the early inhabitants were driven into the country by the Doric conquerors, there still remained some families which inhabited the

site answer; where Myson is opposed, as a Perioecian farmer, to the noble Spartan.

^t Paus. III. 22. 4.

^u In a very rhetorical passage, Panathen. p. 270 D.

^v Thuc. IV. 53. 54. Hesych. in Κυθηροδίκης.

^w Thuc. VIII. 22. Manso, Sparta, vol. II. p. 576. It does not indeed follow that this Perioecus had authority over Lacedæmonians; but Sparta must have sent him out as a commander to the Chians.

city conjointly with the Spartans, and were held in equal consideration with them; as at Athens, for example, many families of the original inhabitants appear to have had the rank of Eupatridæ. Of this the Talthybiadæ are an instance. The office of herald was at Sparta (as in the fabulous times) hereditary, and not, as in other parts of Greece, obtained by competition.^a The privilege of performing all foreign embassies,^a and a share in the sacred missions,^b were assigned to the pretended descendants of the Mycenaean herald Talthybius, who also enjoyed especial honours amongst the Achæans at Ægium;^c and there is doubtless reason to suppose that this family belonged to the Achæan race, without entering into the question of the correctness of their pedigree. The dignity attached to their office was very great, especially if, as was the case in the heroic ages, it was the custom for the heralds to address the princes as "beloved sons." As to property and effects, they ranked with the first Spartans,^d if, as it appears, Sperthias and Bulis, who offered themselves to the Persian king as an atonement for the murder of his ambassadors,^e were of the family of the Talthybiadæ.

Indeed almost all the other trades and occupations, besides that of herald, were hereditary at Sparta, as,

^a Herod. VI. 60. οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνήν (in the ἀγῶνες κηρύκων, comp. Faber Agonist. II. 15. Boeckh, Staatshaus-haltung, vol. II. p. 359.) ἐπιτιθέμενοι ἄλλοι σφέας παρακληίουσιν ἄλλα κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελέουσι.

^a Herod. VII. 134. τοῖσιν αἱ κηρυκῆαι αἱ ἐκ Σπάρτης πᾶσαι γέρας δίδονται.

^b Θεοκῆρυκες γένος τὸ ἀπὸ

Ταλθυβίου παρὰ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΙΣ. Hesych. Perhaps Ἐλευθερολάκωσι. Hemsterhuis supposes that Eleutherna in Crete is alluded to. The common name of the herald in Sparta was Μούσαξ. See Valck. ad Adonias. p. 379.

^c Pausan. III. 12. 6, 7. III. 23. 7.

^d Herod. ubi sup.

^e Herod. VII. 137.

for example, those of cooking, baking, mixing wine, flute-playing, &c.^f The trade of cooks had its particular heroes, viz., Dæton, Matton, and Ceraon, whose statue stood in the Hyacinthian street.^g It is easy to see how this hereditary transmission of employments favoured the maintenance of ancient customs. In fact, Sparta would not have so long remained contented with her black broth, either if her cooks had not learnt the art of dressing it from their youth upwards, and continued to exercise their craft after the manner of their fathers, or if this office could have been assigned at will to those who were able by their art to gratify the palate. It is not probable that any of these families of artisans were of Doric origin, and they doubtless belonged to the class of Perioeci; nor is it to be supposed that, like the Talthybiadæ, they possessed the Spartan rights of citizenship.^h

CHAP. III.

§ 1. Helots of Sparta. Their political condition. § 2. Their service in war. § 3. Treatment of the helots. § 4. The crypteia. § 5. Various degrees of helotism. § 6. Number of the helots. § 7. The phylæ of Pitana, Limnæ, Mesoa, and Cynosura.

1. THE condition of the Perioeci and that of the Helots must be carefully distinguished from each other;

^f VI. 60. Concerning the ὀψοποιοὶ see Agatharch. ap. Athen. XII. p. 550 C. Perizonius ad Ælian. V. H. XIV. 7.

^g Compare Athen. II. 39 C. with IV. 173 F.

^h The Perioeci also took part in the colonies of Sparta, e. g., of Heraclea Trachinia, where they probably belonged to the πολλοί; Thuc. III. 92, 93.

the latter state may be termed "villenage," or "bondage," to which that of the Perioeci had not the slightest resemblance.^a The common account of the origin of this class is, that the inhabitants of the maritime town Helos were reduced by Sparta to this state of degradation, after an insurrection against the Dorians already established in power.^b This explanation, however, rests merely on an etymology, and that by no means a probable one; since such a Gentile name as *Εἰλωες* (which seems to be the more ancient form) cannot by any method of formation have been derived from *Ἑλως*. The word *Εἰλωες* is probably a derivative from *Ἑλω* in a passive sense, and consequently means *the prisoners*.^c Perhaps it signifies those who were taken after having resisted to the uttermost, whereas the Perioeci had surrendered upon conditions; at least

^a Concerning the condition of the Helots, see, besides the more well-known books, Capronnier, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* tom. XXIII. p. 271. Schlaeger, *Dissert.* Helmst. 1730.

^b Ephorus ap. Strab. VIII. p. 365, according to Valckenær's emendation, Theopompus ap. Athen. VI. p. 272. Even Hellanicus in Harpocration uses the word *εἰλωτεύειν* p. 15. *Fragm.* 54. ed. Sturz.; it is, however, uncertain whether the etymology there given is from Hellanicus. Cf. Steph. Byz.

^c This derivation was known in ancient times, *e. g.*, Schol. Plat. Alcib. I. p. 78. Apostol. VII. 62. *Εἰλωτες οἱ ἐξ αἰχμαλωτῶν δούλοι*. So also *Δμῶς* comes from *δαμάω* (*ΔΕΜΩ*). For the *δμῶες*, of whom

there were large numbers (*μάλα μύριοι*, Od. XVII. 422. XIX. 78.) in the house of every prince (I. 397. VII. 225. II. XIX. 333.), and who chiefly cultivated the land, cannot have been bought slaves (for the single examples to the contrary are rather exceptions), as this would suppose a very extensive traffic in slaves; nor could they have been persons taken accidentally in expeditions of plunder and war, as in that case there could not have been so large a number in *every* house; but they are probably persons who were taken at the original conquest of the soil. The passage, Od. I. 298. *οὗς μοι λήισσας* may be variously applied.—Concerning the etymology of *Εἰλωες*, compare Lennep, *Etymol.* p. 257.

Theopompus^d calls them Achæans as well as the others. It appears, however, more probable that they were an aboriginal race, which was subdued at a very early period, and which immediately passed over as slaves to the Doric conquerors.^e

In speaking of the condition of the Helots, we will consider their political rights and their personal treatment under separate heads, though in fact the two subjects are very nearly connected. The first were doubtless exactly defined by law and custom, though the expressions made use of by ancient authors are frequently vague and ambiguous. "They were," says Ephorus,^f "in a certain point of view public slaves. Their possessor could neither liberate them, nor sell them beyond the borders." From this it is evident that they were considered as belonging properly to the state, which to a certain degree permitted them to be possessed, and apportioned them out to individuals, reserving to itself the power of enfranchising them. But to sell them out of the country was not in the power even of the state; and, to the best of our knowledge, such an event never occurred. It is, upon the whole, most probable that individuals had no power to sell them at all; since they were, for the most part, attached to the land, which was inalienable. On these lands they had certain fixed dwellings of their own, and particular services and payments were prescribed to them.^g They paid as rent a fixed measure of corn; not, however, like the Perioeci, to the state, but to their

^d Ap. Athen. VI. p. 265.

^e See book I. ch. 4. § 7.

^f Ap. Strab. VIII. p. 365. So also Pausanias III. 20. 6. calls all the Helots *δούλοι τοῦ κοινοῦ*. Comp. Herod. VI. 70.

where the *θεράποντες* are Helots.

^g Ephorus ubi sup. *Ilote sunt jam inde antiquitus castellani, agreste genus.* Liv. XXXIV. 27.

masters. As this quantity had been definitively settled at a very early period (to raise the amount being forbidden under heavy imprecations),^h the Helots were the persons who profited by a good, and lost by a bad harvest; which must have been to them an encouragement to industry and good husbandry; a motive which would have been wanting, if the profit and loss had merely affected the landlords. And thus (as is proved by the accounts respecting the Spartan agriculture),ⁱ a careful management of the cultivation of the soil was kept up. By means of the rich produce of the land, and in part by plunder obtained in war,^k they collected a considerable property,^l to the attainment of which almost every access was closed to the Spartans. Now the annual rent paid for each lot was eighty-two medimni of barley, and a proportionate quantity of oil and wine.^m It may therefore be asked how much remained to the Helots themselves, after paying this amount of corn from each lot. Tyrtæus appears to give some information, where he describes the Messenian bondmen "as groaning like asses under heavy burdens, and compelled by force to pay to their masters a half of the entire produce of the land."ⁿ

^h Plut. Instit. Lac. p. 255. where *μισθῶσαι* is an inaccurate expression.

ⁱ See book I. ch. 4. § 3. comp. particularly Polyb. V. 19.—Hesiod the poet of the Helots, according to the saying of the Spartan.

^k Herod. IX. 80.

^l Plutarch, Cleomen. 23. Manso, vol. I. p. 134.

^m Plut. Lyc. 8. seventy for the master, twelve for the mistress of the house: compare ib. 24.

ⁿ ὅσπερ ὄνοι μεγάλοι ἄχθουσιν τεῖρόμενοι,
διεποσύνουσιν φέροντες ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ
λυγρῆς
ἡμῖν πᾶν, ὅσον καρπὸν ἄρουρα φέρει.

Fragm. 6. Gaisford. The passage is given in prose by Ælian V. H. VI. 1.

^o Of the two lines of Tyrtæus afterwards cited by Pausanias, *δεσπότης οἰμῶζοντες, ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί, εὐτέ τιν' οὐλομένη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου*, it may be observed, that this duty of lamenting the king is

According to this account, the families of the Helots (of which many resided on one lot) would have retained only eighty-two medimni on an average, and the whole amount would have been one hundred and sixty-four. But this cannot be the institution of which Plutarch speaks; and Tyrtæus doubtless describes some oppression much aggravated by particular circumstances. For, assuming that the property of the Spartans amounted to two-thirds of the whole Laconian territory, which may be rated at three thousand eight hundred and forty square miles English, and three-fourths being deducted for hill, wood, pasture-land, vineyards, and plantations, we have two thousand eight hundred and eighty square miles for the nine thousand lots of the Spartans; each of which accordingly amounted to $\frac{1}{10}$ of a square mile, or one hundred and ninety-two plethra; a space amply sufficient to have produced four hundred medimni,^p which, after the deduction of the eighty-two medimni, would have supplied twenty-one men with double the common daily allowance, viz., one choenix of bread. It is at least manifest that each lot would have been quite sufficient to maintain six or seven families of Helots. It must not, however, be supposed that the rent was precisely the same for all the lots of the Spartan territory. The different quality of the land made such a strict equalization impossible; not to mention that it would have entirely destroyed all interest in the possession. We even know that many Spartans were possessed of herds and

attributed to the Periceci as well as the Helots in Herod. VI. 58.
^p See Boeckh's Public Economy of Athens, vol. I. p. 109. eighty-two is about the fifth of four hundred. In Athens the

θητες, πελάται, paid a sixth of the produce to the Eupatridæ. (This is without a doubt the corrupt supposition) See Plutarch, Solon. 13. comp. Hemsterh. ad Hesych. in *ἐπίμορος*.

flocks, from which they provided young animals for the public meals.¹ The proprietors, besides their share of the harvest, received from their lands, at particular periods, the fruits of the season.²

There could not, on the whole, have been much intercourse and connexion between the Spartans, as possessors of the land, and the bondsmen upon their estates. For how little interest would the Spartan, who seldom left the town, and then only for a few days,³ have felt for Helots, who dwelt perhaps at Morthone! Nevertheless, the cultivation of the land was not the only duty of the Helots; they also attended upon their masters at the public meal,⁴ who, according to the Lacedæmonian principle of a community of goods, mutually lent them to one another.⁵ A large number of them was also doubtless employed by the state in public works.

2. In the field the Helots never served as Hoplitæ, except in extraordinary cases; and then it was the general practice afterwards to give them their liberty.⁶ On other occasions they attended the regular army as light-armed troops; and that their numbers were very considerable may be seen from the battle of Plataea, in

¹ Athen. IV. 141 D. from Molpis on the Lacedæmonian state.

² Sphærus, *ibid.* p. 141 C. Compare also Myron ap. Athen. XIV. p. 657. παραδόντες αὐτοῖς τὴν χώραν ἔταξαν ΜΟΙΡΑΝ ἢν αὐτοῖς ἀνοίσουσιν αἰεὶ, and Hesychius, γαβεργός (i. e. ΓΑΓΕΡΓΟΣ, γεωργός) ἔργου μισθωτός (which must be understood as in the passage quoted above, p. 32, note ^h.) Λάκωνες.

³ In the time of Xenophon, however, Spartans resided upon

the εἰρηνοὶ; see Hell. III. 3. 5. In the time of Aristotle (Polit. II. 2. 11.) individuals had already begun to attend to agriculture; Maxim. Tyr. Diss. XIII. p. 139, calls the Spartans and Cretans in general γεωργοί.

⁴ Plutarch, Comp. Num. 2. Nepos, Paus. 3.

⁵ Xen. Rep. Lac. 6. 3. Arist. Pol. II. 2. 5. Plut. Inst. Lac. p. 252.

⁶ Compare Thuc. VII. 19. with IV. 80. and V. 34.

which 5000 Spartans were attended by 35,000 Helots.⁷ Although they did not share the honour of the heavy-armed soldiers, they were in return exposed to a less degree of danger. For while the former in close rank received the onset of the enemy with spear and shield, the Helots, armed only with the sling and light javelin, were in a moment either before or behind the ranks, as Tyrtæus accurately describes the relative duties of the light-armed soldier (γύμνης), and the Hoplite. Sparta, in her better time, is never recorded to have unnecessarily sacrificed the lives of her Helots. A certain number of them was allotted to each Spartan;⁸ at the battle of Plataea this number was seven. Those who were assigned to a single master were probably called ἀμπίτταρες.⁹ Of these, however, one in particular was the *servant* (θεράπων) of his master, as in the story of the blind Spartan, who was conducted by his Helot into the thickest of the battle of Thermopylæ, and, while the latter fled, fell with the other heroes.¹⁰ Θεράπων, or servant, is the appropriate, and indeed honourable, appellation which the Dorians, particularly in Crete, gave to the armed slaves;¹¹ these in Sparta were probably called ἐρυκτῆρες, in allusion to their duty of drawing (ἐρύκειν) the wounded from the ranks.¹² It appears that the

⁷ Herod. IX. 10. 28.

⁸ Herod. IX. 28. Thuc. III. 8. ⁹ I. q. ἀμφιστάντες Hesych. in v. cf. Voss. Valcken. Adonias, p. 289.

¹⁰ Herod. VII. 229. compare the passages quoted by Sturz. Lex. Xenoph. in θεράπων.

¹¹ Θεράπων δούλον ὀπλοφόρον δηλοῖ κατὰ τὴν Κρητῶν γλῶτταν. Eustath. ad Il. p. 1240, 32. Bas.

ad Dion. Perieg. 533. Eustathius frequently mentions this peculiarity of the Cretan idiom, and the names of slaves in general; also the Glossary in Iriarte, Reg. Bibl. Matritensis cod. Gr. p. I. p. 146, states that the expression θεράπων for δούλος is Cretan.

¹² Athen. p. 271 F, from Myron. These are the persons of whom Xenophon says (Hell. IV.

Helots were in the field placed more immediately under the command of the king than the rest of the army.⁵ In the fleet, they composed the large mass of the sailors,⁶ in which service at Athens the inferior citizens and slaves were employed; when serving in this manner they were, it appears, called by the name of δεσποσιοναῦται.

These accounts are sufficient to give a tolerably correct notion of the relation of the Helots to the Doric citizens of Sparta. Although it does not fall within the scope of the present work to enter upon a moral or political examination of the condition of Helotism, I may be allowed to subjoin a few observations. The Grecian states then either contained a class of bondsmen, which can be traced in nearly all the Doric states, or they had slaves, who had been brought either by plunder or commerce from barbarous countries; or a class of slaves was altogether wanting. The last was the case among the Phoceans, Locrians, and other Greeks.⁷ But these nations, through the scantiness of their resources, never attained to such power as Sparta and Athens. Slavery was the basis of the prosperity of all commercial states, and was intimately connected with foreign trade; but (besides being a continued violation of justice) it was upon the whole of little advantage to the public, especially in time of war; and, according to the doctrine of the ancient politicians, it was both fraught with danger, and prejudicial to morality and good order. It must also be remembered, that nearly all the ties of family were

5. 14.) τούτους ἐκέλευον τοὺς ὑπασιπύστους ἀραμένους ἀποφέρειν.

⁶ Herod. VI. 80, 81. cf. 75.

⁷ Xenoph. Hell. VII. 1. 12.

⁸ Timæus ap. Polyb. XII. 6.

7. frag. 17. p. 224. ed. Goetter.

Theopompus ap. Athen. VI. p.

265. compare *Orchomenos*, p. 242.

broken among the slaves of Athens, with which the institution of bondage did not at all interfere;^h and that in the latter the condition of the bondmen was rather determined by general custom; in the former, by the arbitrary will of individuals. Sparta had, indeed, some foreign slaves, but their number was very inconsiderable. Thus Alcman, the slave of Agesidas,ⁱ was the son of a slave from Sardis,^k who had perhaps been brought by Cretan traders to the coast of Laconia.

3. It is a matter of much greater difficulty to form a clear notion of the treatment of the Helots, and of their manner of life; for the rhetorical spirit with which later historians have embellished their philanthropic views, joined to our own ignorance, has been productive of much confusion and misconception. Myron of Priene, in his romance on the Messenian war, drew a very dark picture of Sparta, and endeavoured at the end to rouse the feelings of his readers by a description of the fate which the conquered underwent. "The Helots," says he,^l "perform for the Spartans every ignominious service. They are compelled to wear a cap of dog's skin and a covering of sheep's skin, and they are severely beaten every year without having committed any fault, in order that

^h The wives and children of Helots are often mentioned, e. g. in Thucyd. I. 103. At Athens the marriage of slaves was an uncommon event, and is usually found among the χωρὶς οἰκοῦντες. It was cheaper to purchase than to bring up slaves. (See Hume on the Populousness of Ancient Nations, Works, vol. III. p. 431-440. See p. 438, on the marriages of the Helots.)

ⁱ See Heraclides Ponticus.

^k Welcker Alcman, Fragm. p. 6.

^l Ap. Athen. XIV. p. 657 D.

The κυνῆ is also probably signified as belonging to the dress of the Helots, in the account of the signal for conspiracy given by Antiochus of Phalanthus (Strab. VI. p. 278.), although other writers (Æneas Poliorc. 11.) mention a πῖλος in its stead.

"they may never forget that they are slaves. In addition to this, those amongst them who, either by their stature or their beauty, raise themselves above the condition of a slave, are condemned to death; and the masters who do not destroy the most manly of them are liable to punishment." The partiality and ignorance of this writer is evident from his very first statement. The Helots wore the leathern cap with a broad band, and the covering of sheep's skin, simply because it was the original dress of the natives; which moreover the Arcadians had retained from ancient usage;^m Laertes the father of Ulysses, when he assumed the character of a peasant, is also represented as wearing a cap of goat's skin." The truth is, that the ancients made a distinction between town and country costume. Hence, when the tyrants of Sicyon wished to accustom the unemployed people, whose numbers they dreaded, to a country life, they forced them to wear the *κατωνάχη*, which had underneath a lining of fur.ⁿ The Pisistratidæ made use of the very same measure.^p Thus also Theognis describes the countrymen of Megara (whose admission to the rights of citizenship he deplores) as clothed with dressed skins, and dwelling around the town like frightened deer.^q The *diphthera* of the Helots there-

^m *Κυνῆ Ἀρκᾶς*, Sophocl. *Inachus* ap. Schol. Aristoph. *Av.* 1203. Valcken. ad Theocrit. *Adonias*, p. 345. the same as the *πῖλος Ἀρκᾶς* in Polyæn *IV.* 14. *galerus Arcadicus*, Stat. *Theb.* *IV.* 299. *VII.* 39. *Κυνῆ Βοιωτία* as the country-dress, Hesychius. The Arcadians went into the fields in goats' and sheep-skins, Pausan. *IV.* 11. 1.
ⁿ *Od.* *XXIV.* 230.

^o Pollux, *VII.* 4. 68. compare Hesychius, Moeris, and Suidas in *κατωνάχη*. Theopompus and Menæchmus *ἐν τοῖς Σικωνιακοῖς* ap. Athen. *VI.* p. 271 D. (cf. Schweigh.) call the *Κατωρακοῖ* Sicyonian bondsmen. Comp. Rulanken. ad *Tim.* p. 212.
^p Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 1157. cf. Palmer. *Exercit.* p. 506.
^q *V.* 53. Bekker.

fore signified nothing more humiliating and degrading than their employment in agricultural labour. Myron is doubtless right in stating that the Helots could not lay aside this dress at pleasure; indeed, a young Spartan could not assume the dress of an older man. Whilst in Athens the influence of democracy had produced an uniformity of dress, and even (according to Xenophon)^r of bodily form, in citizens, resident aliens, and slaves; in Sparta the several orders were characterised by external differences. Now since Myron thus manifestly misinterpreted this circumstance, it is very probable that his other objections are founded in error; nor can misrepresentations of this political state, which was unknown to the later Greeks, and particularly to the class of writers, have been uncommon. Plutarch,^s for example, relates that the Helots were compelled to intoxicate themselves, and perform indecent dances, as a warning to the Spartan youth; but common sense is opposed to so absurd a method of education. Is it possible that the Spartans should have so degraded the men whom they appointed as tutors over their young children? Female Helots also discharged the office of nurse in the royal palaces,^t and doubtless obtained all the affection with which the attendants of early youth were honoured in ancient times. It is, however, certain that the Doric laws did not bind servants to strict temperance;^u and hence examples of drunkenness among them might have served as a means of recommending sobriety. It was also an established regulation, that the national songs and dances of Sparta were forbidden to the Helots,^v

^r *De rep. Ath.* *I.* 10.

^s *Lycurg.* 28. and elsewhere.

^t *Duris* ap. Plutarch. *Ages.* 3.

^u Theopomp. ap. Athen. *XIV.*

p. 657 C.

^v Plutarch. *ubi sup.*

Plutarch
Spartan
w. B

who, on the other hand, had some extravagant and lascivious dances peculiar to themselves, which may have given rise to the above report.⁷ We must, moreover, bear in mind, that most of the strangers who visited Sparta, and gave an account of its institutions, seized upon particular cases which they had imperfectly observed, and, without knowing their real nature, described them in the light suggested by their own false prepossessions.

4. But are we not labouring in vain to soften the bad impression of Myron's account, since the fearful word *crypteia* is of itself sufficient to show the unhappy fate of the Helots, and the cruelty of their masters? By this word is generally understood, a chase of the Helots, annually undertaken at a fixed time by the youth of Sparta, who either assassinated them by night, or massacred them formally in open day, in order to lessen their numbers, and weaken their power.⁸ Isocrates speaks of this institution in a very confused manner, and from mere report.⁹ Aristotle however, as well as Heraclides of Pontus,¹⁰ attribute it to Lycurgus, and represent it as a war which the Ephors themselves, on entering upon their yearly office, proclaimed against the Helots. Thus it was a regularly legalised massacre, and the more barbarous, as its periodical arrival could be foreseen by the unhappy victims. And yet were not these Helots, who in many districts lived entirely alone, united by despair for the sake of common protection, and did they not

⁷ μόθων φορτικὸν ὄρχημα, Polux, IV. 14. 101.

⁸ Plutarch. c. 28. Comp. Num. I. Concerning the Crypteia, see Manso, vol. I. part 2. p. 141. Heyne, Comment. Got-

ting. vol. IX. p. 30.

⁹ Panathen. p. 271 A. See

above, p. 22. note 1.

¹⁰ Ap. Plutarch. Lyc. 28. Heraclid. Pont. 2.

every year kindle a most bloody and determined war throughout the whole of Laconia? Such are the inextricable difficulties in which we are involved by giving credit to the received accounts: the solution of which is, in my opinion, to be found in the speech of Megillus the Spartan, in the Laws of Plato,^c who is there celebrating the manner of inuring his countrymen to hardships. "There is also amongst us," he says, "what is called the *crypteia*, the pain of undergoing which is scarcely credible. It consists in going barefoot in storms, in enduring the privations of the camp, performing menial offices without a servant, and wandering night and day through the whole country." The same is more clearly expressed in another passage,^d where the philosopher settles, that in his state sixty agronomi or phylarchs should each choose twelve young men from the age of twenty-five to thirty, and send them as guards in succession through the several districts, in order to inspect the fortresses, roads, and public buildings in the country; for which purpose they should have power to make free use of the slaves. During this time they were to live sparingly, to minister to their own wants, and range through the whole country in arms without intermission, both in winter and summer. These persons were to be called *κρυπτοί*, or *ἀγορανόμοι*. Can it be supposed that Plato would have here used the name of *crypteia*, if it signified an assassination of

^c I. p. 633 C. Justin says of the same thing, III. 3. *pueros puberes non in forum, sed in agrum deduci præcepit, ut primos annos non in luxuria, sed in opere et laboribus agerent,—neque prius in urbem*

redire quam viri facti essent.

The same, with a few deviations, is stated in Schol. Plat. Leg. I. p. 225. Ruhn.

^d VI. p. 763 B. Compare Barthélemy, Anacharsis, tom. IV. p. 461.

the Helots, or rather, if there was not an exact agreement in essentials between the institution which he proposed, and that in existence at Sparta, although the latter was perhaps one of greater hardship and severity? The youth of Sparta were also sent out, under certain officers,^a partly for the purpose of training them to hardships, partly of inspecting the territory of Sparta, which was of considerable extent. These emissaries may probably have kept a strict watch upon the Helots, who, living by themselves, and entirely separated from their masters, must have been for that reason the more formidable to Sparta. We must allow that oppression and severity were not sufficiently provided against; only the aim of the custom was wholly different; though perhaps it is reckoned by Thucydides' among those institutions, which, as he says, were established for the purpose of keeping a watch over the Helots.

It is hardly necessary to remark that this established institution of the crypteia was in no way connected with those extraordinary measures to which Sparta thought herself compelled in hazardous circumstances to resort. Thucydides leaves us to guess the fate of the 2000 Helots who, after having been destined for the field, suddenly disappeared. It was the curse of this bondage (of which Plato says that it produced the greatest doubt and difficulty)^b that the slaves abandoned their masters when they stood in greatest need

^a Damoteles a Spartan, ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτείας τεταγμένος, Plut. Cleomen. 28.

^b IV. 80.

^c Leg. VI. p. 776. cited by Athen. VI. p. 264. comp. Plutarch, Lycurg. 28. See Philological Museum, vol. II. p. 68.

note 40. Critias the Athenian also said, with more wit than truth, that in Sparta the free were most free (cf. Diogen. Prov. IV. 87. Apostol. VIII. 12.); and that the slaves were most slaves, ap. Liban. Or. XXIV. vol. II. p. 85. Reisk.

of their assistance; and hence the Spartans were even compelled to stipulate in treaties for aid against their own subjects.^h

5. A more favourable side of the Spartan system of bondage is, that a legal way to liberty and citizenship stood open to the Helots.ⁱ The many intermediate steps seem to prove the existence of a regular mode of transition from the one rank to the other. The Helots, who were esteemed worthy of an especial confidence, were called ἀγροῖοι;^k the ἐρυκτῆρες enjoyed the same in war: the ἀφέται were probably released from all service. The δεσποσιοναῦται, who served in the fleet, resembled probably the freed-men of Attica, who were called the *out-dwellers* (οἱ χωρὶς οἰκοῦντες).^l When they received their liberty, they also obtained permission "to dwell where they wished,"^m and probably at the same time a portion of land was granted to them without the lot of their former masters. After they had been in possession of liberty for some time, they appear to have been called *Neodamodes*,ⁿ the number of whom soon came near to that of the citizens.^o The *Mothones*, or *Mothaces*, also, were not Perioeci (of whose elevation to the rank of Spartans we know nothing), but Helots, who, being brought up together with the young Spartans (like Eumæus in the house of Ulysses), obtained freedom

^h Thuc. I. 118. V. 14, 23. cf. Aristot. Pol. II. 6. 2.

ⁱ Although it is denied by Dio Chrys. Or. XXXVI. p. 448 B. Compare Manso I. 2. p. 153. and I. 1. p. 234.

^k Hesych. in v.

^l Boeckh's Economy of Athens, vol. I. p. 349. transl.

^m Thuc. V. 34. cf. IV. 80.

ⁿ VII. 58. δύναται δὲ τὸ νεο-δαμῶδες εὐθέρον ἤδη εἶναι. The opposite is δαμώσις (Steph. ΔΑΜΩΔΕΙΣ) δημόται ἢ οἱ ἐντε-λεῖς παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους, Hesychius.

^o Cf. Plut. Ages. 6.

without the rights of citizenship.^p For *μόθων* means a domestic slave, *verna*; and Perioeci could never have been called by this name, not being dependent upon individual Spartans.^q The descendants of the Mothaces must also have sometimes received the rights of citizenship, since Callicratidas, Lysander, and Gylippus were of Mothacic origin.^r Those citizens who, in obedience to the ancient law of inheritance, married a widow of a deceased person, were (if we may judge from the etymology of the word) called *Epeunacti*: that slaves were once employed for this purpose is testified by Theopompus.^s

6. The number of the Helots may be determined with sufficient accuracy from the account of the army at Plataea. We find that there were present in this battle 5000 Spartans, 35,000 Helots, and 10,000

^p Athen. VI. 271 E. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 279. Harpocration, Hesychius. The derivation from the town Mothone is like that of the name of the Helots from Helos. The *Τρόφιμοι* became Spartans from aliens by education, Xenoph. Hell. V. 3. 9. To these the confused account in Plut. Lacon. Inst. p. 252. probably refers.

^q In Athenæus they are called free, in reference to their *future*, not their *past* condition. See Hemsterhuis ap. Lennep. Etymol. vol. I. p. 575.

^r Athen. ubi sup. Ælian, V. H. XII. 43. Two *σύντροφοι* or *μόθακες* of Cleomenes III. in Plut. Cleom. 8. These were, like Lysander, Heraclide Mothaces.

^s Ap. Athen. VI. p. 271 D.

where the comparison with the *κατωνακοφόροι* does not appear to have sufficient ground. See Casaub. ad Athen. VI. 20. Interp. Hesych. in v. *ἐνευνακταί*. Diodorus, Exc. Vat. VII.—X. n. 12., calls the Parthenians who had been sent under Phalanthus to Tarentum, sometimes *Epeunacti*, sometimes *Parthenians*. Since they are considered as young men (for Phalanthus has an *ἐραστής* named Agathiadas), they appear to have been, not Helots who had begotten children with Spartan women, but the male offspring of such unions. As the term is used by Theopompus, these would be called the sons of *Epeunacti*. Hesychius likewise makes the *ἐπεύνακτοι* equivalent to the *παρθενίαι*.

Perioeci.^t The whole number of Spartans that bore arms, amounted on another occasion to 8000, which, according to the same proportion, would give 56,000 for the number of Helots capable of bearing arms, and for the whole population about 224,000. If then the state of Sparta possessed 9000 lots there were twenty male Helots to each (although, as we saw above, a single lot could probably maintain a larger number), and there remained 44,000 for the service of the state and of individuals. The account of Thucydides, that the Chians had the greatest number of slaves of any one state after the Lacedæmonians,^u does not compel us to set the amount higher, because the great number of slaves in Ægina disappeared when that island lost its freedom, and Athens during the Peloponnesian war certainly did not possess 200,000 slaves. The number of Perioeci able to bear arms would, according to the above proportion, only amount to 16,000; but we must suppose that a larger portion of them remained behind in Peloponnesus: for since the Perioeci were possessed of 30,000 lots (though of less extent), there must have been about the same number of families, and we thus get at least 120,000 men; and upon the whole, for the 3800 square miles of Laconia, a suitable population of 380,000 souls.

From this calculation it also results, that, according to the population to be maintained, the estates of the Spartans (*πολιτικὴ χώρα*)^x must have amounted to two-thirds of all the tillage-land in the country. This arrangement could not have been attended with any

^t According to the epitaph in Herod. VII. 228. 4000 men were buried at Thermopylae, i. e., 300 Spartans, 700 Thespiæan Hoplitæ, and 3000 *Ψιλοί*, of whom 2100 were perhaps Helots. See below, ch. 12. § 6.

^u VIII. 40.

^x Polyb. VI. 45.

difficulty after the conquest of the fertile territory of Messenia, when the number of lots was doubled,^y and the area of each was perhaps increased in a still greater proportion. For when the Spartans had (as it appears) dislodged the Doric Messenians, and conquered their country, a few maritime and inland towns (Asine, Mothone, Thuria, and Æthæa) were indeed suffered to remain in the possession of Perioeci; but the best part of a country so rich in tillage-land, plantations, and pastures,^z passed into the hands of Spartan proprietors, and the husbandmen who remained behind became Helots.^a It was these last in particular who, during the great earthquake in 465 B.C., took possession of the towns of Thuria and Æthæa, fortified the strong hold of Ithome, and afterwards partially emigrated.^b If however this insurrection had been common to all the Helots, as Diodorus relates, how could the Spartans have afterwards allowed the insurgents to withdraw from the country, without entirely depriving the land of its cultivators? After the battle of Leuctra also, it was not the Laconian, but the Messenian Helots who revolted,^c and were without

^y According to the most probable statement in Plut. Lyc. 8, viz., that Lycurgus made 4500 lots, and Polydorus the same number.

^z Plat. Alcib. I. p. 122 D. Tyrtaeus ap. Schol. p. 78. Ruhnck. and ad Leg. I. p. 220. See book I. ch. 4. § 3. The valley of the Pamisus in many places gives a return of thirty times the seed, and is sown twice in the year. Sibthorp in Walpole's Memoirs, p. 60.

^a Pausan. IV. 24. 2. τὴν μὲν ἄλλην πλὴν τῆς Ἀσιναιῶν αὐτοὶ

διελάγχσανον. Cf. III. 20. 6. Zenob. III. 39. Apostol. VII. 33. δουλότερος Μεσσηνίων: cf. Etymol. in Εἰλωτες. Etym. Gudian. p. 167, 32.

^b Thuc. I. 100. πλείστοι δὲ τῶν Εἰλωτῶν ἐγένοντο οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων τότε δουλωθέντων ἀπόγονοι. Plutarch, Cimon, 16. Lyc. 28, and Diodorus XI. 53, sqq. incorrectly distinguish the Helots from the Messenians. Compare book I. ch. 9. § 10.

^c Compare Xen. Hell. VII. 2. 2. with VI. 5. 27.

doubt the chief promoters of the re-establishment of Messenia, where they exercised the rights of citizenship in the newly-founded democracy.^d

7. In Laconia itself, according to the Rhetra of Agis (which in all probability merely confirmed existing institutions), the territory belonging to Sparta consisted of the inland tract, which was bounded by part of mount Taygetus to the west, by the river Pellene, and by Sellasia to the north, and extended eastward towards Malea,^e and this was therefore at that time cultivated by Helots. Here it may be asked, who were the inhabitants of the towns situated in this district, for example Amyclæ, Therapne, and Pharis? Certainly not Helots alone, for there were a considerable number of Hoplitæ from Amyclæ in the Lacedæmonian army,^f who must therefore have been either Spartans or Perioeci. But whether the Perioeci inhabited small districts in the midst of the territory immediately occupied by the Spartans, or whether some Spartans lived out of the city in country-towns, cannot be completely determined. The former is, however, the more probable, since some Perioeci lived in the vicinity of the city,^g and Amyclæ is reckoned among the towns of Laconia;^h the Spartans also are mentioned to have had dwellings in the country,ⁱ but never to have possessed houses in any other town except Sparta, and a few villages in the neighbourhood.

This induces us to attempt the solution of the difficult problem, of what is the proper signification

^d Polyb. VII. 10. 1. cf. IV. 32. 1, and Manso's Excursus on the restoration of Messenia, vol. III. part 2. p. 80.

^e Plut. Agis. 8. The word Μαλέαν is perhaps corrupt.

^f Xen. Hell. IV. 5. 11.

^g Thuc. IV. 8. οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν περιόικων.

^h See above ch. 2. § 1.

ⁱ ἐκ' ἀγρῶν, ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις. Compare above, p. 34. note ^a.

of the Phylæ (as the grammarians sometimes call them),^k of Pitana, Limnæ or Limnæum, Mesoa and Cynosura, which Pausanias also mentions together as divisions of the people.¹ Now Pausanias calls them divisions of the *Spartans*, and it appears that we must follow his statement. For in an Amyclæan inscription,^m Damatrius, an overseer of the foreigners at Amyclæ, is called a Mesoatan; and in another inscription, a Gymnasiarch of the Roman time is designated as belonging to the Phyle of the Cynosurans;ⁿ and we cannot suppose these persons to have been Perioeci.^o And if Alcman, according to a credible account, was a Mesoatan,^p we may understand by this term a citizen of Sparta (although of an inferior grade), without contradicting the authority of Herodotus, who only denies that any *stranger* besides Tisamenus and Hegias was ever made a Spartan.^q Further, it is clear from ancient writers that Pitana, Limnæ, Mesoa, and Cynosura, were names of places. We are best informed with respect to Pitana, an ancient town, and without doubt anterior to the Dorians,^r which was of sufficient importance to have

^k Steph. Byz. Μεσόα τόπος Λακωνικῆς. Φυλὴ Λακωνικῆς. Hesychius, Κυνόσουρα φυλὴ Λακωνικῆς. Herodian περὶ μὲν λέξεως p. 13. 23. Dindorf. τὸ Κυνόσουρα ἐπὶ τῇ Λακωνικῇ φυλῇ. Cf. Schol. Callim. Dian. 94. Hesych. ἡ Πιτάνη φυλὴ.

¹ III. 16. 6.

^m Boeckh, Corp. Inscript. N^o. 1338.

ⁿ Boeckh, ibid. N^o. 1347, where it is written ΑΠΟ ΦΥΛΗΣ ΚΥΝΟΟΥΡΕΩΝ. Concerning which see Boeckh, p. 609. In Inscript. 1241. a διαβετής Λιμναίων (perhaps διοι-

κτῆς Λιμναίων) occurs. See Boeckh, ib. p. 611.

^o Thrasybulus also (Epigr. Plut. Apophth. Lac. p. 242. Anthol. Palat. VII. 229.) was evidently a Spartan, brought back to Pitana, and so also is Archias, the Pitanatan, in Herod. III. 55. See Strabo, V. p. 250.

^p Suid. Fragm. 2. Welcker.

^q IX. 35. At the same time, Heraclides Ponticus says of Alcman merely, ἡλευθερώθη.

^r Pindar. Olymp. VI. 28. Eurip. Troad. 1116. Μενέλαος Πιτανάτης in Hesychius.

its own gymnastic contests,^a and to furnish a battalion of its own, called Pitanates.^b Herodotus, who was there himself, calls it a demus;^c and we know that it was near the temple and stronghold of Issorium,^d which, according to Pausanias' topography of Sparta, must have been situated at the western extremity of the town.^e This author also mentions, in the same district of the city, the porch of the Crotanes, who were a division of the Pitanatæ. We therefore know that Pitana lay to the west of Sparta, outside the town according to Herodotus,^f inside (as it appears) according to Pausanias. So Limnæ likewise, as we learn from Strabo, was a suburb of Sparta,^g and at the same time a part of the town, as also was Mesoa,^h whither however Pausanias relates that Preuges the Achæan brought the statue of Artemis, rescued from the Dorians at Sparta.ⁱ It follows from these apparently contradictory accounts, some including these places in Sparta, and some not, that they were nothing else than the hamlets (κῶμαι), of which, according to Thucy-

^a Hesych. in Πιτανάτης.

^b Herod. IX. 53. Thuc. I. 20. does not admit its existence. But Caracalla, in imitation of antiquity, composed a λόχος Πιτανάτης of Spartans, Herodian. IV. 8. The Tarentines (who retained the memory of the mother-city more in their names of places than in their customs) had a division of their army which was called Pitanates; the περίπολοι Πιτανᾶται are mentioned upon a coin of Tarentum: Millingen's Ancient Coins, pl. 1. n. 19.

^c III. 55.

^d Polyæn. II. 1. 14. cf. Plut.

VOL. II.

Ages. 32.

^e Pausan. III. 14. 2.—Ænus was situated in the vicinity according to Athen. I. p. 31 C. and this also was near the city, Plut. Lyc. 6. See the map of Peloponnesus.

^f Also according to Plut. de Exil. 6.

^g VIII. p. 363 A. Doubtless the marshy grounds upon the Eurotas, which in this part frequently overflowed its banks. Compare book I. ch. 4. § 6.

^h P. 364 A. comp. Tzschucke, p. 184.

ⁱ VII. 20. 4.

dides,^d the town of Sparta consisted, and which lay on all sides around the *city* (πόλις) properly so called, but were divided from one another by intervals, until at a late period (probably when Sparta, during the time of the Macedonian power, was enclosed with walls) they were united and incorporated together.

CHAP. IV.

§ 1. Subject classes in Crete. § 2. In Argos and Epidaurus. § 3. In Corinth and Sicyon. § 4. In Syracuse. § 5. In Byzantium, Heraclea on the Pontus, and Cyrene. § 6. The bond-slaves of Thessaly. § 7. Cities and villages of Arcadia. § 8. The political opposition of city and country.

1. AFTER having thus separately considered the two dependent classes in Sparta, the pattern state of the Dorians, we will now point out the traces of the analogous ranks in several other states of Doric origin.

The Doric customs were first established in CRETE, whose fortunate circumstances had given to that race a fertile country, and an undisturbed dominion. Accordingly, the relative rights of the Dorians and natives must at an early period have been fixed on a settled basis in this island; and we may suppose that this settlement was made on equitable terms, since Aristotle was not aware of any insurrection of the slaves in Crete against their masters.^a The Doric customs required here, as elsewhere, exemption from all agricul-

^d I. 10. Pitana is called a κώμη in Schol. Thucyd. I. 20. and Limnæ is called the Διμναίων χωρίον in Pausan. III. 16. 6.

^a II. 6. 3. Concerning the slaves of Crete, see Manso, Sparta, vol. I. part 2. p. 105. Ste Croix, Sur la Législation de Crète. p. 373. has confused the whole subject.

tural or commercial industry; which is expressed in a lively manner in the song of Hybrias the Cretan, that "with lance and sword and shield he reaped and dressed his vines, and hence was called lord of the *"Mnoia."*^b In this island, however, different classes of dependents must have existed. Sosicrates and Dosiadas, both credible authors on the affairs of Crete, speak of three classes, the public bondsmen (κοινή δουλεία), called by the Cretans *μνοῖα*, the slaves of individual citizens, *ἀφαιμιῶται*, and the Perioeci, *ὑπήκοοι*. Now we know that the Aphamiotæ received their name from the cultivation of the lands of private individuals (in Cretan *ἀφαιμία*), and accordingly they were agricultural bondsmen.^c These latter are identical with the Clarotæ, who, for this reason, were not separately mentioned by the writers just quoted: for although they are generally supposed to have taken their name from the lot cast for prisoners of war, the more natural derivation doubtless is from the lots or lands of the citizens, which were called *κλήροι*. But whichever explanation we adopt, they were bondsmen belonging to the individual citizens. Both the Clarotæ and Aphamiotæ have therefore been correctly compared with the Helots;^d and as the latter were entirely distinct from the Laconian Perioeci, so were the former from the Cretan, although Aristotle neglects the distinction accurately observed by the Cretan writ-

^b Similarly the Lacedæmonians, according to Cicero de Rep. III. 9. (cf. Plut. Lac. Apophth. p. 179, 201.) said proverbially, *suos omnes agros, quos spiculo possent attingere*.

^c Athen. VI. p. 263 E. Hesychius, Eustath. ad Il. XV. p. 1024 Rom. Ruhnken ad Tim.

p. 283. Concerning *ἀφαιμία* or *ἀφημία*, see Schneider's Lexicon in *ἀφαιμιῶται*. Hoeck's Kreta, vol. III. p. 36.

^d Strabo XV. p. 701. Etym. Magn. in *πενέσται*, Photius in *κλαρώται* and *πενέσται*. Lex. seguer. I. p. 292. emended by Meineke Euphor. p. 142.

ers.^o In the second place, the *μνοία* (or *μνώα*) was by more precise historians distinguished as well from the condition of Periceci as from that of private bondage, and it was explained to mean a state of *public villenage*; whence we may infer that every state in Crete was possessed of public lands, which the Mnotæ cultivated in the same relative situation to the community in which the Aphamiotæ, who cultivated the allotted estates, stood to the several proprietors. This name, however, is sometimes extended to all forced labourers, as in the song of Hybrias noticed above.^f Finally, the Periceci formed in Crete, as in Laconia, dependent and tributary communities: their tribute was, like the produce of the national lands, partly applied to the public banquets;^g to which also, according to Dosiadas,^h every slave in Lyctus contributed in addition one Æginetan stater. Now in this passage we cannot suppose that the Periceci are meant, because the exact author would not have called them

^o Polit. II. 7. 3. cf. II. 2. 13.

^f So also in Strab. XII. p. 542 C. it is said that the slaves of the Heracleotes served upon the same conditions as *ἡ Μνώα σύνοδος ἐθήτευν*. Comp. Hermon ap. Athen. VI. p. 267 B. where Eustathius ad II. XV. p. 1024. Rom. *μνώται οἱ ἐγγενεῖς οἰκέται* (those born in the country as opposed to purchased slaves) appears to have preserved the right reading. cf. ad II. XIII. p. 954. Hesych. vol. II. p. 611. Pollux III. 8. 23. *κλαρώται καὶ μνώται*. Steph. Byz. (from the same source as Pollux) *οὔτοι δὲ πρῶτοι ἐχρήσαντο θεράπονσιν ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς εἰλωσι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τοῖς γυμνησίοις καὶ Σικυνῶνιοι τοῖς*

κορυνηφόροις καὶ Ἰταλιῶται τοῖς Πελασγοῖς, καὶ Κρήτες δμῶταις. Write *μνώταις*, in the more extensive signification of the word. In the same manner Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 533, who has been already corrected by Meineke ubi sup.

^g Aristot. Polit. II. 7. 3. ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν γιγνομένων καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων καὶ φόρων οὐς φέρουσιν οἱ περίουκοι, τέτακται μέρος, i. e. "Of all the products of the soil and all the cattle which come from the public lands, a part is appointed." The arrangement of the words is not more careless than in other passages.

^h Ap. Athen. IV. p. 143 A.

slaves: nor yet the slaves purchased in foreign parts (called *ἀργυρώνητοι* in Crete), since it would have been impossible to reckon with any certainty that persons in this situation possessed anything of their own; nor, lastly, can the Mnotæ be meant, since these were public slaves, having no connexion with individuals, nor consequently with their eating clubs.¹ It remains, therefore, that it was the Clarotæ (or Aphamiotæ), who, in addition to the tax in kind, were also liable to this payment in money, with which utensils for the use of the public table were probably purchased. It may be, moreover, observed that we have no reason to suppose that the bondsmen were admitted to the daily banquets.^k

Perhaps, however, there was no Grecian state in which the dependent classes were so little oppressed as in Crete. In general, every employment and profession, with the exception of the gymnasia and military service, was permitted to them.¹ Hence also the Periceci held so firmly to the ancient legislation of Minos, that they even then observed it, when it had been neglected by the Dorians of the town of Lyctus;^m and thus, as was frequently the case elsewhere, in the decline of public manners the ancient customs were retained among the lower classes of society longer than amongst the higher. Upon the whole, Crete was the most fortunate of all the Doric states in this circumstance, that it could follow up its own institutions with

¹ See below, ch. 10. § 7.

^k At the Hermæa, however, the slaves feasted in public, and they were waited on by their masters, as at Trœzen in the month Geræstion; Carystius ap. Athen. XIV. p. 639 B. cf. VI.

p. 263 F. In Sparta, during the Hyacinthia, the masters invited the slaves to be their guests, Polycrates ap. Athen. IV. p. 139 B.

¹ Aristot. Pol. II. 2. 1.

^m Polit. II. 8. 5.

energy and in quiet, without any powerful obstacle; although its very tranquillity and far-extended commerce at length occasioned a gradual decline of ancient customs. The reverse took place at Argos, whose Doric inhabitants, pressed on all sides, were at length compelled to renounce the institutions of their race, and adopt those of the natives. In the early history of this state, therefore, the two classes of dependents and bondsmen should be distinguished: this division was, however, very early laid aside, and an entirely different arrangement introduced.

2. There was at ARGOS a class of bond-slaves, who are compared with the Helots, and were called *Gymnesii*.ⁿ The name alone sufficiently proves the correctness of the comparison; these slaves having evidently been the light-armed attendants on their masters (*γύμνητες*). Hence also the same class of slaves were in Sicyon called *κορυνηφόροι*; because they only carried a club or staff, and not, like the heavy-armed Dorians, a sword and lance. It is to these *Gymnesii* that the account of Herodotus refers,^o that 6000 of the citizens of Argos having been slain in battle by Cleomenes king of Sparta,^p the slaves got the govern-

ⁿ Hesychius, Pollux and Stephanus as before.

^o VI. 83.

^p VII. 148. In this passage the battle, contrary to the calculation before given (book I. ch. 8. § 6.) upon the authority of Pausanias, is brought down to the time immediately preceding the Persian war, as is evident not only from the word *νεωστὶ*, but also from the circumstance that the Argives desired a thirty years' peace, to enable the children of the persons who had

been slain to arrive at manhood. From this, then, it follows that the *Gymnesii*, expelled from Argos, did not obtain possession of Tiryns till *after* the Persian war (for that they were not there *during* this war may be inferred from Herod. IX. 28.), and the final victory over them would then coincide with the conquest of Tiryns (book I. ch. 8. § 7). If the oracle in Herod. VI. 19. had been accurately (*καὶ ΤΟΤΕ*) fulfilled, the battle must fall in Olymp. 70. 3. 498 B.C., but

ment into their own hands, and retained possession of it until the sons of those who had fallen were grown to manhood. From this narrative it is plain that the number of Dorians at Argos was nearly exhausted by the death of 6000 of their body; and that none but bondsmen dwelt in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, since otherwise the sovereign power would not have fallen into their hands. It would be absurd to suppose that slaves bought in foreign countries can be here intended, since these could have had no more notion of governing a Grecian state than the bear in the fable of managing the ship.^q Afterwards, when the young citizens had grown up, the slaves were compelled by them to withdraw to Tiryns; and then, after a long war, as it appears, were either driven from the territory, or again subdued.^r

The Argives, however, also had *Periœci*,^s who were known by the name of *Orneatæ*. This appellation was properly applied to the inhabitants of Orneæ, a town on the frontiers towards Mantinea, which, having been long independent, was at last, about the year 580 B. C.,^t reduced by the Argives; and afterwards the whole class of *Periœci* was so called from that place. These *Orneatæ*, or *Periœci*, therefore, like those of Laconia, formed separate communities of their own, which indeed was the case so late as the Persian war.

no calculation can be founded on this datum.

^q The same argument applies here as in the case of the slaves who made themselves masters of Volsinii. See Niebuhr's Roman History, vol. I. p. 101. sq. ed. 2. English Transl.

^r The liberation of Argive slaves is alluded to in a passage

of Hesychius in *ἐλεύθερον ὕδωρ*: ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Συναγείας (perhaps ΦΥΣΑΔΕΙΑΣ, cf. Callim. Lav. Pall. 47. Euphorion Fragm. 19. Meineke) *πίνουσι κρήνης ἐλευθερούμενοι τῶν οἰκετῶν*.

^s Aristot. Pol. V. 2. 8.

^t Book I. ch. 7. § 16.

For (as we have shown above) the Argives about this time incorporated the surrounding towns belonging to the Perioeci,^a for the purpose of replenishing and increasing their own numbers, and gave them the rights of citizens. With this period an entirely new era in the history of the constitution of Argos commences, although this state of things has from its greater notoriety often been improperly applied also to earlier times. Thus Isocrates^x says that the Dorians of Argos, like those of Messene, admitted the native inhabitants into the city (as *σύνοικοι*), and gave them equal rights of citizenship, with the exception of offices of honour; contrasting with it the conduct of the Spartans, in a manner which every one now perceives to have been entirely groundless. The change in the constitution of Argos then introduced was no less than if the whole body of Perioeci in Laconia had declared themselves the sovereign community. For the newly-adopted citizens appear to have soon demanded and obtained the full rights of the old; and hence, ever after the above epoch, democracy seems to have had the upper hand in Argos. And this could never be the case without the disappearance of the Doric character, which showed itself in the diminution of their military skill. For this reason the Argives in after-times were reduced to form a standing army of a thousand citizens, of noble extraction, under the command of generals who possessed great civil power.^y

^a Not the Gymnesii. See vol. I. p. 191, note P.

^x Panathen. p. 270 A. B. cf. 286 A. I am also of opinion that Pausanias was in error when (II. 19.) he states that the Argives had from an early period been

distinguished for their love of equality and freedom.

^y See Thuc. V. 67, 72. Diod. XII. 80. Plutarch, Alcib. 15. Pausan. II. 20. 1. where the leader of the 1000 *λογάδες* is called Bryas, and particularly

This body of men, however, immediately endeavoured to set up an oppressive oligarchy, until they at length yielded to the preponderating power of the democracy. But of this more hereafter.^z

It is not known for what length of time the EPI-DAURIANS preserved the distinction between townsmen and countrymen. The name *κονίποδες*, i. e., *dusty-feet*, which was applied to the lower classes, is a proof of their agricultural habits,^a and is probably not merely a term of reproach. That this class, however, as at Argos, furnished citizens who were not originally Dorians, is shown by the occurrence of a fourth tribe, besides the three Doric.^b

3. Neither in CORINTH nor in SICYON does there appear to have been any complete distinction between the Doric and other races. The inhabitants, especially those of the former state, must have lived on an equality with the aboriginal possessors, and were probably only admitted by a fresh division (*ἐπ' ἀναδασμῶ*) to a joint possession of the lands. Hence it was that in Corinth there were not only the three Doric tribes (of

Aristot. Pol. V. 4. Comp. Manso, vol. II. p. 432. with the remarks of Tittmann, p. 602.

^z The Elean *Περιοικες* may serve for a comparison. This was the name of all the territory which the Eleans had conquered in addition to their original land, the *Κοιλη Ἑλλας*. (Thuc. II. 25. Xen. Hell. III. 2. 23.) It was, however, divided into tribes, which increased or diminished with the loss or accession of territory. The number of the Hellanodicae was arranged according to that of the tribes. The ancient ter-

ritory of the Eleans, *Κοιλη Ἑλλας*, included four tribes; Pisatis was divided into an equal number; and if the whole of Triphylia obeyed the Eleans, four more were added. (See Paus. V. 9. 5.) Compare Aristodemus of Elis in Harpocration in v. *Ἑλλανοδικη*, Etym. Mag. p. 331, 20. For further details see a paper by the author in Welcker's and Naeke's *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. II. p. 167.

^a Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. I. Hesychius.

^b Below, ch. 5. § 2.

which we shall speak hereafter), but eight, all of which dwelt in the city.^e Nor were even the Cypselidæ Dorians; though, before they obtained the tyranny, they had long been distinguished citizens. We may discover a class of Corinthian Helots in the Cynophali,^d whose name was, as in a former instance, derived from the dog-skin cap of the native Peloponnesians. But regular slavery, as was natural in a commercial state, soon prevailed at Corinth, and probably under very nearly the same form as at Athens.^e In Sicyon there were bondsmen, of whom the names Corynephoroi^f and Catonacophori have been preserved.^g The first marks them as light-armed attendants in war, the second as a class always inhabiting the country. The citizens of this state were divided into four tribes, of which three were purely Doric, viz., the Hylleans, Dymanes, and Pamphylians; while the fourth tribe, the Ægialeans, derived their name from the country which they had inhabited before the Doric invasion.^h It is also certain that this fourth tribe possessed not merely some civil privileges, but the complete rights of citizenship;

^e Πάντα ὀκτώ, Photius in v. Suidas (in Schott's Prov. XI. 64.) Apostol. XV. 67.

^d Hesychius. According to Isaac Vossius Κυνόφυλοι. The Corinthian κυνή, Herod. IV. 180. was perhaps at an early period the peculiar dress of this class. See above, ch. 3. § 3.

^e Thus the harbour Lechæum was a place of refuge for maltreated slaves as well as Munychia, Hesych. in Λέχαιον.

^f Steph. Byz. in Χίος, Polux ubi sup. Etym. Gud. p. 165. 53. where θῆτες, γυμνήτες (for γυμνήσιοι), πενέσται, πελάται

(erroneously for κλαρώται), κορυνηφόροι, and καλλικύριοι are classed together.

^g See above, p. 38, note ^o.

^h Herod. V. 68. where, however, it is difficult to believe that this fourth tribe was not established until after the time of Cleisthenes. The tribe which in Sicyon was called Αἰγιαλεῖς was perhaps in Phlius known by the title of Χθονοφυλή, the mythical name of the daughter of Sicyon, and the mother or wife of Phlias, Pausan. II. 63. 12. 6. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 45.

since the family of Cleisthenes raised itself from it to the royal dignity, which could scarcely have taken place had their tribe stood in the same relation to the citizens as the Perioeci or Helots did to the Spartans. This Cleisthenes, with the arrogance of a tyrant, gave to his own tribe the name of Archelai, or rulers; while he called the three Doric tribes after the sow, the swine, and the ass (ὑᾶται, ὄνεᾶται, χοιρεᾶται.) We can hardly, however, credit the assertion of Herodotus (who too often seeks for the causes of events in the passions and wishes of individuals, to the disregard of political circumstances) that these were merely terms of abuse;ⁱ it is more probable that Cleisthenes wished to compel the Dorians to retire into the country, and employ themselves in the care of cattle and in agriculture, thus bidding an entire defiance to all their principles. But so arbitrary a subversion of all ancient customs and habits could not endure for any length of time; and, after the downfall of that tyrannical dynasty, the former constitution was restored in its most essential parts.

4. In the colonies of the Dorians the condition of the conquered peasants and bondsmen was often more oppressed and degraded than in the parent states; since the ruling class were there placed in

ⁱ The able historian Thirlwall thinks it more probable that Cleisthenes united the three Doric tribes in a single tribe, and that the Hyatæ, Oneatæ, and Choereatæ, were the three country tribes, *tribus rusticæ*, which Cleisthenes had admitted into the dominant community. But a measure of this kind appears to be unexampled in the history of the Greek constitu-

tions, and could hardly have been confounded by Herodotus with a mere change of names. It may be here mentioned that the temple of Zeus the *Enumerator*, in Sicyon, was referred to the establishment of the tribes. Bekker's Anecd. Gr. vol. II. p. 790. Σικυώνιοι κατὰ φυλὰς ἐαυτοὺς τάξαντες καὶ ἀριθμήσαντες Διὸς Στοιχέως ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο.

contact, not with Greeks, but with barbarians. In their settlements the following ranks were generally formed at successive periods of time. A Doric state founded the colony; and its citizens constituted the sole nobility in the new city; these parted amongst themselves the conquered land into lots,^k and formed the body of citizens, the *πολίτευμα* strictly so called.^l These colonists, however, soon endeavoured to strengthen themselves by fresh numbers, and opened their harbours to all exiled or discontented persons. The motley population^m thus formed, called by the name of *Demus*, was generally excluded from the body politic (or the *πολίτευμα*), until it obtained admittance by force; and at the same time constantly pressed for a new division of the territory (*ἀναδασμός*).ⁿ Besides these, a third rank was formed by the native inhabitants, who were compelled by the new-comers to serve either as bondsmen or public slaves. Thus, for example, the distinction at SYRACUSE was—first, the Gamori, viz., the old Corinthian colonists, who had taken possession of the large lots, and divided the land;^o secondly, a *Demus*; and,

^k See, e. g., concerning the *κληροδοσία* of Cnidos, Diodor. V. 53. That the lots were even apportioned in the mother-country may be seen from what occurred at the founding of Syracuse, book I. ch. 6. § 7. Compare the account of the colonization of Epidamnus, Thucyd. I. 27.

^l This, e. g., was the case in the Corinthian Apollonia, Herod. IX. 93. Aristot. Pol. IV. 3. 8. So also in Thera, *Orchomenos*, p. 337.

^m Thucyd. VI. 17. of the

cities of Sicily, *ὅχλοις τε γὰρ ξυμμίκτοις πολυανδροῦσιν*, &c.

ⁿ The clearest instance, although not of a Doric city, is in Thucyd. V. 4. The Leontini had created a large number of new citizens, who, partly forming the popular party, pressed for a redivision of the lands (*ἀναδασμός*). Upon this, the nobles entirely expelled the commons. See below, ch. 9. § 15.

^o Herod. VII. 155. Aristot. Polit. Syrac. ap. Phot. in v. Dionys. Hal. VI. 62. p. 388.

thirdly, slaves on the estates of the nobles, whose number became proverbial. These were, without doubt, native Siculians, as is shown by the various forms of their name (*Κυλλύριοι*, *Κιλλικύριοι*, *Καλλικύριοι*), which cannot be explained from the Greek.^p The political condition of Syracuse was formed in a manner essentially different from that of the Peloponnesian states, chiefly from the circumstance that the *Demus* (an *unpleasant fellow-lodger*, according to the expression of Gelon) was immediately received into the city. Hence also the prodigious size of the Sicilian and Italian towns in comparison with those of Peloponnesus. The Gamori, together with their Cyllyrians, stood in nearly the same relation to the *Demus* as the patricians with their clients did to the plebeians at Rome. The changes in the constitution also had nearly the same course as at Rome; for the two classes first sought to compromise their pretensions in a moderate timocracy (the *πολιτεία* of Aristotle), which subsequently passed (as we shall see hereafter) into a complete democracy.

5. In the Megarian colony of BYZANTIUM the native inhabitants, the Bithynians, were in precisely

35. Marmor. Par. l. 52. Hesychius *γάμοροι*—*ἢ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγείων τιμημάτων (à censu agrotum) τὰ κοινὰ διέποντες*. *Ἐγγείων κτημάτων*, the correction of Ruhnken ad Tim. Lex. in v. *γεωμόροι*, is not needed. The expression *ἀπὸ τιμημάτων ἀρχεῖν, διοικεῖν*, &c., occurs. See Wesseling ad Diod. XVIII. 18.

^p Hesychius (cf. Interp. vol. II. p. 260.), Photius, Suidas, and Phavorinus in *Καλλικύριοι*, Etym. Gud. p. 165. Zenob. IV. 54. *Καλλικύριοι ἐν Συρακού-*

σαις ἐκλήθησαν οἱ ὑπεισελθόντες ΓΕΩΜΟΡΟΙΣ, as it should be written (see below, ch. 9. § 7.), Plut. Prov. Alex. 10. p. 588. Eustathius ad Il. p. 295. Rom. *Κιλλικύριοι δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ, Μαριανδύνοι δὲ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ Ποντικῇ καὶ Ἀροτταὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις* should be written *Κιλλικύριοι δὲ ἐν Συρακούσαις*—*ΚΛΑΡΟΤΑΙ ΔΕ ἐν Κρήτῃ*. Dionysius ubi sup. calls them *πελάται*. *Καλλικύριοι* seems to be a mere corruption of foreigners, who tried to make a Greek word of it.

the same condition as the Helots.¹ The same was likewise the fate of the nation of Mariandynians in HERACLEA ON THE PONTUS, which city also was founded by the Megarians conjointly with the Boeotians. They submitted under the stipulation that no Mariandynian should be sold beyond the borders,² which was a fundamental rule of the ancient system of bondage; and that they should pay a tribute to be settled once for all, this being called by the mild name of *presents* (δῶρα³). The great number of these native slaves, who never suffered the country to want for sailors, was very favourable to the commerce and naval power of Heraclea.⁴

At CYRENE also the several classes were formed in a similar manner. In Thera, the mother-country of Cyrene, the families of the original colony from Laconia had once alone possessed the full rights of citizenship, and held the offices of state.⁵ Thus also at Cyrene the families from Thera at first were sole possessors of the governing power, and did not admit the after-comers to a full participation of it. It was the natural course of events, that they who first caused the Grecian name to be respected amongst the savages of Libya should be supposed to have a greater claim

¹ Phylarch. ap. Athen. VI. p. 271 C. The μισθωτοὶ were called προύνικοι in Byzantium, according to Pollux VII. 29. 132.

² Strab. XII. p. 542 C.

³ Euphorion (Fragm. 73. Mein.) and Callistratus ὁ Ἀριστοφάνειος ap. Athen. VI. p. 263 D. E. Hesychius in δωροφόροι. The masters are called by Euphorion ἀνακτες, according to the Homeric idiom.

⁴ Aristot. Pol. VII. 5. 7. where the Perioeci of Heraclea, who served in the fleet, are probably the Mariandyni. In this passage Heraclea Pontica is meant, whereas in V. 4. 2. (μετὰ τὸν ἀποικισμὸν εὐθὺς) Heraclea Trachinia is evidently intended—compare Schlosser; and the same town is probably signified in the other passages.

⁵ See above, p. 60, note¹.

to honour and property than those who had flocked together to a town already established and securely defended. But the Cyrenæans having in the reign of Battus the Second proclaimed throughout Greece a new division of their lands⁶ (which, however, they had first to gain from the Libyans), and many fresh citizens having collected together, a new constitution became in time necessary: and this, Demonax of Mantinea established for them on democratic principles. He abolished the old tribes, and created in their place three new ones, in which the entire Grecian population of Cyrene was comprehended. The division of the people was into three parts, viz., one consisting of the Theræans and Perioeci, the second of Peloponnesians and Cretans, and the third of all the islanders.⁷ From this it is evident that the original colonists still continued to keep Perioeci under their power, while the other citizens did not enjoy this right; and that the former were a kind of privileged class, who probably were in a great measure relieved from any personal attendance to agriculture: in this manner the wise Demonax respected the institutions of antiquity. Of the origin and condition of these

⁶ The oracle in Herod. IV. 159.

⁷ ὅς δὲ καὶ ἐς Λιβύαν πολυήρατον ὕστερον ἔλθῃ γὰρ ἀναδαιμόνιος, μετὰ δὲ πικρὰ φαρμί μιλῆσιν.

Compare ὕστερεῖν τῆς κληροδοσίας, Diod. V. 53.

⁸ Herod. IV. 161. The most probable explanation of this passage seems to be that given in the text, viz., that Demonax left to the first conquerors the possession of their subjects, and

did not divide them equally among the new colonists; and this is approved by Thirge, Res Cyrenensium, p. 148. Niebuhr, however, History of Rome, vol. I. note 708. ed. 2, understands it to mean that the Perioeci were the original subjects of the Theræans in their island, who in the colony stood on an equal footing with their former masters: an equality which is not necessarily implied by an union in the same tribe.

Periœci, not only have we no direct account, but not even an indirect trace.

6. We have now finished our comparison of the different subject classes in the Doric states. It has been clearly proved that a class of Periœci, and also of Helots, was the basis of the Doric form of government, insomuch that the abolition of servitude generally occasioned a subversion of the Doric institutions. Hence the Dorians generally, and above all the Spartans, were distinguished for the obstinacy with which they retained it. But this species of servitude may be said to have existed in ancient times, wherever a warlike nation had obtained a settlement by conquest; for example, in Thessaly, Boeotia, and even among the Ionians of Athens. Now as the distinction of subjects and bond-slaves was kept up for a longer time in Thessaly than in any other state, those of the Dorians alone being excepted, we will include that country in the present inquiry. The following classes may be there distinguished: First, a number of small nations were under the dominion of the Thessalians, to whom they paid a fixed tribute, and were also probably bound to assist in war; but they nevertheless still retained their national divisions, and a certain degree of independence. This must have been the state of the Perrhæbians to the north of Larissa, the Magnesians to the east of mount Pelion, and the Phthiotan Achæans to the south of mount Othrys and the Enipeus. For all these were indeed subject to the Thessalians,^a but had not ceased to be

^a Concerning the Achæans, lipp. II. p. 71. Olynth. II. p. 20. Thuc. VIII. 3. cf. Liv. XXXIII. 34. Of the Magnesians and others, Thuc. II. 101. Demosth. Philippi. II. p. 71. Concerning the Perrhæbi, Thuc. IV. 78. Strab. IX. p. 440.—Compare Orchomenos, p. 253.

distinct, nay, even Amphictyonic nations.^a Their tribute had been accurately fixed by Scopas, prince of Pharsalus. They were also called Periœci.^b Excluding then this tract of country, we retain for Thessaly Proper the region between the Perrhæbians towards the north, and the Achæans towards the south, in which direction the Enipeus forms the boundary,^c comprehending the valley of the Peneus (the ancient Pelasgic Argos), and a district towards the Pagasæan bay, called by Herodotus Æolis.^d The Thessalians, therefore, held this territory under their immediate government, and had the towns of Larissa, Crannon, Pharsalus, Iolcus, and others, in their own possession; the land being cultivated by the Penestæ, who were the early Pelasgico-Æolian inhabitants.^e For, according to Archemachus,^f the Æolian Boeotians had in part emigrated from their country, leaving some of their numbers behind, who submitted conditionally, as Penestæ: amongst these Theopompus^g also includes the Magnesians and Perrhæbians; but this statement can only hold good of a part of these two races, since they were (as has been already shown) dependent, but not entirely subject.^h The fundamental laws of the

^a Tittmann. Amphictyonen bund, p. 35. see particularly Herod. VII. 132. those mentioned in Livy XLIII. 20. sqq. we have here no concern.

^b Xen. Hell. VI. 1. 7. where the *περίοικοι* must not be confounded with the Penestæ; see Schneider ad Aristot. Pol. V. 5. 9.

^c According to Thucyd. IV. 78.

^d VII. 176.

^e There were also Penestæ among the Macedonians, according to Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieg. 533. But with

^f Euboica ap. Athen. VI. p. 264 B. cf. Eustath. II. XIII. p. 954, 38. Rom. Phot. Lex. in *ν. πένεσται*, where read, *ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὸ Αἰμονος ἐν ἈΡΝΗΙ νικηθέντων Βοιωτῶν* (see Orchomenos, p. 378.) as in Suidas.

^g Athen. VI. p. 265 C.

^h According to Aristot. Pol. II. 6. 3. the Penestæ revolted from the Thessalians when the latter were waging war with

ancient Greek bondage applied also to the Penestæ. They could neither be put to death without trial, nor be sold out of the country.¹ Thus they stood in an intermediate position between freemen and purchased slaves,^k like the Mariandynians of Heraclea, the Clarotæ of Crete, and the Helots of Laconia, with whom they are generally compared.¹ For, like these, they were reduced to servitude by conquest, although they cannot properly be called slaves taken in war.^m Further, they were not subject to the whole community, but belonged to particular houses and families:ⁿ hence also they were called Θεσσαλοικέται.^o They were particularly numerous in the great families of the Aleuadæ and Scopadæ.^p Their principal employment was agriculture,^q from the produce of which they paid a rent to the proprietors of the soil.^r At the same time this did not prevent them from gaining

the Achæans, Perrhæbians, and Magnetes.

¹ Archem. ubi sup. Strab. XII. p. 542 C. Eustath. p. 954. Photius, ἐπὶ τῇ μῆτι παθεῖν τι ἐργαζόμενοι, μῆτι ἐκβληθῆναι.

^k Pollux III. 83.

¹ Theopompus ap. Schol. Theocrit. XVI. 35. Aristot. Pol. II. 2. 13. Staphylus περὶ Θεσσαλῶν ap. Harpocrat. Ammonius, Photius, Hesychius, Etym. in v.

^m Heraclid. Pont. 2. In Eustathius ad Il. II. p. 295, Photius (ubi sup.), and Hesychius, they are called οἱ μὴ γόνφ δοῦλοι, a very obscure expression. The explanation of another writer, ἐλεύθεροι μίσθῳ δουλεύοντες, is entirely false.

ⁿ Euripid. Phrix. ap. Athen. p. 264 C. Λάτρεις πενέστης

(hence Hesychius πενέσται λάτρεις) ἄμους ἀρχαίων δόμων.

^o In the Θεσσαλικά of Philocrates (εἰ γνήσια) ap. Athen. p. 264 A. Staphylus ubi sup. Photius, in πενέσται.

^p Theocrit. XVI. 35. (see Meineke Comment. Miscell. I. p. 53.) But when Theocritus says that "they received provision for a month measured out," he evidently confounds them with common slaves.—Menon brought 200 Penestæ of his own to the Athenians, Pseudo-Demosth. περὶ συντάξ. p. 173. 6. or 300, according to the speech in Aristocrat. p. 687. 2.

^q Athen. p. 264 B. Hesych. in πενέστης.

^r Timæus in V. πενεστικόν, Eustath. II. XIII. p. 954, &c.

property of their own, and they were frequently richer than their masters.^a In war they attended their lords, protecting and fighting before them, like knights and their squires; generally, however, contrary to the custom of other Greeks, on horseback.^b All these accounts respecting the Penestæ agree sufficiently well with one another, and refer to one and the same class; although it is certain that the attempts to obtain civil liberty had much increased amongst the Penestæ at the time of the Peloponnesian war, and were now and then, though not constantly, supported by Athens.^c The other internal affairs of the Thessalians do not lie within the range of our inquiry. They had little adapted themselves to a quiet course of events, nor indeed did the turbulent and haughty disposition of their race allow of a life of inactivity. In each town of Thessaly we find a constant struggle between the commons and a number of oligarchical families; from these arise several princely races, such as the Aleuadæ, Scopadæ,^d &c. The states themselves were generally at war with one another: thus their political constitution, as well as the want of steadiness and forbearance in the national character, must be regarded as the chief reasons why Thessaly was of so little importance in Greece. The external means which a wide territory and military power afforded them were here doubtless present in a greater degree than in any

^a Archemachus and Eustathius as above—although the name is evidently derived from πένης.

^b Demosth. in Aristocrat. p. 687. 1.

^c Aristoph. Vesp. 1263.

^d All three together in Ari-

stot. Pol. V. 5. 9. cf. Thuc. IV. 78. At the time of Alexander of Pheræ it is probable that there were tyrants in Thessaly who had risen from demagogues, and were therefore hostile to the Aleuadæ, Diodor. XVI. 1.

other country; the Thessalians were also distinguished for their bravery, and the ancient fame of the country would have supported claims in themselves well founded; how came it then that the history of Thessaly was a blank in the annals of Greece, while Sparta was so long its very soul? The only answer is, that the national character of the Thessalians was altogether different; for wisdom they had only cunning; for rational valour only a restless love of war; for strict self-command only unrestrained passions.

7. It appears, therefore, that foreign conquest universally in Greece gave birth to that political condition, which may be compared with the villenage or serfage of the Germanic nations; and indeed it does not seem that such a state of society could have any other origin. There would accordingly be matter for surprise if we found a class of bondsmen among the Arcadians, a nation which neither gained its territory by conquest,^y nor was ever conquered itself: and, accordingly, it can scarcely be doubted that the nation described by Theopompus as possessing 300,000 Prospelatæ, whom he compares with the Helots, is not the Arcadians, but the Illyrian Ardiæans.^z The distinction of ranks, which we find existing in the Arcadian towns, may be satisfactorily explained by the opposition between the city, properly so called (πόλις), and the country vil-

^y The statement of Aristotle ap. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 397. concerning an ancient expulsion of the Barbarians from Arcadia, was merely made for the purpose of explaining the name Προσέληνοι.

^z In Athen. VI. p. 271 D. and X. p. 443 B. Casaubon reads Ἀρδιαίους and Ἀρδιαῖοι

for Ἀρκαδίους and Ἀρδιαῖοι. See Clinton Fast. Hellen. vol. II. p. 420. note P. ed. 2. Wachsmuth, Hellenische Alterthumskunde, vol. I. p. 323. Boeckh Corp. Inscript. vol. I. p. ult. The Greek name for the Arcadians is not Ἀρκαῖοι but Ἀρκα-
δες.

lages (δῆμοι, κῶμαι), which in later times most of the Arcadian cities, for example, Mantinea, Tegea, and Heræa, incorporated with themselves. For although it is asserted that these and other towns were made up of separate villages, it must not be supposed that they had no previous existence as cities. The account is to be understood in the same manner as that of the congregating of the people of Attica to Athens, which is stated to have taken place in the time of Theseus. Nearly all the towns of Arcadia possessed citadels of extreme antiquity, in and near which many princely, sacerdotal, and military families had dwelt from an early period. These formed a nobility, with reference to the agricultural classes in the country, which, however, included by far the greater portion of the Arcadians. If then one large town was formed of several villages, the constitution at the same time necessarily became more democratical, which was the result at Argos of the incorporation of the Perioeci,^a and at Megara also of the same measure.^b For so long as the people inhabited a particular village, they interested themselves in its affairs alone, and the persons in the chief city managed the concerns of the whole community. But from the moment that they began to live together, every person considered himself entitled to a share in the public councils. Hence it was the interest of the head of the Peloponnesian confederacy again to separate the inhabitants of the towns (διοικίσειν); of the Athenians, to keep them together. The Argives first effected the union of the boroughs

^a See above, § 2.

^b See above, ch. 3. § 3. What connexion there was between this measure and the union of

Megara with four hamlets (book I. ch. 5. § 10.) I have not been able to satisfy myself.

at Mantinea, doubtless not until they had seen other instances of the same proceeding, that is, after the Persian war. They united four hamlets with the ancient city,^c which made the fifth; the Lacedæmonians after some time restored the ancient villages, and with them the aristocracy. The territory of Tegea was also divided into eight hamlets, which were afterwards united to make the city, viz., the Gareatæ, Phylaceans, Caryatæ,^d Corytheans, Botachidæ, Manthyreans, Eche-neteans, and Apheidantes: to these were added, as the ninth, the Tegeatans of the ancient town,^e who had previously been the citizens properly so called, while the former had been the inhabitants of the open country; a distinction, which, upon their union, must either instantly or very soon have disappeared.

8. Since it has been ascertained in the course of these inquiries that the distinction between πόλις and δῆμος, that is, town and country, was of great political importance in the ancient states, we will conclude this chapter with some remarks upon those terms.

The word δῆμος originally signified the ground and soil on which the people lived,^f and afterwards the

^c This enables us to reconcile Xen. Hell. V. 2. 7. (cf. VI. 4. 18. ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν—ἀριστοκρατούμενοι, and VI. 5. 3.) with Ephorus ap. Strab. VIII. p. 337. Harpocration in v. Μαντινέων διοικισμός, and Isocrat. περὶ εἰρήνης in Harpocration. Cf. Diod. XV. 5. 12. Polyb. IV. 27. 6. Pausan. VIII. 8.

^d Therefore before Caryæ fell under the power of Lacedæmon; for it is evident that the Arcadian Caryæ, close to Laconia, and belonging to the territory of

Tegea, and the Lacedæmonian Caryæ, are the same place. Photius in v. τὰς Καρύας Ἀρκάδων οὐσας ἀπετέμνοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Compare Meineke Euphorion, p. 96. That this had taken place before the second Messenian war, I can hardly believe from the narrative in Pausan. IV. 16. 5.

^e See Pausan. VIII. 45. 1. Comp. Strabo VIII. p. 337. and Aristot. Pol. II. 1. 5.

^f Hence Homer calls it "the fertile demus," πῖονα δῆμον.

whole number of persons inhabiting it. Πόλις, on the contrary, means the city, which in the time of Homer was probably always fortified. Now with the city everything that concerned the government of a state was connected, and those exempt from all personal share in the labours of the field, namely, the military families and the nobles,^g dwelt in it; hence it is viewed in Homer as a disgrace or a misfortune, for a noble to live among the bondsmen in the country.^h This is the state of things described by the most ancient poet; and particular accounts of an historical nature present the same picture. When the Achæans settled on the coast of Ægialea, they fortified themselves in the towns and strongholds, and kept entirely aloof from the natives; at least we know this to have been the case at Patræ;ⁱ so that the same race here inhabited the principal city as conquerors, who in Laconia were scattered about in the country-towns as a conquered people. Hence also the town of Dyme was originally called *Stratos*;^k that is, the station of the army, the abode of the male population who had the means and the privilege of bearing arms. It was not till a later period that the Achæan towns, Patræ, Dyme, and Ægium, incorporated their villages.^l At Athens the Eupatridæ are stated to have had possession of the city;^m an account which is strikingly

^g Od. XXIV. 414. κατὰ πτόλιν.

^h Od. XI. 187.

ⁱ Pausan. VII. 18. 3.

^k According to Steph. Byz. in v. the district was originally called Δύμη, and the city Στράτος.

^l Strab. ubi sup. cf. VIII. p. 386. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἴωνες κωμηδὸν

ῥῆκον (the cities were unwalled, Thuc. III. 33.), οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ πόλεις ἔκτισαν. Concerning the συνοικισμός of Patræ, Dyme and Ægium. See Strabo VIII. p. 337.

^m Εὐπατρίδαι οἱ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄστυ οἰκοῦντες, Bekk. Anecd. p. 257. Etym. M. in v.

confirmed by the circumstance that Cydathenæum, one of the Attic demi, was situated within the city,ⁿ and it had evidently taken its name from Cydathenæus, i. e., *a noble and illustrious Athenian*.^o Hence is explained the distinction between the terms "Athenian," and "inhabitant of Attica (Ἀττικὸς)," which was still preserved in common language after it had been in fact abolished by the democracy. Thus Plato uses the former, as a more honourable appellation than the latter;^p and when Dicæarchus, describing the manners of Greece, contrasts the inhabitants of Attica as loquacious, sycophantic, and fickle, with the noble-minded, simple, and honest Athenians, by the latter he means the ancient families, and by the former the Demus, which, since the time of Cleisthenes, had been compounded of the most heterogeneous elements. Thus the πόλις and δῆμος became identical in Athens, and the latter word was used by preference to signify the whole community. But in other states, the πόλις was opposed to the δῆμος, as the ruling aristocratical power.^q Thus Theognis the Megarian says of his native town, with aristocratical feelings—

Πατρίδα κοσμήσω, λιπαρὴν ΠΟΛΙΝ, οὐτ' ἐπὶ ΔΗΜΟΝ
τρέψας οὐτ' ἀδίκους ἀνδράσι πειθόμενος^r

Hence, also, states not under a democratical government used the word πόλις in their public documents, to signify the sovereign power; for instance, the Cretan

ⁿ Κυδαθηνάιον δῆμος ἐν ἄστει Hesychius. Schol. Plat. Symp. p. 43. Ruhnken.

^o Κυδαθηναῖος ἔνδοξος Ἀθηναῖος, Hesychius.

^p Leg. I. p. 626 C.

^q In Homer there is no trace of a δῆμος as a political power opposed to another. The pas-

sage in Il. II. 546., in which the δῆμος of Athens is mentioned, is as late at least as the age of Solon.

^r V. 948. Thus Æschyl. Suppl. 375. concerning the monarch, σύ τοι πόλις, σὺ δὲ τὸ δῆμιον, πρύτανης ἄκριτος ὢν.

towns, so late as the second century after Christ.* The Spartan community, however, deviating from this usage of the word, calls itself δᾶμος in ancient laws;[†] because it never thought of opposing itself as a body to the Pericæci.

Democracies then were frequently formed by collecting the inhabitants of the country into the city (when the δῆμος and πόλις coincided), by the union of single villages, and by the admission of the Pericæci to the rights of citizenship. At Athens, in order to give the democracy the highest possible antiquity, this change was dated as far back as the mythical age of Theseus. In Peloponnesus, the first movements tending to it had perhaps begun before the time of the tyrants; these very persons, however, though they had in most cases risen from demagogues, still, for the purpose of securing a more tranquil dominion, sought again to remove the common people from the city, and to bind them down to the country. Instead of the town-costume, they forced them to resume their former dress of sheep's skins, as has been remarked above of the tyrants of Sicyon;[‡] for this purpose likewise they

* See particularly such passages as that in Chishull's Ant. Asiat. p. 113. Συβριτιων ἡ πόλις καὶ οἱ κοσμοὶ Τηων τῶ βουλῶ καὶ τῶ δαμῶ χαιρεῖν, p. 137. Ἀλλαριωτῶν οἱ κοσμοὶ καὶ ἡ πόλις Παριων τῶ πολέϊ καὶ τῶ δαμῶ. Sometimes, however, especially in inscriptions of late date, δῆμος also occurs, as in Pococke IV. 2. p. 43. n. 2. which should be restored nearly as follows: ἀγαθὰ τυχα. ἐδοξε τῶ βουλῶ καὶ τῶ δαμῶ Κλεισθένα. . . . Σίνωπια. Ἀντιστοχὸν καὶ Ἀγαθοκλῆν Σωσιγενεὸς Ἱεροπολίτας προξένος ἦμεν αὐτὸς καὶ ἐγγονα, ὑπαρχεν

δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰσοπολίτειαν καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἰκίας ἐγκτήσιν καὶ ἀτελείαν, &c.

[†] See the Rhetra cited below, ch. 5. § 8. The citizens of Sparta were called δαμῶδεις (above, p. 43, note ⁿ); νεοδαμῶδεις, i. e., "new Spartans," answers to the Syracusan νεοπολίται, Diod. XIV. 7. δαμοσία, the train of the king in war; below, ch. 12. § 5. A measure ratified by the community was called δαμώσικτος; below, ch. 5. § 11.

[‡] Ch. 3. § 3. On Periander, see Diog. Laërt. I. 98. from Ephorus and Aristotle, Nicolaus

very prudently encouraged agriculture in all its branches.* Trade and commerce, by collecting men together in large towns, promoted the principles of democracy. It was in the wealthy and populous cities of the Greeks in the Ionian territory that a popular government was first established. Where, on the other hand, the courts of justice were at a distance, and there was no other inducement to mechanical industry and internal commerce, the ancient habits of life continued much longer in existence; as for example, among the shepherds of Mænalia and Parthasia: these, as late as the founding of Megalopolis, lived in villages, amongst which particular boroughs (as Basilis) were distinguished as the abodes of sovereign families; such a state was altogether suited to the interests of the aristocracy or oligarchy. In oligarchical states, as in Elis, the people in later times remained almost constantly in the country; and it frequently happened that grandfathers and grandchildren had never seen the town: there were also country courts of justice, and other regulations, intended to make up for the advantages of a city life.⁷ But even in the democratic states, as at Athens, there was among the people a constant struggle of feeling between the turbulent working of the democracy, and the peaceful inclination to their ancient country life.

Damascenus, Heracl. Pont. 5. excellent note of Meier de bonis on the Pisistratidæ, above p. 38, damnat. p. 185.
note P. Meurs. Pisistrat. 7. cf. ² See also Diod. XIV. 10.
Maxim. Tyr. XIII. 140. Day. ³ Polyb. IV. 73. 6. οἱ πολί-
Concerning Gelo, Plutarch. τεύόμενοι—οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας κατ-
Apophth. Reg. p. 89. the Thirty, οικοῦντες. Oxylyus also, accord-
Xenoph. Hell. II. 4. 1. a Cephallenian tyrant, Heraclid. ing to Pausan. V. 4. 1. incor-
Pont. 31. See in general porated a number of hamlets
Aristot. Pol. V. 8. 7. and the with the city.

CHAP. V.

§ 1. Three tribes of citizens in the Doric states. § 2. Additional tribes, of inferior rank, in some Doric states. § 3. Each tribe in Sparta was divided into ten obæ. § 4. Political importance of the Spartan obæ. § 5. Πάρραι, in other Doric states, corresponding to the Spartan obæ. § 6. Number of Spartan γένη. § 7. Distinction between Equals and Inferiors in Sparta. § 8. Powers of the assembly of citizens at Sparta. § 9. Names of the assembly of the citizens in the Doric states. § 10. Proceedings of the Spartan assembly. § 11. Public assembly of Crete.

1. HAVING considered the subject classes in the several Doric states, we come to the free citizens properly so called, who, according to an old Grecian principle,^a which was actually put in practice in Sparta, were entirely exempted from all care for providing themselves with the necessaries of life. The exact distinction between these ranks, and the advantageous position of the latter class, increased the value of the rights of citizenship; hence Sparta showed peculiar reluctance to admitting foreigners to share in them.^b Before, then, we consider the body politic of free citizens in its active dealings, it will be proper first to direct our attention to its component members, to its division into smaller societies, such as tribes, phratriæ, houses, &c.

^a Aristot. Pol. III. 3, where the πολίτου ἀρετή is restricted to those ὅσοι τῶν ἔργων εἰσὶν ἀφειμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. lected by Tittmann, p. 641. prove nothing against Herodotus, IX. 35. Ephorus ap. Strab. VIII. p. 364. speaks of the reception of aliens as *Periæci*. Concerning the strictness of the Megarians as to this point, see Plutarch. de Monarchia 2. p. 204.

^b The instances of admission of foreigners to the rights of Spartan citizens (of which some are very uncertain), col-

In every Doric state there were three tribes, Hylleis, Dymanes (or Dymanatæ), and Pamphyli. This threefold division belonged so peculiarly to the nation that even Homer called it "the thrice-divided" (*τριχάϊκες*), which ancient epithet is correctly explained in a verse of Hesiod, as implying the division of the territory among the people.^c Hence in the ancient fable which this poet has expressed in an epic poem, three sons of the ancient Doric king Ægimius were mentioned, namely, Dyman, Pamphylus, and the adopted Hyllus; and the same is confirmed by the direct testimony of Herodotus, who states that the Doric nation was divided into these three tribes.^d Hence also Pindar comprehends the whole Doric nation under the name of the sons of Ægimius and Hyllus.^e Thus we should be warranted in putting forth the proposition stated above in these general terms, even if in the several Doric states there had been no particular mention of all these tribes. The fact, however, is, that there are sufficient accounts of them. Pindar^f bears testimony to their existence in Sparta; and from an expression of a grammarian, it may be conjectured that they were also divisions of the city.^g Herodotus states that these tribes existed at Sicyon and Argos.^h In Argos, the city was doubtless

^c Book I. ch. 1. § 8. Andron (ap. Strab. X. p. 475.) explains it from the Tripolis near mount Parnassus.

^d V. 68. cf. Steph. Byz. in Ὑλλεῖς, Δυμᾶν. Hemsterh. ad Aristoph. Plut. 385.

^e Pyth. I. 61. V. 71. and in the fragment of the Ἰσθμονίκαι, Ὑλλων τε καὶ Αἰγυμίων Δωριεὺς στρατός.

^f Ubi sup. cf. Schol. Pyth.

I. 121.

^g Hesychius Δύμη ἐν Σπάρτῃ φυλὴ καὶ τόπος, which is not indeed a decisive testimony.

^h V. 68. All the three tribes occur in Argive inscriptions of late date; see Boeckh ad Inscript. 1123. the Πάμφυλοι however are introduced on conjecture. Ὑλλας ἀπὸ Ἀργείας μιᾶς τῶν νυμφῶν, Callimachus ap. Steph. in Ὑλλεῖς, unless it

divided according to them; and Παμφυλιακὸν is mentioned as a district of the town.ⁱ The Doric tribes were transmitted from Argos to Epidaurus and Ægina.^k Hylleis occur also in the Æginetan colony of Cydonia.^l The same name is found in an inscription of Corcyra:^m consequently they also existed in the mother-country, Corinth. It occurs likewise in another inscription of Agrigentum;ⁿ they must therefore have also been in existence at Rhodes, as indeed is declared by Homer.^o The Pamphylians occur at Megara as late as at the time of Hadrian.^p These tribes existed also at Trœzen;^q but the Trœzenian colony Halicarnassus seems to have been almost exclusively founded by Dymanes.^r On the whole it appears that wherever there were Dorians there were also Hylleians, Pamphylians, and Dymanes.

2. Wherever the Dorians alone had the full rights of citizenship, no other tribes of the highest ranks could exist; but if other persons were admitted in any considerable number to a share in the government, there were necessarily either one or more tribes in addition to these three. Thus a fourth, named Hyrnathia,^s is

should be written Αἰγαίαις, or some such word. See Introduction, § 9.

ⁱ Plutarch. Mul. Virt. 5. p. 269.

^k Pindar. ubi sup.

^l Hesych. in Ὑλλεῖς. Compare Æginetica, p. 140.

^m Boeckh, Staatshaushaltung, vol. II. p. 404.

ⁿ Gruter p. 401. Castelli Inscript. Sic. p. 79.

^o Il. II. 668. book I. ch. 6. § 3.

^p Boeckh Corp. Inscript. N°. 1073. and see his Explic. ad

Pind. Pyth. I. p. 234.

^q Charax ap. Steph. in Ὑλλεῖς.

^r Book I. ch. 6. § 1.

^s Æginetica, pp. 40. and 140. note 2. Steph. Byz. Δυμᾶν, φῶ-

λον Δωριέων, ἦσαν δὲ τρεῖς, Ὑλλεῖς καὶ Πάμφυλοι καὶ Δυμᾶνες, ἐξ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ προσετέθη ἡ Ὑρνηθία, ὡς Ἐφορος α': which passage should be understood thus: "There were originally three tribes, Hylleians, Pamphylians, and Dymanes, which go back to the time of Hercules; and to these the Hyrnathian tribe was

known to us in the states of Argos and Epidaurus; in Ægina also an additional tribe of this kind must have existed, for in this island there were distinguished families not of Doric origin.¹ In Sicyon the fourth tribe was called the Ægialean. In Corinth also it appears that there were altogether eight tribes.² But in Sparta, the city of pure Doric customs, we cannot suppose the existence of any other than the three genuine Doric tribes. At first sight, indeed, it might appear that the great and distinguished house of the Ægidæ, of Cadmean descent, was without the pale of these tribes; but it must have been adopted into one of the three at its admission to the rights of citizenship.³ For the number of the Spartan obæ, the gerontes, the knights, the landed estates, viz., 30, 300, 9000, &c., manifestly allow of division by the number 3, while they have no reference to the number 4.

3. The tribes of Sparta were again divided into obæ, which are also called phratriæ.⁴ The term *phratia* (φρατρία) signified among the Greeks an union of houses, whether founded upon the ties of

"afterwards added," viz., at Argos, where it occurs in inscriptions, Boeckh Corp. Inscript. N°. 1130, 1131. The name is obscure, and particularly its connexion with the heroine Hymetho, the daughter of Temenus. See Paus. II. 26. Steph. Byz. in Ὑρνίθιον.

¹ Ibid. p. 140.

² See above, p. 58, note c.

³ See Orchomenos, p. 329. Tribes with patronymic terminations occur, however, elsewhere, as in the great Tenian inscription in the British Museum the tribes of the Heraclidæ, the Thestiadæ, and these,

together with several others also, as divisions of the country. The name of the Heraclidæ in the Ionian island of Tenos is not easily accounted for; on the presence of Hercules there, see, however, Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 1304. from the Τηνιακά of Ænesidemus.

⁴ Athen. IV. p. 141 F. from Demetrius Scepsius, comp. Orchomenos, p. 328. Hesychius incorrectly interprets ὠβάρης as φυλέτης. The name ὠβὰ was retained till the Roman time, Boeckh Inscript. N°. 1272, 1273, 1274.

actual relationship, or formed for political purposes, and according to some fixed rule, for the convenience of public regulations. Thus the word *oba* comprehends houses (γένη, gentes), which were either really founded on descent from the same stock, or had united themselves in ancient times for civil and religious purposes, and afterwards continued to exist as political bodies under certain regulations.⁵ The Spartan obæ appear to have likewise been local divisions, since the name ὠβὰ, i. e., οἶα, signifies *single* hamlets or districts of a town; although in the case of Sparta it is not evident what relation they bore to the five divisions of the city, of which we have spoken above.⁶ It should be, moreover, observed, that this does not prevent us from supposing that, as in the parallel case of the phratriæ, the obæ contained the houses; since we may be allowed to infer with great probability, from the simple and coherent regularity of the Spartan institutions, that the tribes had taken possession of particular districts of the town, and that these were again divided into smaller partitions, according to the obæ; a conjecture which, perhaps, will be confirmed by the statement, that a place in Sparta was called Agiadæ:⁷ now this was the name of one of the royal families, which, as being an oba, appears to have given its name to one district of the town.

⁵ The γένη of the mechanics and peasants in Athens often had a patronymic name from their occupations. Compare Buttmann on the meaning of the word phratia, in the Berlin Transactions for 1818-19. p. 12.

⁶ The five divisions of the city are the four κῶμαι, Pitana, Mesoa, Cynosura, and Limnæ (see above, ch. 3. § 7); and, fifthly,

the πόλις itself, the hill on which the temple of Athene Chalciæcus stood.

⁷ Hesychius and Etym. in Ἀγιάδαι, where, however, Laconia is put for Sparta. Probably in Pitana. See Pausanias III. 14. 2. where ἐν Ἀγιάδων has been correctly edited by Bekker, after Heeringa and Porson.

The obæ were thirty in number; ^c that is, there were ten of the Hyllean, ten of the Dymanatan, ten of the Pamphylian tribe. Of the Hyllean, two must have belonged to the royal families of the Heraclidæ. For since the councillors, together with the kings, amounted to thirty, and as this number doubtless depended upon and proceeded from that of the obæ, it follows that the two royal families, although springing from one stock, must nevertheless have been separated into two different obæ, of which they were in a manner the representatives. And if we proceed to conclude in this manner, we shall be obliged, since there were Heraclidæ, exclusive of the kings, in the gerusia,^d to suppose that there were, besides these, other Heraclide obæ in Sparta; although I am not of opinion that all the Hyllean houses derived themselves from Hercules, and were considered as Heraclidæ.

4. With respect to the influence and importance of the obæ in a political view, it was equal to, or even greater than, that of the phratriæ in ancient Athens. For, in the first place, the assembly of the people, in obedience to a rhetra of Lycurgus, was held according to tribes and obæ; afterwards the high council was constituted, and probably the 300 knights were chosen, upon the same principle. At the same time, all public situations and offices were not filled in this manner, but only where distinguished dignity and honour were required: this mode of election, as will be shown below, had always an aristocratic tendency. Magistrates, on the contrary, of a more democratical character, particularly the ephors, were nominated without regard to the division of tribes, as

^c Below, § 8.

^d Diod. XI. 50. See also Plut. Lys. 24.

their number alone shows: it is probable that this had some relation to the number of the divisions of the city, of which, as was shown above, there were five. A striking analogy, with regard to this numerary regulation, is afforded by Athens, while yet under an aristocratic government. The tribe of the nobles and knights was in this state divided into three phratriæ, which may be compared with the three tribes of the Doric Spartans. Now, when the nobility (like a chamber of peers) constituted a court of justice over the Alcmaeonidæ, 300 eupatridæ, 100 out of each phratría, composed the court.^e And when Cleisthenes the Alcmaeonid had been expelled by the aristocratic party, and the democratic senate (βουλή) overthrown, Isagoras established a high council of 300.^f Whereas the senate, to which Cleisthenes gave existence and stability, consisted of 500 citizens, and was chosen, without any regard to the ancient division into phratriæ, according to the new local tribes.

5. No Doric state, with the exception of Sparta, appears to have given the name of obæ to a division of the people. But neither can the name *phratría*, so common in other places, be proved to have been used by any Doric people. On the other hand, phratriæ occur at Athens, in the Asiatic colonies,^g and in the Chalcidean colony of Neapolis, that is, chiefly in Ionic states; and Neapolis affords a solitary instance of their being distinguished by certain proper names, such

^e Plut. Solon. 12.

^f Herod. V. 72.

^g See the Sigeon inscription in Clarke's Travels, vol. II. sect. 1. p. 162. Compare Walpole's Memoirs. p. 103. Epigr. Hom.

14. In Byzantium also there were *patrias*, probably the same as *phatrias*, as Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. II. 2. 3. mentions πατριωτικά χρήματα in that town.

as Eumelidæ, Eunostidæ, Cymæans, Aristæans, &c.^h Pindar however mentions *patræ* (πάτραι) in the Doric states of Corinth and Ægina; an expression which, according to the precise definition of Dicæarchus, is equivalent to houses or γένη, signifying persons descended from the same ancestor (πατήρ). It was indeed, although not at Athens, in use among the Ionians of Asia Minor and the islands, who appear however to have also employed the terms πάτρα or πατρία for the more extensive word phratría.ⁱ In Ægina and Corinth it will be safest to consider the patræ as houses, since they are always denoted by patronymic names, going back to fabulous progenitors; and by Pindar himself they are also called "houses." Since however, as being not only a natural, but also a political division, the patræ may sometimes have comprised *several* houses, and as there was probably in these states no intermediate division (like the phratría at Athens and the oba at Sparta) between them and the tribes, the ancient commentators have neglected their more restricted and original sense, and have compared and identified them with phratriæ.^k

^h See Ignarra *de Phratris*. Comp. Buttmann, p. 36.

ⁱ Ælius Dionysius ap. Eustath. II. II. p. 363. Orus ap. Etym. Mag. Buttmann indeed denies the truth of this remark, but it must not be given up hastily. For, in the first place, the Ionic festival Ἀπατούρια is manifestly an union of the πάτραι, yet it is always represented as a festival of the phratrias; and secondly, in the Thasian decree in Choiseul Gouffier I. 2.

p. 156. it is permitted to newly-created citizens to be admitted into a πάτρη; but we never find that new citizens were elected into ancient γένη. It is also confirmed by the words in the Tenian Inscription from Choiseul's collection (in the Louvre, No. 566.), καὶ [εἰς] φυλὴν καὶ φρατρίαν προσγρά [ψασθ] αὶ [ἦν] ἂν βούλωνται, and the same in the inscription quoted in p. 81. note ^g.

^k The names of the larger

6. The name which the *houses* or γένη bore at Sparta, and the number of them which was contained in an oba, may be perhaps ascertained from a passage of Herodotus,^l in which he mentions the Enomoties, Triacades, and Syssitia, as military institutions established by Lycurgus. Other inferences from this passage we shall not anticipate, remarking only that the Syssitia appear to have answered to the obæ, from which it is probable that the Triacades were contained in these latter divisions. Now in Attica, at an early period, a triacas was the thirtieth part of a phratría, and contained thirty men, the same number as a γένος.^m Following then the argument from analogy (by which we are so often surprised and guided in our inquiries into the early political institutions), triacas was in Sparta also the name of a house, which was so called, either as being the thirtieth part of an oba, or, as appears to me more probable, because it contained thirty houses. The relation of the triacas to the enomoty,—a small division of warriors, which originally contained twenty-four men,—is quite uncertain. The basis of the whole calculation, and in this case a sufficiently fixed standard, was found in Sparta in the families (οἴκοι) connected with the landed estates; indifferently whether these contained several citizens,

division or *tribe* were the same at Sparta and Athens, viz., φυλή; but the Spartan ὠβὰ corresponded with the Athenian φρατρία, the Doric πάτρα with the Athenian γένος. See Schneider's *Lexicon* in v. πάτρα, Boeckh *Not. Crit. ad Pind. Nem. IV. 77.* and Dissen *Expl. Nem. VIII. p. 450. Æginetica*,

p. 139.

^l I. 65.

^m Pollux VIII. 111. Hesych. in ἀτριάκαστοι. But in Boeckh *Corp. Inscript. N^o. 101. τριακάς* is a division of a borough. See Boeckh, vol. I. p. 900. — Whether the τριακάδες of Epicharmus (Hesych. in Σκωρυν-φίων) are families, is uncertain.

or whether they had become extinct and been united with other families.ⁿ

7. We now proceed to mention another division of the citizens of Sparta, which concerns the difference of rank. In a certain sense indeed all Dorians were equal in rights and dignity; but there were yet manifold gradations, which, when once formed, were retained by the aristocratic feelings of the people. In the first place, there was the dignity of the Heraclide families, which had a precedence throughout the whole nation;^o and, connected with this, a certain pre-eminence of the Hyllean tribe; which is also expressed in Pindar. Then again, in the times of the Peloponnesian war, "men of the first rank" are often mentioned in Sparta, who, without being magistrates, had a considerable influence upon the government.^p

Here also the difference between the *Equals* (ὅμοιοι) and *Inferiors* (ὑπομείονες) must be taken into consideration; which, if we judge only from the terms, would not appear to have been considerable, yet, though it is never mentioned in connexion with the constitution of Lycurgus, it had in later times a certain degree of influence upon the government. According to Demosthenes,^q the prize of virtue in Sparta was to become a master of the state, together with the Equals.

ⁿ Perhaps the persons ἀπὸ γένους, whom Leonidas wished to send back from Thermopylæ (Plut. Herod. Mal. 52.), were the only surviving members of their families.

^o Yet they had not any essential privilege in Sparta, Plut. Lys. 24.

^p οἱ πρῶτοι ἄνδρες Thucyd. IV. 108. V. 15. ἄριστοι Plut. Lys.

30. The καλοὶ καγαθοὶ in Aristot. Poll. II. 9. are in general persons of distinction; there may undoubtedly have been persons of this description among the Perioeci (Xen. Hell. V. 3. 9.), but in this passage of Aristotle these do not come into consideration.

^q In Leptin. p. 489. cf. Wolf.

Whoever neglected a civil duty, lost, according to Xenophon,^r his rank among the Equals. Cinadon wished to overthrow the government, because, although of a powerful and enterprising mind, he did not belong to the Equals.^s About the king's person in the field there were always three of the Equals, who provided for all his wants.^t It also appears that there were many peculiarities in the education of an Equal.^u Whoever, during his boyhood and youth, omitted to make the exertions and endure the fatigues of the Spartan discipline, lost his rank of an Equal.^v In like manner, exclusion from the public tables was followed by a sort of *diminutio capitis*, or civil degradation.^w This exclusion was either adjudged by the other members of the table, or it was the consequence of inability to defray the due share of the common expense. To them the Inferiors are most naturally opposed; and if the latter were distinct from the Spartans, by the Spartans, in a more limited sense of the word, Equals are sometimes probably understood.^x From these scanty accounts the unprejudiced reader can only infer that a distinction of rank is implied,

^r Rep. Laced. 10. 7.

^s Xen. Hell. III. 3. 5. cf. Aristot. Pol. V. 7. From this it is probable, that in Xenophon Σπαρτιάται is used in a limited sense for "Ὅμοιοι. cf. Schneider. ad loc. et ad V. 3. 9.

^t Rep. Laced. 13. 1.

^u Anab. IV. 6. 14. Xenophon, who imitates the Lacedæmonian spirit in so many different manners in the Cyropædia, here also mentions ὅμοιοι and ὁμότιμοι, I. 5. 5. II. 1, 2.

^x Xen. Rep. Lac. 10. 7. cf. 33. and see B. IV. ch. 5. § 1.

^y Aristot. Pol. II. 6. 21. according to the reading μὴ μετέχειν αὐτῆς, i. e., τῆς πολιτείας. See B. IV. ch. 3. § 3. Concerning the grounds of the distinction of the Equals, see C. F. Hermann De Conditione atque Origine eorum qui Homoei apud Laced. appellati sunt. 1832.

^z See above, note ^u.

which depended not upon any charge or office, but continued through life, without however excluding the possibility of passing from one rank into the other, any Equal being liable to be degraded for improper conduct, and an Inferior, under certain circumstances, being enabled to procure promotion by bravery and submission to the authorities; but if this degradation did not take place, the rank then remained in the family, and was transmitted to the children, as otherwise it could not have had any effect upon education.^a

8. After these preliminary inquiries concerning the divisions and classes of the citizens, we have now to examine the manner in which the political power was distributed and held in Sparta and the other Doric states.

As the foundation of these inquiries, we may premise a rhetra of Lycurgus, which, given in the form of an oracle of the Pythian Apollo,^b contains the main features of the whole constitution of Sparta.^c

^a Aristotle says, probably without any reference to the more definite expression, that the Parthenians were ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων, Polit. V. 6. 1. See also Manso, vol. I. part 1. p. 231, 238. vol. III. part 1. p. 217.

^b See book I. ch. 7. § 4. above, ch. 1. § 9.

^c Ap. Plutarch. Lycurg. 6. Διὸς Ἑλλανίων καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἑλλανίας ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενον, φυλὰς φυλάξαντα καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα τριάκοντα, γερουσίαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταις καταστήσαντα, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλάζειν μεταξὺ βαβύκας τε καὶ Κνακίωνος, οὕτως εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι. δάμψ δὲ κυρίαν ἡμεν καὶ κράτος.

Ἀπελλάζειν means "to summon the people to an assembly," "in concionem vocare." See Hesychius in v. Valcken. ad Theocrit. Adon. p. 209. Lennep Etymol. vol. I. p. 152. Plutarch evidently derives the word from Ἀπέλλων, Apollo. The words ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας are nearly inexplicable, and Mazochi's alteration, Tab. Herac. vol. I. p. 149, ὠβὰς (or ὠβάν) does not much diminish the difficulty. The best explanation of ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας seems to be, "one month after another," i. e. monthly. Towards the end, κυρίαν ἡμεν seems to be the best reading; one MS. has γυριανήμην. Val-

"Build a temple to Zeus Hellanius and Athene
"Hellania; divide the tribes, and institute thirty
"obas; appoint a council, with its princes; convene
"the assembly between Babyca and Cnacion; propose this, and then depart; and let there be a right
"of decision and power to the people." Here then there is an unlimited authority given to the people to approve or to reject what the kings proposed. This full power was, however, more nearly defined and limited by a subsequent clause, the addition of which was ascribed to kings Theopompus and Polydorus: "but if the people should follow a crooked opinion, the elders and the princes shall dissent."^d Plutarch interprets these words thus; "That in case the people does not either approve or reject the measure in toto, but alters or vitiates it in any manner, the kings and councillors should dissolve the assembly, and declare the decree to be invalid." According to this construction, indeed, the public assembly had so far the supreme power, that nothing could become a law without its consent. But it probably could not originate any legislative measure; inasmuch as such a power would have directly contravened the aristocratical spirit of the constitution, which feared nothing so much as the passionate and turbulent haste of the populace in decreeing and deciding. The sense of the rhetra of Lycurgus is also given in some verses from the Eunomia of Tyrtæus, which, on account of their antiquity and importance, we will quote in their original language:—

kenaer, ib. p. 291. proposes δάμψ δ' ἀνωγάν ἡμεν.

^d Ib. αἱ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἔλοιτο, τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ

ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατήρας ἡμεν. Compare Plutarch. An Seni sit ger. Resp. 10.

Φοίβου ἀκούσαντες, Πυθωνόθεν οἶκαδ' ἔνεικαν
μαντείας τε θεοῦ καὶ τελέεντ' ἔπεα.
ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας,
οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτης ἱμερόεσσα πόλις,
πρεσβυγενεῖς δὲ γέροντας, ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας ἄνδρας
εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους.^ε
δήμου τε πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἔπessθαι.^ς

By the sixth line Tyrtaeus means to say that the popular assembly could give a *direct* answer to a law proposed by the authorities, but not depart from or alter it.

9. The usual name of a public assembly in the Doric states was *ἀλία*. This is the name by which the Spartan assembly is called in Herodotus;^ε and it is used also in official documents for those of Byzantium,^h of Gela, Agrigentum,ⁱ Coreyra,^k and Heraclea;^l *ἀλιαῖα* was the term employed by the Tarentines^m and Epidamnians;ⁿ the place of assembly among the Si-

^ε For *εὐθείαις ῥήτραις*, which is read both in Plutarch and Diodorus, Frank, p. 173. 199, corrects *εὐθείαις γνώμαις*, and explains it to mean the proposal made to the people. But both the context and syntax require, not that *to* which they answer, but that *which* they answer; i. e., they simply approve or reject the proposed law. Both *νόμος* and *ῥήτρα* are used for a decree in its imperfect stage (below, ch. 9. § 11. Plutarch Agis 8.); nor is *ῥήτρα* applied only to the laws of Lycurgus.

^h Ap. Plutarch. Lycurg. 6. Diod. Vat. Excerpt. VII.—X. 3. p. 3. Mai. Instead of the two first verses Diodorus has *Δὴ γὰρ ἀργυρότοκος ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων χρυσοκόμης ἔχρη πίνος ἐξ ἀδύτου*, but these do

not connect with what follows so well as those in Plutarch. In the fifth line Plutarch has *πρεσβύτας*, Diodorus *πρεσβυγενεῖς*: which is the word in the law cited in the last note but one. The last verse, which agrees with the final sentence of the original *rhētra*, is preserved in Diodorus, who has three more.

^ς VII. 134.

^h Demosth. de Corona, p. 255.

ⁱ Castelli Inscript. Sic. p. 79, 84. Gruter, p. 401.

^k Dodwell's Travels, vol. II. p. 503. Boeckh, Staatshaushaltung, vol. II. p. 403. sqq.

^l *Ἀλία κατάκλητος* (compare Schoemann de Comitibus, p. 291.) Tab. Heracl. p. 154, 260. ed. Mazoc. cf. Ind. p. 281.

^m Hesychius.

ⁿ Aristot. Pol. V. 1. 6.

cilian Dorians was called *ἀλιακτήρ*.^ο In Crete it was known by the ancient Homeric expression of *ἀγορά*.^ρ In Sparta the ancient name of an assembly of the people was *ἀπέλλα*, whence the word *ἀπελλάζειν* in the *rhētra* quoted above. In later times the names *ἐκκλησία* and *οἱ ἐκκληῖται* appear to have been chiefly in use, which do not, more than at Athens, signify a select body, or a committee of the citizens;^q although in other Doric states select assemblies sometimes occur under similar names.^r There was also an assembly of this last kind at Sparta, but it is expressly called the *small ecclesia*;^s and, according to a passage in which it was mentioned, was chiefly occupied concerning the state of the constitution, and perhaps consisted only of Equals; for it can hardly be supposed that an assembly was convened of magistrates alone.^t To the regular assembly, however, all citizens

^ο Hesychius. The Athenian *ἡλιαία* is the same word. Compare below, ch. 11. § 2. and, in general, Dorville ad Charit. p. 70. Taylor ad Demosth. p. 227. Reisk. In Aristoph. Lysist. 93. *συναλιάζω* is the word used by the Lacedæm. woman for to *convene*, to *assemble*.

^ρ Bekker Anecd. p. 210. *Ἐκκλησία* is however the word always used in the Inscriptions published by Chishull.

^q The *εἰωθὺς ξύλλογος* in Thucyd. I. 67. transacts business with the *ξυμμάχοι*, as the *ἐκκλησία* or *ἐκκληῖται* in Xen. Hell. V. 2. 11. VI. 3. 3. Compare Cragius de Rep. Lac. IV. 17. Morus Ind. Xenoph. and Sturz. Lex. Xen. in v. *ἐκκλησία*.

^r *Ἐσκλητος* in Syracuse occurs in Hesychius. The same grammarian has, *ἀνεκκλητεῖν ἐξ-*

αἶρεσιν ποιῆσθαι παρὰ Ῥοδίοις.

^ς Xen. Hell. III. 3. 8.

^t As Tittmann, p. 100. supposes, who also states that by *ἐκκληῖται* and *ἐκκλησία* (which are evidently synonyms) the small assembly is *often* (but query when?) meant, as *τέλη* are mentioned instead, Xen. Hell. II. 2. 23.—Thus in an *ἐκκλησία* in Thuc. VI. 88. the *ephors* and *τέλη* are alone mentioned as deliberating. Thus in Xen. Hell. VI. 4. 2. Cleombrotus sends from the army to *ask* the *τέλη* in Sparta, and the *ἐκκλησία* *answers*. The peace after the battle of *Ægospotamos* was concluded by the *ἐκκλησία* and the confederate assembly at Sparta, Xen. Hell. II. 2. 19. sqq.; and yet in the document in Plut. Lys. 14. the *τέλη* alone are named. In innumerable

above the age of thirty were doubtless admitted, who had not been deprived of their rights by law.^a The place of meeting was in Sparta, between the brook Cnacion^x and the bridge Babyca, where afterwards was a place called Œnus, near to Pitana, and therefore situated to the west of the city;^y but, whatever might have been the precise spot, it was in the open air.^z The time for the regular assembly was each full moon;^a yet, for business of emergency, extraordinary meetings were held, often succeeding one another at short intervals.^b

Our chief object now is to ascertain what were the subjects which, according to the customs of Sparta, required the immediate decision of the people. In the first place, with regard to the external relations of the state, we know that the whole people alone could proclaim war, conclude a peace, enter into an armistice for any length of time, &c.;^c and that all nego-

instances the *τέλη* do what on other occasions the whole *πόλις* performs, Xen. V. 3. 23, 25. see below, ch. 7. § 5, 8. The simple solution of this difficulty is, according to my view, given in § 10.

^a Plut. Lyc. 25. cf. Liban. Or. Archid. vol. IV. p. 420. *ἡβωντες* also were prohibited from filling any public situation out of the country, Thucyd. IV. 132. The Parthenians, according to Justin. III. 4. quit their country at the age of thirty, because their civic rights begin at that time. See also Clinton F. H. vol. II. p. 386.

^x Cf. Plut. Pelop. 17. Schol. Lycoph. 550. The strict meaning is the "Saffron river."

^y See above, ch. 3. § 7.

^z Not till late times in the

Scias. Paus. III. 12. 8.

^a Schol. Thucyd. I. 67. where it should be observed that *εἰωθότα* does not refer to time.

^b Herod. VII. 134.

^c Herod. VII. 149. *οἱ πλεῖνες*. Thucyd. I. 67, 72. *ξύλλογος εἰωθώς* or *τὸ πλῆθος* V. 77. *δοκεῖ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*; cf. VI. 88. Xen. Hell. IV. 6. 3. *ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*; cf. VI. 88. Xen. Hell. IV. 6. 3. *ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι*. Compare III. 2. 23. and V. 2. 23. *ἐφοροὶ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως*. The *ἐφοροὶ* and *ἐκκλητοὶ* gave audiences to ambassadors, II. 4. 38, as the *πλῆθος* in Polyb. IV. 34. 7. Campaigns were decided on by the *ἐκκλησία*, Xen. VI. 4. 2. cf. Plut. Ages. 6.

ciations with foreign states, although conducted by the kings and ephors, could alone be ratified by the same authority. With regard to internal affairs, the highest offices, particularly the councillors, were filled by the votes of the people;^d a disputed succession to the throne was decided by the same tribunal;^e changes in the constitution were proposed and explained, and all new laws (as often as this rare event took place), after previous examination in the council, were confirmed in the assembly.^f Legally also it required the authority of the assembled people to liberate any considerable number of Helots, as being their collective owner.^g In short, the popular assembly possessed the supreme legislative authority; but it was so hampered and restrained by the spirit of the constitution, that it could only exert its authority within certain prescribed limits.

10. This circumstance was shown in an especial manner in the method of its proceedings. None but public magistrates, chiefly the ephors and kings, together with the sons of the latter,^h addressed the people without being called upon, and put the question to the vote;ⁱ foreign ambassadors also being permitted to enter and speak concerning war and peace;^k but that citizens ever came forward upon their own impulse to speak on public affairs, is neither probable, nor do any examples of such a practice occur. A privilege of this kind could, according to Spartan

^d Plut. Lyc. 26. Justin. III. 3, &c.

^e A litigation generally preceded (Herod. VI. 65. Plut. Agid. 11.), and after its termination the people passed their decree, Plut. cf. Xen. Hell. III. 3. 3. also Polyb. IV. 35. 9.

^f Plut. Ag. 9. (compare Tittmann, p. 94. note 25.) Lyc. 29.

^g Thucyd. V. 34.

^h Libanius ubi sup.

ⁱ Thucyd. I. 80. Xen. Hell. III. 3. 8. Plut. Ag. 9, &c.

^k Thuc. I. 67. and frequently.

principles, only be obtained by holding a public office.¹ As therefore the magistrates alone, (τέλη, ἀρχαί) were the leaders and speakers of the assembly, so we often find that stated as a decree of the authorities (especially in foreign affairs),^m which had been discussed before the whole community, and approved by it.ⁿ The occasional speeches were short, and spoken extempore; Lysander first delivered before the people a prepared speech, which he procured from Cleon of Halicarnassus.^o The method of voting by acclamation has indeed something rude and barbarous; but it has the advantage of expressing not only the number of approving and negative voices, but also the eagerness of the voters, accurately enough, according to the ancient simplicity of manners.

11. The public assembly of CRETE was, if we may judge from some imperfect accounts, similar to the Lacedæmonian. It included all the citizens, strictly so called; and likewise had only power to answer the decree of the chief officers (cosmi or gerontes) in the negative or affirmative.^p In the

¹ The story in Æschin. in Timarch. p. 25, 33. Plutarch Lac. Apophth. p. 239. præc. Reip. 4. p. 144. and Gellius N. A. XVIII. 3. that the people once wishing to accede to the opinion of an immoral person, a councillor proposed that if it was brought forward by a man of blameless character it should then pass, proves nothing, as the account is entirely unconnected, and we do not know by what right the original proposer had spoken. The same story is alluded to by Isidorus Pelus. Epist. III. 232. Lysander (Plu-

tarch. 25.) probably spoke in a public capacity.

^m See above, p. 89. note ^t.

ⁿ δαμώσικτον, δεδοκιμασμένον, Hesychius.

^o Plutarch Lys. 25. Ages. 20.

^p Aristot. Pol. II. 7. 4. Κυρία δ' οὐδενός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἡ συνεπιψηφίσαι τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς γέρονσι καὶ τοῖς κόσμοις, which must be taken *cum grano salis*. Aristotle II. 8. says that the ἑτεραι πολιτεῖαι, i.e., Crete and Sparta, differed from Carthage in this respect, that in them only the magistrates spoke, while in the latter state any person could

other Doric states the influence of the assembly is too closely connected with the historical epoch to allow the collection of the scattered accounts in this place to form an uniform whole. There were everywhere popular assemblies, as long as they were not suppressed by tyrants; nor indeed did every tyrant suppress them; in every state also they represented the supreme power and sovereignty of the people; its will was the only law. That this will, however, should be properly directed, and that the supreme decision should not be intrusted to the blind impulse of an ignorant or excited populace, was the problem which the founders of the Doric governments undertook to solve.

CHAP. VI.

§ 1. The Gerusia of Sparta, a council of elders. § 2. The Spartan Gerontes were irresponsible. § 3. Functions of the Spartan Gerusia. § 4. Gerusia of Crete and of Elis. § 5. Character of the Spartan royalty. § 6. Honours paid to the Spartan kings, and the mode of their succession. § 7. Powers of the Spartan kings in domestic; § 8. and in foreign affairs. § 9. Revenues of the Spartan kings. § 10. Heraclide princes in Doric states other than Sparta.

1. THIS result was chiefly brought about by the aristocratical counterpoise to the popular assembly, the gerusia, which was never wanting in a genuine Doric state, the "council of elders," as the name signifies.^a In this respect it is opposed to the senate

come forward and oppose the public officers; but he makes no difference between Sparta and Crete. See above, § 8.

Cretans used, according to Hesychius, the form γερωία (the same grammarian has, however, γερώα also), where Valckenaer appears rightly to read γερωία

^a The Lacedæmonians and

(βουλῇ), which represented the people; although the latter name, as being the more general term, is sometimes used for the council, but never the converse. Thus in the Persian war a senate assembled at Argos, which had full powers to decide concerning peace and war;^b this was therefore of an aristocratic character, since the government of Argos had not then become democratical. The Homeric assembly, which was of a purely aristocratical form, is called βουλὴ γερόντων or γερουσία;^c it consisted of the older men of the ruling families, and decided both public business and judicial causes conjointly with the kings, properly so called,^d frequently, however, in connexion with an ἀγορά. In this assembly lay, but as yet undeveloped, the political elements of the Doric gerusia. At Sparta the name was taken in the strictest sense, as the national opinion laid the greatest importance upon age in the management of public affairs; the young men were appointed for war;^e

(Epist. ad Roever. p. 323. ad Adonias. p. 271. Küster ad Hesych. p. 822.), which by a more guttural sound of the aspirate is called γερωχία in Aristoph. Lys. 980, probably the correct form. Γερωντία is the office of a geron, in Xen. Rep. Lac. 10. 1, 3. See Nicolaus Damascenus.

^b Herod. VII. 148. In the Cretan states, γερουσία was the common form (see also the inscription in Montfaucon Diar. Ital. p. 74.) as well as βουλὴ (βωλὰ Koen ad Gregor. p. 639.) according to Arist. Pol. II. 7. 3. and late inscriptions; the members of which are called γέροντες by Aristotle and Strabo X. p. 484. In Cos βουλὰ occurs

in the time of the emperors, Villosion Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. XLVII. p. 325. Spon, Misc. Erud. Ant. X. 51. as well as γερουσία, Spon., n. 57, 58.

^c This appellation may be perceived in the γερούσιος ὄρκος, Il. XXII. 119, γέροντες βουλευταί, Il. VI. 113.

^d Who were also of the number of the gerontes, Od. XXI. 21. see above, ch. 1. § 3.

^e Which is beautifully expressed by Pindar ap. Plutarch. Lyc. 21. An seni sit ger. Resp. 10. ἔνθα βουλαὶ γερόντων, καὶ νέων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεύοντιν αἰχμαὶ, καὶ χοροὶ καὶ μούσα καὶ ἀγλαΐα. (Fragm. p. 663. Boeckh).

and accordingly none but men of sixty or more years of age had admission to this council.^f The office of a councillor was, however, according to the expression both of Aristotle and Demosthenes,^g the prize of virtue, and attended with general honour;^h none but men of distinguished families, blameless lives, and eminent station, could occupy it.ⁱ Being an office which was held for life,^k it never could happen that more than one individual was elected at a time, and the eyes of the whole state were directed towards the choice of this one person. Distinguished men, therefore, bordering upon old age, probably always from the oba to which the person whose place was vacated had belonged,^l offered themselves upon their own judgment^m before the tribunal of the public voice. Their advanced age enabled the electors to consider and examine a long public life, and ensured to the state the greatest prudence and experience in the elected. To provide against the weakness of age, which Aristotle considers as a defect attendant on this mode of election, was unnecessary for a time and a state whose inhabitants enjoyed the highest bodily health. The aristocratic tendency of the office required that the candidates should be nominated by

^f Plut. Lyc. 26. cf. Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. 10. 1.

^g Pol. II. 6. 15. In Leptin. p. 489. cf. Xenoph. ubi sup.

^h Which was also testified by the presents made by the king, Plut. Ages. 4. the double portion at the syssitia, Plut. Lyc. 26. Concerning the public repasts of Homeric gerontes, see Il. IV. 344. IX. 70.

ⁱ Ὅμοιοι, καλοὶ κάγαθοι, see above, ch. 5. § 7.

^k Aristot. ubi sup. Plutarch. Lyc. 26. Ages. IV. Polyb. VI. 45. 5. Some late inscriptions indeed mention persons who had three and four times filled the office of geron (Boeckh Corp. Inscript. Nos. 1261. and 1320.); but in that age the whole institution had been changed.

^l See above, ch. 5. § 3.

^m Aristot. Pol. II. 6. 18.

vote, not by lot, but yet by the whole people;ⁿ and that they themselves should meet with the good-will of every person; which was particularly required for this dignity.

2. When they had passed through this ordeal they were for ever relieved from all further scrutiny, and were trusted to their own conscience.^o They were subject to no responsibility, since it was thought that the near prospect of death would give them more moderation,^p than the fear of incurring at the cessation of their office the displeasure of the community; to whom in other states the power of calling the highest officers to account was intrusted. The spirit of this aristocratic institution was, that the councillors were morally perfect, and hence it gave them a complete exemption from all fear as to the consequences of their actions. To later politicians it appeared still more dangerous that the councillors of Sparta acted upon their own judgment, and not according to written laws; but only because they did not take into account the power of custom and of ancient habit (the ἄγραφα νόμιμα, πατριοὶ νόμοι),^q which have an absolute sway, so long as the internal unity of a people is not separated and destroyed. Upon unwritten laws, which were fixed in the hearts of the citizens, and were there implanted by education, the whole public and legal transactions of the Spartans depended; and these were doubtless most correctly delivered through

ⁿ IV. 5. 11.

^o For what follows compare Aristot. Pol. II. 6. 17. II. 7. 6. Plut. Lyc. ubi sup.

^p Plato Leg. III. p. 692 A. calls it τὴν κατὰ γῆρας σώφρονα

δύναμιν.

^q Plato has perhaps treated this question better than any other ancient writer, ibid. VII. p. 793.

the mouths of the experienced old men, whom the community had voluntarily selected as its best citizens. Thousands of written laws always leave open a door for the entrance of arbitrary decision, if they have not by their mutual connexion a complete power of supplying what is deficient; this power is, however, alone possessed by the law, connate with the people, which, in the ancient simple times, when national habits are preserved in perfect purity, is better maintained by custom fixed under the inspection of the best men, than by any writing.

To me, therefore, the gerusia appears to be a splendid monument of early Grecian customs: and, by its noble openness, simple greatness, and pure confidence, shows that it was safe to build upon the moral excellence and paternal wisdom of those who had experienced a long life, and to whom in this instance the people intrusted its safety and welfare.

3. The functions of the gerusia were double, it having at the same time an administrative and a judicial authority. In the first capacity it debated with the kings upon all important affairs, preparing them for the decision of the public assembly, and passed a decree in its first stage by a majority of voices,^r the influence of which was doubtless far greater than at Athens: in the latter capacity it had the supreme decision in all criminal cases, and could punish with infamy and death.^s Since, however, in

^r Plutarch. Agid. 11. τοὺς γέροντας, οἷς τὸ κράτος ἦν ἐν τῷ προβουλευεῖν. Comp. Demosth. in Leptin. p. 489. 20. δεσπότης ἐστὶ τῶν πολλῶν. Æschin. in Timarch. p. 25. 35. Dion.

Hal. Archæol. II. 14. ἡ γερουσία πᾶν εἶχε τῶν κοινῶν τὸ κράτος. Paus. III. 11. 2. Cic. de Senect. 6. amplissimus magistratus.

^s Xen. Rep. Lac. 10. 2.

both these directions the power of the council gradually came in conflict with that of the ephors, we must first enter into an investigation concerning these officers, before it will be possible to speak of the extent of the functions of the council at different periods. Another circumstance also, which renders a separate inquiry into the nature of the ephoralty requisite, is the inspection which it exercised over the manners of the citizens,¹ in which it manifests a great similarity with the ancient Athenian court of the Areopagus. As every old man had the right of severely censuring the habits of any youth, so every citizen was a youth in comparison with these aged fathers of the state. Hence the awe and veneration with which they were commonly regarded at Sparta. That, however, to an Athenian orator of the democratic times, the gerusia should appear possessed of despotic authority, is not surprising; for it is so far true, that this institution, if transplanted to Athens, would necessarily have caused a tyrannical dominion. In Sparta, however, so little was known of any despotic measure of the gerontes, that, on the contrary, the constitution was impaired when their antagonist office, the ephors, gained the ascendancy in influence and power. The institution of the gerusia was in fact, in its main features, once established at Athens, when Lysander nominated the Thirty, who were to be a legislative body, and at the same time the supreme court of justice; with how little suc-

Aristot. Pol. III. 1. 4, 9. Plut. Lyc. 26. Lac. Apophth. p. 197. see below, ch. 7. § 11.

¹ *Arbitri et magistri disci-*

plinæ publicæ, Gell. N. A. XVIII. 3. Æschin. ubi sup. Hence σωφροσύνη was in particular required of them.

cess is well known; so true is it, that every institution can only flourish in the soil in which it is first planted.^a

4. In early times every Doric state must have had a gerusia; but CRETE is the only place of whose council accounts have been preserved, and these represent it in precisely the same light as that of Sparta. It was, we are informed, armed with large political and legislative powers, and laid its decrees in a matured state before the general assembly, for its approval or rejection.² It decided, without appeal to written laws, upon its own judgment, and was responsible to no one.³ The members were chosen from those persons who had before filled the supreme magistracy (the *cosmi*), not, however, until after a fresh examination of their fitness.⁴ The office lasted for life, as at Sparta.⁵ The *princeps senatus* was styled βουλῆς πρέσβυς.^b

In ELIS, also, whose government resembled that of Sparta, a gerusia was a very important part of the constitution. It consisted of ninety members, who were chosen for their lifetime from oligarchical families;^c but in other respects the election was the

^a That the parallel between the Thirty at Athens and the Spartan gerusia fails in many points, has been justly remarked in the Philological Museum, vol. II. p. 54; yet the gerusia must have served as a model for the establishment of this body, since there is nothing similar in the Athenian institutions. The oligarchical faction in Athens, after the battle of Ægosspotamos, and before the surrender of the city to Lysander, had also procured the

election of *five ephors*. See Lysias cont. Eratosth. § 43.

² Ephorus ap. Strab. X. p. 484. (p. 171. Marx.); above, ch. 5. § 11.

³ Aristot. Pol. II. 7. 5. It acted also without doubt in a judicial capacity.

⁴ Strabo, οἱ τῆς τῶν κόσμων ἀρχῆς ἡξιωμένοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δόκιμοι κρινόμενοι. Cf. Aristot. Pol. II. 7. 5.

⁵ Aristot. ubi sup.

^b See above, p. 94, note ^b.

^c Aristot. Pol. V. 5. 8. These

same as at Sparta, and therefore they were chosen by the whole people. Yet there was also a larger council of 600,^d which may have been an aristocratical committee selected from the popular assembly. Thus much at least is clear, that the power of the people was very limited; and that, as Aristotle says, there was one oligarchy within another.^e

5. To the consideration of the gerusia may be joined the inquiry concerning the kingly office in Sparta and other Doric states, as being a cognate element of the constitution. The Doric royalty was a continuation of the heroic or Homeric; and neither in the one nor in the other are we to look for that despotic power, with which the Greeks were not acquainted until they had seen it in foreign countries. In those early times the king, together with his council, was supreme ruler and judge, but not without it; he was also chief commander in war, and as such possessed a large executive authority, as circumstances required. On the whole, however, his station with regard to the nobles was that of an equal; and his office, although for the most part hereditary, could yet be transferred to another family of the aristocracy.

remains of the ancient oligarchy at Elis were deprived by Phormio of a part of their power, as Ephialtes weakened the Areopagus at Athens, according to Plutarch Reip. gerend. Præcept. 10. vol. XII. p. 155.

^d Thuc. V. 47. Compare Plutarch Præc. Reip. 10.

^e The *ἱερὰ γερουσίαι*, for example, of Eleusis in later times, we have here no concern with; yet we may notice the following monument, as belonging to the Peloponnesus (Boeckh Inscript.

Nº. 1395). *ἡ ἱερὰ οὐπησια* (Boeckh conjectures *γερωσία*) Γ. Ἰούλιον Ἐπαφρόδειτον ἀγρετεύσαντα (difficult of explanation) τὸ Πρῶτον ἔτος (according to Visconti Mus. Pio-Clem. II. p. 66. from the liberation of Greece by Flamininus) καὶ δόντα ἑκάστῳ γέροντι νομῆς δηνάρια δέκα, &c. Perhaps this *ἱερὰ γερωσία* is the Ὀλυμπιακή βουλή of the Eleans. See Pausan. V. 6. 4. VI. 3. 3. Perizon. ad Æl. V. H. X. 1. See b. I. ch. 7. § 7.

He ruled over the common people either in an arbitrary manner, as the suitors in Ithaca, or as a mild father, like Ulysses.^f His office on the whole bore an analogy to the power of Zeus; and it received a religious confirmation from the circumstance of his presiding at and performing the great public sacrifices with the assistance of soothsayers.

6. These are the principal features of the kingly office at Sparta, where, according to Aristotle, as well as among the Molossi in Epirus, it acquired firmness by the limitation of its power; it also derived an additional strength from the mythical notion that the conquest of the country had originated from the royal family.^g The main support of the dignity of the kings was doubtless the honour paid to the Heraclidæ, which extended throughout the whole of Greece, and was the theme of many fables; even the claim of the Spartans to the command of the allied Grecian armies was in part founded upon it. These princes, deriving their origin from the first of the heroes of Greece, were in many respects themselves considered as heroes,^h and enjoyed a certain religious respect. Hence also we may account for their funeral ceremonies, so splendid, when compared with the simplicity of Doric customs; for the general mourning of ten days,ⁱ to which a fixed number of Spartans,

^f See above, ch. I. § 3. Platner de Notione Juris, p. 90.

^g Aristot. Pol. V. 8. 5. V. 9. 1. Dionys. Rom. Archæol. V. 74. says that the Spartan monarchy was ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τισὶν διοικούμενον, as Thucydides calls the Homeric, I. 13.

^h Xen. de Rep. Laced. 15. cf. Hell. III. 3. 1. σεμνοτέρα ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων ταφή.

ⁱ According to Herod. VI. 50. for ten days after the king's death there was no assembly of the people or officers of state (*ἀγορὰ* or *ἀρχαιρεσίη*); and the nomination of the new king did not take place until this period had expired; the regularity of which public mourning may be inferred from the expression *αἱ ἡμέραι* in Xenoph. Hell. III. 3

Periœci and Helots came, together with their wives, from all parts of the country into the city, where they covered their heads with dust or ashes with great lamentation, and on each occasion praised the dead king as the best of all princes;^k as well as for the exposure of those kings who had fallen in battle, whose images were laid upon a state-couch:^l usages which approximate very closely to the worship of an hero (τιμαὶ ἡρώϊκαί). The royal dignity was also guarded by the sanction of the sacerdotal office: for the kings were priests of Zeus Uranius and Zeus Lacedæmon, and offered public sacrifices to Apollo on every new moon and seventh day (Νεομῆνιος and Ἑβδομαγέτας);^m they also received the skins of all sacrificed animals as a part of their income. From

1. [where L. Dindorf ingeniously reads ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠσιώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι καὶ ἔδει βασιλεία καθίστασθαι for ὥς εἰώθεσαν αἱ ἡμ. παρῆλθον, comparing Photius and Suidas ὠσιωθῆναι ἡμέρας λέγουσιν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τινός, οἷον μὴ ἱερὰς ἀλλ' ὁσίας νομισθῆναι.] Heraclides Ponticus, has, however, only three days.

^k Herod. VI. 58. ἐκ πάσης δεῦ Λακεδαιμόνος (i. e., Λακωνικῆς, as in VII. 220, &c.) χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων (in addition to the Spartans) ἀριθμῷ τῶν περιούκων (a fixed number of Periœci; the dative depending on δεῦ; otherwise Werfer Act. Monac. vol. II. p. 241.) ἀναγκαστοὺς ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἵεναι. τούτων ὧν καὶ τῶν εἰλώτων (see above, p. 32. note ^o.) καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιητέων, &c. Compare the oracle in VII. 220. πενθήσει βασιλῇ φθίμενον Λακεδαιμόνος οὐρσας, "the furthest boundaries

"of Lacedæmon." The μαίνεσθαι was the more imposing, as it was strictly interdicted in private mourning, Plut. Inst. Lac. p. 252. The generality of this mourning for princes of the Heraclidæ in early times is rendered probable by the fact noticed in vol. I. p. 98, note ^g.

^l The εἰδῶλα were probably preserved; for they could not have been meant merely to represent the corpse, since the body of the king was almost always brought home even from a great distance, as in the case of Agesilaus. Perhaps it was to the εἰδῶλον that the prohibition of Agesilaus referred, μήτε πλαστὰν μήτε μιμηλὰν τινα ποιήσασθαι αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα. Plutarch Ages. 2. Reg. Apophth. p. 129. Lac. Apophth. p. 191.

^m Concerning the public sacrifices of the king, see Xen. Hell. III. 3. 4.

this circumstance, added to the fact that in war they had a right to the back of every victim, and had liberty to sacrifice as much as they wished,ⁿ it follows that they presided over the entire worship of the army, being both priests and princes, like the Agamemnon of Homer.^o Their power, however, most directly required that they should maintain a constant intercourse between the state and the Delphian oracle; hence they nominated the Pythians, and, together with these officers, read and preserved the oracles.^p As then it appears from these facts that the dignity of the kings was founded on a religious notion, so it was also limited by religion; although the account we have is rather of an ancient custom, which was retained when its meaning had been lost, than an institution of real influence. Once in every eight years (δι' ἑτῶν ἑννέα) the ephors chose a calm and moonless night, and placed themselves in the most profound silence to observe the heavens: if there was any appearance of a shooting star, it was believed that the kings had in some manner offended the Deity, and they were suspended until an oracle from Delphi, or the priests at Olympia, absolved them from the guilt.^q If this custom (doubtless of great antiquity) is compared with the frequent occurrence of this period of nine years in early times, and especially with the tradition preserved in a verse of Homer, "of Minos, who reigned "for periods of nine years, holding intercourse with

ⁿ Herod. VI. 46.

^o A sacrifice to Zeus Agetor at the first departure (Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 13. 2. see below, ch. 12. § 5.); then on the boundary διαβατήρια to Zeus and Athene (ibid. cf. Polyæn. I. 10.); also

διαβατήρια on other occasions, Plutarch. Ages. 6, where the parallel with Agamemnon is remarkably striking.

^p See above, ch. 1. § 9.

^q Plut. Agis 11.

"Zeus,"¹ it is easy to perceive that the dominion of the ancient Doric princes determined, as it were, at the period of every eight years, and required a fresh religious ratification. So intimate in early times was the connexion between civil government and religion.

It is clear, from what has been said, that the Dorians considered the kingly office as proceeding from the Deity, and not as originating from the people; which would, I believe, have seemed to them in no wise more natural, than that the liberty of the people should be dependent on the king. But they were well aware that the elements of the constitution had not been formed by a people consisting, like the American colonists after their defection from the mother-country, of individuals possessed of equal rights: but they had existed at the beginning, and grown with the growth of the nation. For this reason the people were not empowered to nominate the king (from which disputes concerning the rightful succession to the throne should be carefully distinguished;)² but the royal dignity passed in a regular succession to the eldest son, with this exception, that the sons born during the reign of the father had the precedence of their elder brothers: if the eldest son died, the throne passed to his next male descendant; and on failure of

¹ Which point is more fully discussed by Hoeck, Kreta, vol. I. p. 245.

² It is a *δίκη* Plut. Agis 11. *νεῖκος* Herod. VI. 66. with the preceding *κατωμοσία* of the accuser VI. 65. which is followed by a decree in the name of the whole community (*πόλις* Xen. Hell. III. 3. 3. *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι* Herod. V. 42.) See above, ch.

5. § 9. Cleonymus also was not declared to have a worse claim than Areus, by a free selection, founded on comparative merit (as it appears from Plutarch. Pyrrh. 26.) but the gerusia merely declared at the *ἀμφισβήτησις*, that he, as the younger son, came after the heir of the elder son, Pausan. III. 6. 2.

his line, to the younger brothers in succession; if there was no male issue of the king, the office went to his brother¹ (who also, during the minority of the son of the late king, was his natural guardian),² and his heirs; or, lastly, if the whole line was extinct, to the next of kin.³ The anxiety of the Spartans for the legitimacy of their kings, also serves to prove the high importance which was attached to the genuineness of their birth. Notwithstanding these large privileges, the people believed its liberty to be secured by the oath which was taken every month by the kings, that they would reign according to the laws; a custom also in force among the Molossi;⁴ in return for which, the state engaged through the ephors to preserve the dominion of the kings unshaken (*ἀστυφέλικτος*), if they adhered to their oath.⁵

7. The constitutional powers of the kings of Sparta were inconsiderable, as compared with their dignity and honours. In the first place, the two kings were members of the gerusia, and their presence was requisite to make a full council; but as such they only had single votes,⁶ which in their absence were held by the

¹ See, e. g., Herod. V. 42. VI. 52. VII. 3. Xen. Hell. III. 3. 2. Nepos Ages. I. 3.

² As Lycurgus of Charilaus, Nicomedes of Pleistoanax.

³ As Demaratus was succeeded by Leutychides, whose right to the throne went back to the eighth ancestor of Theopompus, if with Palmerius we correct Herod. VIII. 131. according to Pausanias' genealogy of the Kings.

⁴ Plutarch. Pyrrh. 5.

⁵ Xen. Rep. Lac. 15. 7. from whom Nicolaus Damascenus

Λακεδ. See an allusion to the oath of the Ephors in Julian. Or. I. p. 14 D.

⁶ Thucyd. I. 20. who contradicts the statement of other historians; but probably refers to Hellanicus (see above, ch. 1. § 7.) rather than Herodotus, whose work he could scarcely have read. Herodotus (VI. 57.) however appears to me to have followed the opinion generally received in Greece, of the two votes of each king, although the expression is not quite clear. The notion of the Scholiast to

councillor who was most nearly related to them, and therefore a Heraclide.^b If they were present, they presided at the council, and accordingly, in the ancient *rhetra* above mentioned, they are styled *princes* (*ἀρχαγέται*) in reference to the council; it was also their especial office to speak and to propose measures in the public assembly. When the council sat as a court of justice, the kings of course presided in it; besides which, they had a distinct tribunal of their own,^c for in Sparta all magistrates had a jurisdiction in cases which belonged to the branch of the administration with which they were intrusted: the only remnant of which custom, spared by the democracy at Athens, was, that the public officers always *introduced* such suits into the courts. This coincidence of administrative and judicial authority also existed at Sparta in the person of their kings. They held a court in cases concerning the repair and security of the public roads, probably in their capacity of generals, and as superintendents of the intercourse with foreign nations. It is remarkable that they gave judgment in all cases of heiresses, and that all adoptions were made in their presence.^d Both these duties regarded the maintenance of families, the basis of the ancient Greek states, the care for which was therefore intrusted to the kings. Thus in Athens also, the same duty had been transferred from the ancient kings to the archon eponymus, who accordingly had the super-

Thucydides, adopted by Larcher, that each king had only one vote, though it had the force of two, is ridiculous. The *γερονσία* was *ισόψηφος τὰ μέγιστα* with the kings, according to Plat. Leg. III. p. 692. Herodotus

is followed by Lucian Harm. 3.

^b See above, ch. 5. § 3.

^c Herod. ubi sup. *δικάζειν δὲ μόνους τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοσάδε μοῦνα*. cf. Plut. Lac. Apophth. Agesil. p. 187.

^d Herod. VI. 57.

intendence, and a species of guardianship over all heiresses and orphans.^e

8. The greater part of the king's prerogative was his power in foreign affairs. The kings of Sparta were the commanders of the Peloponnesian confederacy. They also went out as ambassadors; although at times of mistrust companions were assigned, who were known to be disinclined and hostile to them.^f By the same power the kings also nominated citizens as proxeni, who entertained ambassadors and citizens of foreign states in their houses,^g and otherwise provided for them; it appears that the kings themselves were in fact the proxeni for foreign countries, and that those persons whom they nominated are only to be considered as their deputies.

As soon as the king had assumed the command of the army, and had crossed the boundaries, he became, according to ancient custom, general with unlimited power (*στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*).^h He had authority to despatch and assemble armies, to collect money in foreign countries, and to lead and encamp the army according to his own judgment. Any person who dared to impede him, or to resist his authority, was outlawed.ⁱ He had power of life and death, and could

^e Lysias in Evand. p. 176. 22. Pollux. VIII. 89.

^f Aristot. Pol. II. 6. 20.—An example in Xen. Hell. VI. 5. 4 Agesil. 2. 25.

^g Herod. VI. 57. *καὶ προξένους ἀποδεικνύναι τοῦτοις προσκεῖσθαι τοὺς ἂν ἐθέλωσι τῶν ἀσπῶν*. In other places the proxeni were appointed by the states whose proxeni they were: for example, a Theban was proxenus of the Athenians at

Thebes: but in Sparta, as the connexion with foreign nations was more restricted, a state, which wished to have a proxenus there, was forced to apply to the king to nominate one. This appears to be the meaning of the above passage of Herodotus.

^h Aristot. Pol. III. 9. 2. cf. III. 9. 8. Isocrat. Nicocl. p. 31 D.

ⁱ Herod. VI. 56. who must not be understood to refer to the

execute without trial (*ἐν χειρὸς νόμῳ*); although, from the well-known subordination of the Spartans, such cases were probably of rare occurrence. But it is manifest that the king, upon his return, was always responsible and liable to punishment, as well for an imprudent, as for a tyrannical use of his powers. His political was separated with sufficient accuracy from his military authority, and the king was not permitted to conclude treaties, or to decide the fate of cities, without communication with and permission from the state.^k His military power was, however, thought dangerous and excessive, and was from time to time curtailed. This limitation was not indeed effected by the arrangement which originated from the dissension between Demaratus and Cleomenes, viz., that only one king should be with the army at the same time^l (for this regulation rather increased the power of the one king who was sent out); but chiefly by the law, that the king should not go into the field without ten councillors (a rule which owed its origin to the over-hasty armistice of Agis)^m, and by the compulsory attendance of the ephors.ⁿ

declaration of war, Xen. Rep. Laced. 13. 10. A case occurs in Thucyd. VIII. 5. ὁ γὰρ Ἄγης... ἔχων τὴν μεθ' αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, κύριος ἦν καὶ ἀποστέλλειν εἰ ποί τινα ἐβούλετο στρατιάν, καὶ ξυναγείρειν, καὶ χρήματα πράσσειν. cf. V. 60. διὰ τὸν νόμον.

^k Xen. Hell. II. 2. 12. V. 3. 24. cf. Thuc. V. 60. It was however permitted to the king to send ambassadors, e. g., to mediate, according to Xen. Rep. Lac. 13. 10. where I do not perceive the necessity of changing αὖ into οὐ; μέντοι

marks the opposition to the preceding purely military duties of the king.

^l Herod. V. 75. Both kings were rarely out of Sparta, Xen. Hell. V. 3. 10.

^m Thuc. V. 63. where the words ἐν παρόντι do not prove that they passed the law for only one campaign. See Manso, Sparta, vol. I. part 2. p. 231. vol. II. p. 378. note ^k. Concerning the Thirty about the king's person, see below, ch. 12. § 5.

ⁿ See below, ch. 7. § 5.

9. The investigation concerning the revenue of the kings is not in itself so important as it is rendered interesting by the parallel with the same office in the Homeric age. In Homer the kings are represented as having three sorts of revenues; first, the produce of their lands (*τεμένη*),^o which often contained tillage ground, pastures, and plantations; secondly, the fees for judicial decisions (*δῶρα*); and, thirdly, the public banquets, which were provided at the expense of the community.^p To these were added extraordinary gifts, shares of the booty, and other honorary presents. The case was nearly the same at Sparta, except that they received no fees for judicial decisions. But in the first place, the king in this country had his landed property, which was situated in the territory of several cities belonging to the Perioeci,^q and the royal tribute (*βασιλικὸς φόρος*) was probably derived from the same source.^r This was the foundation of the private wealth of the kings, which frequently amounted to a considerable sum; otherwise, how could it have been proposed to fine king Agis a hundred thousand drachmas,^s that is, doubtless, Æginetan drachmas, and therefore about 5800*l.* of our money? Also the younger Agis,

^o Od. XI. 184. II. XII. 312. cf. IX. 578. Pind. Olymp. XIII. 60. βαθὺς κλᾶρος.

^p This is called *δήμια πίνειν* in II. XVII. 250. (cf. *σιτεόμενοι τὰ δημόσια* Herod. VI. 57.) In Crete foreigners were fed *δημόθεν*, Od. XIX. 197. cf. Æschyl. Suppl. 964. and Platner, *ubi sup.* p. 100. The passage in Od. XI. 184. should be thus rendered. "Telemachus enjoys in quiet the royal lands, and feasts on the banquets, which it is proper that a man of ju-

dicial dignity should eat, for all invite him." Concerning the last words, see p. 110.

^q Xen. Rep. Laced. 15. 2.

^r Plat. Alcib. I. 39. p. 123 A. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι is equivalent to *περίοικοι*.

^s Thucyd. V. 63. [An Æginetan drachma contains on an average ninety-five English grains of pure silver (see Knight Proleg. Hom. § 56.), according to which its value would be about fourteen pence in our money.]

the son of Eudamidas, was possessed of six hundred talents in coin;[†] and in a dialogue attributed to Plato, the king of Sparta is declared to be richer than any private individual at Athens.[‡] But besides these revenues, the king received a large sum from the public property; a double portion at the public banquets,[§] an animal without blemish for sacrifice, a medimnus of wheat, and a Lacedæmonian quart of wine on the first and seventh days of each month;[¶] the share in the sacrifices above mentioned, &c. It was, moreover, customary for private individuals who gave entertainments, to invite the kings, as was the practice in the Homeric times;^{||} on these occasions a double portion was set before them, and when a public sacrifice took place, the kings had the same rights and preferences.^{¶¶} In war, also, the king received a large portion of the plunder; thus the share of Pausanias, after the battle of Plataea, was ten women, horses, camels, and talents:^{|||} in later times it appears that a third of the booty fell to the lot of the king.^{¶¶¶} Lastly, it is proper to mention the official residence of the two kings of Sparta, built, according to tradition, by Aristodemus the ancestor of the two royal families.^{¶¶¶¶} In addition

[†] Plutarch. Ag. 9.

[‡] Alc. I. 38. p. 122 E.

[§] Compare Herod. VI. 57. (where the word *δείπνον* also refers to the *συσσίτια*) with Xen. Rep. Lac. 15. 4. quoted by Schol. Od. IV. 65. In Crete the cosmos on duty (*ὁ ἄρχων*) had four portions, Heracl. Pont. 3.

[¶] Herod. ubi sup. According to Xen. Hell. IV. 3. 14. and Plut. Ages. 17. the king sent to whom he pleased a share of his sacrifices. According to

Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 15. 5. he also had a little pig out of every brood for sacrificing.

^{||} See p. 109. note p.

[¶] Herod. VI. 57. *ἦν θυσίην τις* (not a private individual, but a person appointed by the public) *δημοτελή ποιέηται*.

^{¶¶} Herod. IX. 81.

^{¶¶¶} According to Phylarchus in Polyb. II. 62. 1. These are the *μέγισται λήψεις* in Plat. Alcib. I. 39. p. 123 A.

^{¶¶¶¶} Xen. Ages. 8. Plutarch Ages. 19. (see vol. I. p. 100.

to this dwelling, they had frequently private houses of their own,[¶] and a tent was always built for them without the city, at the public expense.^{¶¶}

In taking a review of all these statements, it appears to me that the political sagacity was almost past belief, with which the ancient constitution of Sparta protected the power, the dignity, and welfare of the office of king, yet without suffering it to grow into a despotism, or without placing the king in any one point either above or without the law. Without endangering the liberty of the state, a royal race was maintained, which, blending the pride of their own family with the national feelings, produced, for a long succession of years, princes of a noble and patriotic disposition. Thus it was in fact with the two Heraclide families, to which Theopompus, Leonidas, Archidamus II., Agesilaus, Cleomenes III., and Agis III. belonged; and the greater number of the later kings retained, up to the last period, a genuine Spartan disposition, which we find expressed in many nervous and pithy apophthegms.

10. It may be inferred that it was the case in all, as we know it to have been in many Dorian states, with the exception of later colonies, that they were governed by princes of the Heraclide family. In Argos, the descendants of Temenus reigned until after

note °.) Hell. V. 3. 20. comp. Nepos Ages. 7. The *βοώνητα* in Pausanias III. 12. 3. are of a different nature.

[¶] As Manso shows, vol. III. 2. p. 330.

^{¶¶} De Rep. Lac. 15. 6. According to the same writer (15. 2.) three *ἄνθρωποι* provided in war for all the necessities of the

king, who are considered by Raoul-Rochette, *Deux Lettres sur l'authenticité des Inscriptions de Fourmont*, 1819. p. 136. as a part of the six *ἐμπασάντες* in a (spurious) inscription of Fourmont's (*ἐμπασέντες* in Hesychius), Boeckh Corp. Inscript. N°. 68. The point is by no means clear.

the time of Phidon, and the kingly office did not expire till after the Persian war;^g in Corinth, the successors of Aletes, and afterwards of Bacchis, reigned until about the 8th Olympiad. How long the Ctesippidæ

^g Herod. VII. 149. Aristot. Pol. V. 8, 4. See Æginetica, p. 52. Plutarch Lycurg. 7. (comp. Plato Leg. III. p. 692.) states generally that the power of the kings at Argos and Messene had been at first too extensive, and that by the violence of the governors, and disobedience of the governed, it was at last destroyed, without mentioning any time. The words of Diodorus (Fragm. 5, p. 635.) *ἡ βασιλεία ἦτοι τοπαρχία τῆς Ἀργείας ἔτη φμθ.* (comp. Eusebius, Malelas and Cedrenus), cannot be referred to this: he reckons this number of years from Inachus to Pelops (160—705 Euseb.).—I may be permitted in this note to subjoin the best arrangement of the Argive kings which the scanty accounts of antiquity seem to furnish. I. Heraclidæ. Temenus, the father of Ceisus, the father of Medon (What Pausanias II. 19. 2. says of the limitations imposed upon this king, must be judged of from what has been seen above, p. 56. note ^x; according to the Pseudo-Platonic Epistle VIII. p. 485 Bekk. the kings of Argos and Messene were about the time of Lycurgus tyrants). Then about four kings are wanting after the *δέκατος ἀπὸ Τημένου* of Ephorus, Æginet. p. 60. After the beginning of the Olympiads Eratus (Paus. II. 36. 5. IV. 8. 1.) who was probably succeeded immediately by Phi-

don, the son of Aristodamidas (according to Satyrus and Diodorus, Æginetica. p. 61.), before and about the 8th Olympiad. At a later period Damocratidas, about the 30th Olympiad (Pausan. IV. 35. 2. cf. 24. 2. This date is too low, according to Clinton F. H. vol. I. p. 190; but not according to my date for the Messenian wars, nor according to that of Pausanias.) Phido II. confounded by Herod. VI. 127. with the earlier king of the same name (Æginetica, p. 60.) father of *Λακῆδης* (in Ionic *Λεωκῆδης*, as in Herodotus,) who wooed the daughter of Cleisthenes (about Olymp. 45. 600 B. C.), and when king made himself despised by his effeminacy (Plutarch. de cap. ex hoste util. p. 278. where *Λακῆδης* should be corrected.) His son Meltas (*Μέλταν τὸν Λακῆδῆω*, as should be written) was deposed by the people, according to Pausan. II. 19. 2.; but according to Plutarch. Alex. M. virt. 8. p. 269. the family of the Heraclidæ expired. He was succeeded, according to Plutarch. (ubi sup.) and Pyth. Orac. 5. p. 254. II. by Ægon, of another family, about Olymp. 55. 560 B. C. and it was probably the descendants of this king, who still reigned in Argos at the time of the Persian war. According to Schol. Pind. Olymp. VI. 152. Archinus was a king of Argos; but he was a tyrant, Polyæn. III. 8. 1.

reigned in Epidaurus and Cleonæ,^h we are not informed. In Megara we find the name, but the name only, of a king at a very late period.ⁱ In Messenia the Æpytidæ ruled as kings until the subjugation of the country; and when Aristomenes was compelled to quit it, he took refuge with Damagetus, the king of Ialysus, in the island of Rhodes, of the Heraclide family of the Eratidæ.^k Also the Hippotadæ at Cnidos and Lipara,^l the Bacchiadæ at Syracuse and Corcyra,^m the Phalantidæ at Tarentum,ⁿ probably had in early times ruled as sovereign princes, as well as the Heraclidæ at Cos, who derived their origin from Phidippus and Antiphus.^o In Crete we find but little mention of the Heraclidæ, the only exceptions being Althæmenes of Argos, and Phæstus of Sicily.^p In this island the family of Teutamas had reigned from a remote period: with regard to the time during which kings existed in this country, it can only be conjectured from the circumstance that a king named Etearchus reigned at Oaxus not long before the building of Cyrene.^q Cyrene, as has been already shown,

^h See vol. I. p. 90. note ⁿ.

ⁱ *Ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ Πασγάδα*, or *Πασιάδα*, according to Boeckh, Corp. Inscript. N°. 1052. of about the time of Alexander.

^k See b. I. ch. 6. § 1. and ch. 7. § 11.

^l B. I. ch. 6. § 10.

^m Ib. § 7, 8. According to several writers, Pollis was one of the kings of Syracuse, who by others is called an Argive, from whom the *Πόλιος οἶκος* is derived, Athen. I. p. 31 B. Pollux VI. 2. 16. from Aristotle, Ælian, V. H. XII. 31. In the Etymologist, the correct reading

is probably *ὑπὸ Πόλλιδος τοῦ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΥ τυράννου*: compare Mazocchi Tab. Heracl. p. 202.

ⁿ B. I. ch. 7. § 11. A king named Aristophilidas in Herod. III. 136.

^o Ib. c. 7. § 3. and the passage of Aristides quoted there in § 1. In Halicarnassus an Antheus is mentioned as of a royal family (Parthen. 14.), probably one of the Anthædæ; see ib. § 3.

^p B. I. ch. 5. § 2.

^q Herod. IV. 154.

was under the dominion of a Minyeon, its mother-city Thera, under that of an Ægide family.^r Delphi was also at an early period under the rule of kings.^s Of the aristocratic offices, which were substituted in the place of the royal authority, we shall presently speak, when treating of the power of the cosmi.

CHAP. VII.

§ 1. Origin of the office of Ephor in the Spartan state. § 2. Period of its creation. § 3. Civil jurisdiction of the Ephors. § 4. Increase in the powers of the Ephors. § 5. Their transaction of business with the assembly of citizens, and with foreign powers. § 6. The power of the Ephors, owing to their ascendancy over the assembly of citizens. § 7. Miscellaneous facts concerning the office of Ephor. § 8. Titles and duties of other magistrates at Sparta.

1. BEFORE we treat of the powers of the cosmi, it will be necessary to inquire into an office, which is of the greatest importance in the history of the Lacedæmonian constitution; for while the king, the council, and the people, preserved upon the whole the same political power and the same executive authority, the office of the ephors was the moving principle by which, in process of time, this most perfect constitution was assailed, and gradually overthrown. From this remark three questions arise: first, what was the original nature of the office of ephor? secondly, what changes did it experience in the lapse of time? and, thirdly, from what causes did these changes originate?

^r See b. I. ch. 6. § 11. ^s Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. 12. p. 383.

There is an account frequently repeated by ancient writers, that Theopompus, the grandson of Charilaus the Proclid, founded this office in order to limit the authority of the Kings. "He handed down the royal power to his descendants more durable, because he had diminished it."^a If, however, the ephoralty was an institution of Theopompus, it is difficult to account for the existence of the same office in other Doric states. In Cyrene the ephors punished litigious people and impostors with infamy:^b the same office existed in the mother-city Thera,^c which island had been colonised from Laconia long before the time of Theopompus. The Messenians also would hardly, upon the re-establishment of their state, have received the ephoralty into their government,^d if they had thought it only an institution of some Spartan king. The ephors of the Tarentine colony Heraclea may be more easily derived from Sparta and the time of Theopompus.^e It is however plain that Herodotus^f and Xenophon^g placed the ephoralty

^a Aristot. Pol. V. 9. I. Cic. de Leg. III. 7. de Rep. II. 33. Plutarch. Lyc. 7, 29. ad princ. I. p. 90. Euseb. ad Olymp. IV. 4. Val. Max. IV. 1. Compare Manso, vol. I. p. 243.

^b Heraclid. Pont. 4.

^c They are ἐπώνυμοι in the Theraean *Testamentum Epictetæ*; ἐπὶ ἐφόρων τῶν σὺν φοιβοτέλει. Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 2448.

^d Polyb. IV. 4. 2. 31. In the cities of the Eleutherolacones, there were also ephors, as at Geronthrae in the decree in Boeckh. Inscript. 1334. and at Tænarum, ib. N^o. 1321, 1322; and in the time of Gordian, ὅ

πόλις τῶν Βειτυλέων i. e., Cetylus, the Βίτυλα of Ptolemy, now Vitulo, ib. 1323. For Cyriacus (ap. Reines. p. 335.) is probably incorrect in stating that the inscription was found in *Pylo Messeniaca*.

^e In which city an ephor is as ἐπώνυμος of the πόλις in the Heracleian Tables.

^f I. 65.

^g De Rep. Lac. 8. 3. So also Plutarch. Agesil. 5. Pseudo-Plat. Epist. 8. p. 354 B. Suidas in *Λυκοῦργος*, also Satyrus ap. Diog. Laërt. I. 3. 1. According to others, it was introduced by Cheilon, who, according to Pamphila and Sosicrates,

among the institutions of Lycurgus, with as much reason as other writers attributed it to Theopompus; and it will probably be sufficient to state that the ephors were ancient Doric magistrates.

The ephoralty, however, considered as an office opposed to the kings and to the council, is not for this reason an institution less peculiar to the Spartans; and in no Doric, nor even in any Grecian state, is there any thing which exactly corresponds with it. It is evident, therefore, that it must have gradually obtained this peculiar character by causes which operated upon the Lacedæmonian state alone. Hence it appears, that the supposed expression of Theopompus referred rather to the powers of the ephors in later times, than to their original condition. At least Cleomenes the Third was ignorant of this account of them; since, after the abolition of these magistrates, he proposed, in a speech to the people, that the ephors should again be what they were originally (when they were elected in the first Messenian war), viz., the deputies and assistants of the king. In this proposal indeed a very partial view is displayed; for every magistrate must necessarily

was ephorus ἐπώνυμος in Olymp. 56. 1. 556 B.C. (according to Eusebius Olymp. 55. 4. 557 B.C.) Compare Manso, vol. III. 2. p. 332. The passage of Diog. Laërt. I. 3. 1. (68) creates no difficulty according to the reading of Casaubon; γέγονε δὲ ἐφορος κατὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν πέμπτῃν Ὀλυμπιάδα Παμφίλῃ δὲ φησι κατὰ τὴν ἑκτὴν. καὶ πρῶτον ἐφορον γενέσθαι ἐπὶ Εὐθυδήμον (Olymp. 56. 1.), ὥς φησι Σωσικράτης. καὶ πρῶτος εἰσηγή-

σατο ἐφόρους τοῖς βασιλεῦσι παραγενγνύναι Σάτυρος δὲ Λυκοῦργον. The first πρῶτον refers to the office of the ephor eponymus; and hence appears to have originated the mistake which is contained in the words καὶ πρῶτος εἰσηγήσατο, &c., viz., that Chilon first introduced the practice of associating ephors with the kings. Manso, ubi sup., has taken the same view of the passage.

choose his own deputy; whereas the democratic election of the ephors was, as we shall presently see, an essential part of their office. From the accounts just adduced, we do not however wish to infer any thing further, than how variable were the opinions, and how little historical the statements, concerning the original object of the ephoralty.

2. In the constitution of Lycurgus, as it has been hitherto developed, the ephoralty of later times would not only have been a superfluous, but a destructive addition. For in this the king, the council, and the people constituted the chief authorities; and to suppose that any part would require either check or assistance, would have been inconsistent with the plans of the legislator. A counter-authority, such as the ephoralty, in which the mistrust of the people was expressed in a tyrannical manner, was far removed from the innocence and simplicity of the original constitution, and could not have been introduced, until the connexion and firmness arising from the first laws had been loosened and enfeebled. The Roman office of tribune had, doubtless, a certain similarity in its first origin with the ephoralty;^h yet the former was more imperatively required, as by it an entire people, the *plebs Romana*, obtained a necessary and fair representation; whereas in Sparta the gerusia, although chosen from the most distinguished citizens, belonged nevertheless to the whole Spartan people, and the democratic influence of the popular assembly served as the basis of the whole constitution.ⁱ

^h Cic. de Leg. and de Rep. ubi sup. Valer. Max. IV. 1.
ⁱ Compare Niebuhr's Roman History, vol. I. p. 436. ed. 1. Engl. Transl. with whose opi-

nions on the ephors, as well as on the government of Sparta in general, the views taken in this work generally disagree.

If then the extended political power of the ephors did not belong to the constitution of Lycurgus, neither can we suppose that it originated in the time of Theopompus. For the statement is worthy of credit, that Theopompus and Polydorus added the following words to the rhetra above quoted: "*If however the people should follow a crooked opinion, the counsellors and princes shall dissent.*" Now in the first place, the ephors are here wholly omitted, although in the Peloponnesian war they put the vote to the people, and frequently made proposals in the assembly; and, secondly, the tendency of this clause is manifestly to diminish the power of the people; whereas it will be more clearly shown below, that the authority of the ephors rested upon democratical principles.

It is evident that these supposed historical traditions, instead of affording any clear explanation, lead to contradictions; and in order to obtain any distinct knowledge of the history of the ephoralty, we must proceed rather upon the evidence furnished by the nature of the office itself, and the analogy of similar offices in other states.

3. For this reason we will first consider the judicial authority of the ephors, a power which we know to have belonged also to the ephors of Cyrene. Now Aristotle^k describes their judicial powers by saying, that they decided causes relating to contracts, while the council decided causes of homicide.¹ The latter

^k Polit. III. 1. 7. according to which passage the ephors allotted themselves to different branches of the δίκαι τῶν συμβολαίων.

¹ Compare Plutarch. Lac.

Apophth. p. 196. Anaxandridas. ἐρωτῶντος δέ τινος αὐτὸν, διὰ τί τὰς περὶ τοῦ θανάτου δίκας πλείουσιν ἡμέραις οἱ γέροντες κρίνουσι, and p. 207. Eurycratidas—πυθομένου τινός, διὰ τί

was therefore a supreme criminal court, with power of life and death; the former a civil court, which gave judgment concerning contracts and property. Its influence upon the Spartans would appear to have been inconsiderable, from the opinions entertained by them on the division of property and exchange of money, perhaps less than it really was; but however this may be, the Perioeci and Helots, when they were in Sparta, were under its jurisdiction. Now we have already shown, that it was a principle of the Lacedæmonian government so to divide the jurisdiction amongst the different magistrates, that the administration and jurisdiction belonged to the same officers.^m Hence a superintendence over sales and over the market must have been the original duty of the ephors, forming the basis of their judicial authority.ⁿ The market, as being the central point of exchange, was no unimportant object of care:^o every Spartan here brought a part of the corn produced by his estate, in order to exchange it for other commodities: it was in a certain manner disgraceful not to have the power of buying and selling;^p a privilege which was also interdicted to youths: moreover, in the days of mourning for the king, the market was shut up and scattered with chaff.^q The day upon

περὶ τὰ τῶν συμβολαίων δίκαια ἐκάστης ἡμέρας κρίνουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι. Here, however, δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων appear to be meant, as the answer shows; which is doubtless a mistake.

^m Aristot. Pol. II. 8. 4. III. 1. 7. says, as it appears to me, most clearly, that while in Carthage a certain board or court of public officers decided all law-suits, in Sparta the public

officers indeed alone acted as judges, but decided only those cases which belonged to their respective departments. Cf. Justin: III. 3.

ⁿ According to the Etymol. Gudian. ἔφοροι are οἱ τὰ τῶν πόλεων ὧν ἐπισκεπτόμενοι.

^o Cf. Herod. I. 153.

^p Thucyd. V. 34.

^q See above, p. 101. note ¹.

which Cinadon, according to the description of Xenophon,^r secretly endeavoured to inflame the minds of the lower classes, was evidently a market-day, and also, in my opinion, a great day of justice. A king, the ephors, the councillors, and about forty Spartans (*ὅμοιοι*), were in the market-place, all probably in a judicial capacity: besides whom, there were about four thousand men, chiefly occupied in buying and selling, as is seen from the fact that in one part of the market a large quantity of iron fabrics was heaped up. The ephors were therefore *ἐφοροί* (inspectors) over the market, and for this reason they met regularly in this place,^s where was also situated their office.

The number of the college of ephors (five),^t which it had in common with some other magistrates of Sparta,^u appears, as I conjectured above,^x to imply a democratic election—a fact which is also stated by the ancients. We know from Aristotle, that persons from the people, without property or distinction, could fill this office:^y in what manner, indeed, is not quite manifest. Properly indeed, no magistrate in Sparta was chosen by lot;^z but it appears that election by choice and by lot were combined.^a In this case we

^r Hell. III. 3. 5.

^s Ælian. V. H. II. 15.

^t See Tittmann, p. 107, n. 4. where some contradictory statements are also noticed.

^u Sparta also frequently appointed five judges for extraordinary cases, as for example, concerning the possession of Salamis, the fate of the Plataeans, Thucyd. III. 52. The same number were also appointed by the Iasians to de-

cide the lawsuits of the Calymnians, Chandl. Inscript. p. 21. LVIII.

^x Ch. 5. § 4.

^y Polit. II. 3. 10. II. 6. 14, 15. II. 8. 2. IV. 7. 4.

^z *μηδεμίαν κληρωτήν*, Aristot. Pol. IV. 7. 5.

^a Plat. Leg. III. p. 692. calls the power of the ephors *ἐγγυς τῆς κληρωτῆς*. Without an election, however, Chilon could not have attained the ephoralty,

see displayed a principle of the ancient Greek states, which administered the criminal jurisdiction on aristocratic principles, while civil causes were decided by the whole community, or its representatives. At Athens, Solon gave the popular courts a jurisdiction only in civil suits; all criminal cases were decided by the timocratic Areopagus, and the aristocratic Ephetæ. In Heraclea on the Pontus, the chief officers were chosen from a small number of the citizens, the courts of justice from the rest of the people.^b And in Sparta also the civil judges were the deputies of the assembly—the *ἀλίσια*,^c which in Athens itself acted as a court of justice under the name of *ἡλίσια*.

4. From the view of this office now taken, the continued extension of the powers of the ephors may be more easily accounted for. It was the regular course of events in the Grecian states, that the civil courts enlarged their influence, while the power of the criminal courts was continually on the decline. As in Athens, the *Heliaea* rose, as compared with the Areopagus, so in Sparta the power of the ephors increased in comparison with that of the *gerusia*.

In the first place, the jurisdiction of the ephors was extended^d chiefly by their privilege of instituting scrutinies (*εὔθυναι*) into the official conduct of all magistrates, with the exception of the councillors.^e By this indeed we are not to understand, that all magistrates, after the cessation of their office, ren-

nor his brother have been able to complain that he was postponed. Diog. Laërt. ubi sup. The nomination by the kings (Plutarch. Lac. Apophth. p. 197.) is an error.

^b Aristot. Pol. V. 5. 6.

^c See above, ch. 5. § 9.

^d *Κρίσεων μεγάλων κύριοι*, Aristot. Pol. II. 6. 16.

^e Ib. II. 6. 17.

dered an account of their proceedings, but only that the ephors could compel them to undergo a trial, if there had been any thing suspicious in their administration; a right, however, as it extended over the ephors of the preceding year,^f which restrained the power that it bestowed. But the ephors were not compelled to wait for the natural expiration of an office, they could suspend or deprive the officer by their judicial powers.^g Now in this respect the king was in the very same situation with the remaining magistrates, and could, as well as the others, be brought before the tribunal of the ephors. Even before the Persian war, Cleomenes was tried before them for bribery.^h The king was always bound to obey their summons:ⁱ but the fact of his not being compelled to yield till the third time, was used by Cleomenes III. as an argument to prove that the power of the ephors was originally an usurpation.^k At the same time, their power extended in practice so far, that they could accuse the king, as well as the other magistrates, in extreme cases, without consulting the assembly, and could bring him to trial for life and death.^l This larger court consisted of

^f Plutarch. Agis 12. Compare Aristot. Ret. III. 18. 6.

^g Xen. Rep. Lac. 8. 4.

^h Herod. VI. 82.

ⁱ Xen. Ages. I. 36. Plutarch. Ages. 4. Cleom. 10. An Seni sit ger. Resp. 27. Præc. Reip. ger. 21.

^k Plutarch. Cleom. 10.

^l Xen. Rep. Lac. 8. 4. ἄρχοντα κύριοι εἶρξαι τε καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς ἀγῶνα καταστήσαι. cf. Plut. Lys. 30. The same in reference to the king, Thucyd. I.

131. Nepos (Paus. 3. 5.) probably adds the words "*cuius* *ephoro*" ex suo. Libanius Orat. I. p. 86. Reisk. is incorrect in stating that the ephors had power to imprison the king, and put him to death (δῆσαι καὶ κτανεῖν). Thus the ephors only seized and detained Pausanias; the sentence was passed by the Spartans (οἱ Σπαρτιάται), i. e., the court of justice, concerning which see the next note.

all the councillors, of the ephors, who thus came before it as accusers, besides having the right of sitting as judges, of the other king, and probably of several magistrates, who had all equal votes.^m From this court there was no appeal; it had power to condemn the king to death;ⁿ although, until later times, it was prevented by a religious scruple from executing this sentence.^o That its proceedings were commonly carried on with great propriety and composure, is stated upon the occasion of an instance to the contrary.^p This great court of magistrates we frequently find deciding concerning public crimes with supreme authority,^q and the ephors acting in it as accusers:^r but that the ephors had power of themselves to punish with death, I deny most decidedly:^s whether they had authority to banish, I even doubt.^t The inaccuracy of later writers has confounded the steps preparatory to the sentence, with the sentence itself; a power of life and death in the hands of the ephors would have been worse than tyranny. The

^m Δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες, Herod. VI. 85. See particularly Pausan. III. 5. 3. and Plutarch Agis 19. Less accurately, Apophth. p. 195.

ⁿ Xen. Hell. III. 5. 25.

^o Plutarch. Ag. 19.

^p Thucyd. V. 63.

^q Xen. Anab. II. 6. 4. ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τελῶν ὡς ἀπειθῶν, where τὰ τέλη must signify this supreme court.

^r Ὑπὸ τῶν θανάτου, Xen. Hell. V. 4. 24. The ephors did not seize Cinadon till after a secret conference with the gerusia; his punishment was probably fixed by the supreme court;—see Xen. Hell. III. 3. 5. Po-

lyæan. II. 14. 1.

^s This is apparently affirmed (in addition to Libanius quoted in p. 122. n. ¹) by Plutarch. Periol. 22. Lysand. 19. and Lac. Apophth. p. 209; but it can be only inaccuracy of expression.

^t Plutarch. Erot. 5. p. 77. where a very fabulous story is related of an event, which is reported to have taken place before the earthquake in the 78th Olympiad. In Polybius V. 91. 2. the ephors are represented as recalling banished persons. Concerning the punishment of exile at Sparta, see below, ch. 11. § 4.

ephors, when they judged for themselves, were only able to impose fines, and to compel an instantaneous payment.^u Their power of punishing the kings in this manner, or by a reprimand, was doubtless very extensive, and appears to have been subject to no limitation. Agesilaus was fined by them for endeavouring to make himself popular,^x and Archidamus was censured for having married too small a wife,^y which implies the opinion, that the community had a right to require their kings to keep up a robust family.^z The kings, however, were compelled to submit to this treatment, in a state in which every magistrate exercised the full powers of his office with a certain degree of severity. We find, however, that the ephors had also jurisdiction in cases which were neither civil actions nor the scrutinies of public officers; for example, they punished a man for having brought money into the state;^a another for indolence;^b a third from the singular reason that he was generally injured and insulted:^c and their share in the superintendence of public education,^d as well as over the celebration of the public games,^e gave them a jurisdiction in causes relating to these points. In cases

^u Xen. Rep. Lac. 8. 4. cf. Polyæn. II. 26. 1.

^x Plutarch. Ages. 2. 5. cf. de Am. Frat. 9. p. 46.

^y Theophrast. ap. Plutarch. Ages. 2. de Educ. Puer. 2. Otherwise Heraclides Lembus ap. Athen. XIII. p. 566 A.

^z For this reason the ephors compelled Anaxandridas to marry two wives, Herod. V. 39-41., and watched the wives of the kings, Plat. Alcib. I. 36. p. 121 B. See above, ch. 6. § 6.

^a Plutarch. Lys. 19. They decided in the case of Gylippus, according to Posidonius ap. Athen. VI. p. 234 A. as *ραπίαι* of the state, as they appear to have been from notes ⁱ and ^k, p. 127.

^b At least according to Schol. Thucyd. I. 84.

^c Plutarch. Inst. Lac. p. 254.

^d Xen. Rep. Lac. 4. 3. 6. Ælian. V. H. III. 10. XIV. 7.

^e Xen. Hell. VI. 4. 16. Plut. Ages. 29. the history of Timotheus.

of this kind, however, we are ignorant how far they acted as a separate board, and how far in connexion with other magistrates, for example, as assessors of the kings.^f They judged according to unwritten laws, as Sparta knew no others. Aristotle calls this, deciding according to their will and pleasure.^g

5. Another more important circumstance, as affecting the extension of the power of the ephors, was, that these officers (from what time we are not informed) placed themselves in connexion with the popular assembly, so that they had a right to transact business with it in preference to all other magistrates. They had power to convene the people,^h and put the vote to them.ⁱ They must in early times have had the privilege of proposing laws^k (but doubtless not till after they had passed through the gerusia), if the ephor Chilon is correctly called a legislator.^l They also possessed great authority in transactions with foreign nations. They admitted ambassadors, and had also power to dismiss them from the boundary,^m likewise to expel suspected foreigners from the state,ⁿ and therefore they were probably the chief managers of the Xenelasia. They frequently carried on the negotiations with foreign ambassadors, with full powers of treating;^o and had great influence, especially of a preparatory nature,^p upon declarations of war, as well as armistices and treaties of peace,^q which the ephors, and

^f Herod. VI. 63.

^g Pol. II. 6. 16.

^h Plutarch. Ag. 9.

ⁱ Thucyd. I. 87.

^k Plutarch. Ag. 5. *ρήτραν* ἔγραψε.

^l Ælian. V. H. III. 17.

^m Xen. Hell. II. 2. 13, 19.

ⁿ Herod. III. 148. Plut. Lac.

Apophth. p. 214.

^o See, for example, Herod. IX. 8. Xen. Hell. II. 2. 17. III. 1. 1. Polyb. IV. 34. 5. Thuc. I. 90. *ἀρχαὶ* and *τέλη* are generally mentioned.

^p Xen. Hell. II. 2. 19.

^q See particularly Thuc. V. 36. Cf. Xen. Hell. V. 2. 9.

particularly the first among them, swore to and subscribed in presence of other persons.^r To them also was intrusted the right of dismissing ambassadors.^s In time of war they were empowered to send out troops (φρουρὰν φαίνειν^t) on whatever day seemed to them expedient;^u and they even appear to have had authority to determine the number of men.^x The army they then intrusted to the king, or some other general,^y who received from them instructions how to act;^z sent back to the ephors for fresh instructions;^a were restrained by them through the attendance of extraordinary plenipotentiaries;^b were recalled by means of the scytale;^c summoned before a judicial tribunal;^d and their first duty after their return was to visit the office of the ephors.^e These officers also sent commands, with respect to discipline, to standing armies abroad.^f Now in these cases the ephors must

That in these cases they always recurred to the public assembly is evident, Xen. Hell. III. 2. 23. IV. 6. 3.

^r Thuc. V. 19. 24.

^s Thuc. VI. 88.

^t Xen. Hell. II. 4. 29. Πανσανίας πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἐξάγει φρουράν. cf. III. 2. 25. IV. 2. 9. V. 4. 19. Plut. Lys. 20. Thuc. VIII. 12. See also Anab. II. 6. 2. Hell. V. 1. 1. where they grant permission to privateer.

^u Herod. IX. 7. 10. Plut. Arist. 10.

^x Προκηρύττονται τὰ ἔτη, Xen. Rep. Lac. 11. 2. φρουρὰν ἔφαινον μεχρὶ τῶν τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἡβης, Hell. VI. 4. 17.

^y That is, authorized by the state, as Xen. Hell. VI. 4. 3. shows.

^z Xen. Hell. III. 1. 8. III.

2. 6.

^a Xen. Hell. VI. 4. 3. πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἡρώτα τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. Hence they were especially οἱ οἴκοι, τὰ οἴκοι τέλη, Sturz Lex. Xenoph. vol. III. p. 254. Compare Plutarch. Lys. 14. Cleom. 8. and the spurious letters of Brasidas and Lysander in Lac. Apophth. pp. 203, 227.

^b Xen. Hell. III. 2. 6. Plut. Pericl. 22.

^c Thuc. I. 131. Plut. Lys. 19. Agesilaus was recalled, according to Xenophon Hell. IV. 2, 3. by "the state," Ages. 1. 36. by τὰ οἴκοι τέλη, according to Plutarch Ages. 15. by the ephors.

^d Xen. Hell. V. 4. 24.

^e Plut. Lys. 20. Xen. Ages. 1. 26.

^f Μὴ περιπατεῖτε, the com-

have acted, not upon their own authority, but as the agents of the public assembly;^g it was their duty to execute the decrees of the people, the mode being left in some degree to their discretion. For this reason the assembly is frequently mentioned, together with the ephors, in the same cases in which on other occasions the ephors alone are represented as acting. The ephors were often manifestly mediators between the generals and the assembly. In the field the king was followed by two ephors, who belonged to the council of war;^h it is probable that they had the chief care of the maintenance of the army, as well as the division of the plunder:ⁱ those ephors who remained behind in Sparta received the booty in charge, and paid it in to the public treasury.^k We also find the ephors deciding with regard to conquered cities, whether they should be dependent or independent;^l they suppressed the ten governors appointed by Lysander, nominated harmosts,^m &c.; all evidently in the name and authority of that power, which it would have been against all principles of a free constitution to intrust to the college of ephors.

6. Although we are prevented from obtaining an entirely clear view of this subject, and particularly from pointing out all the collisions between the au-

mand to the army at Decelea, cf. Thuc. IV. 15. Ælian. V. H. II. 5.

^g This is seen most clearly from Thucyd. VI. 88, where the ephors and τέλη send ambassadors, i. e., wish to persuade the public assembly to do this, and from Xen. Hell. II. 2. 17—19. VI. 4. 2. 3. Compare p. 89. note ^t.

^h Herod. IX. 76. Xen. Rep. Lac. 13. 5. Hell. II. 4. 35, 36.

cf. Thuc. IV. 15.

ⁱ Herod. IX. 76.

^k Plutarch. Lys. 16. Diod. XIII. 106.

^l Xen. Hell. III. 4. 2. ἔφοροι τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας παρήγγειλαν. Thus the τέλη guarantee their independence to whatever allies Brasidas could gain over, Thuc. IV. 86, 88.

^m Xen. Hell. IV. 8. 32.

thority of the ephors and other magistrates, by the secret nature of the Spartan constitution,^a it is yet evident that the powers of the ephors were essentially founded upon the supreme authority of the popular assembly, whose agents and plenipotentiaries they were. Every popular assembly is necessarily an unskilful body, and little able to act both with energy and moderation; least of all was the Spartan assembly capable of transacting and executing any complicated business. For this reason it intrusted to the ephors, who were chosen upon democratic principles from among the people, a power similar to that which the public leaders or demagogues of Athens exercised in so pernicious a manner. Plato and Aristotle compare their authority with a tyranny:^b and it is to be remembered that in Greece tyrants continually rose from demagogues. Accordingly the ephors reached the summit of their power when they began to lead the public assembly: it is probable that this was first done by the ephor Asteropus, who is one of the first persons to whom the extension of the powers of that office is ascribed,^c and who probably lived not long before the time of Chilon. The extensive political influence of Lacedæmon also contributed to give a greater importance to the ephoralty. Chasms arose in the constitution of Lycurgus, which had been intended for a simpler state of things, and were filled up by the ambition of these magistrates. The transactions with foreign states required a small number of skilful and clever men; the gerusia was too helpless, simple, and antiquated for this purpose; and accordingly the sphere of its opera-

^a τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτόν, II. 6. 14.
Thucyd. V. 68.

^b Leg. IV. p. 712 D. Polit.

^c Plutarch. Cleom. 10.

tions appears to have been confined to domestic affairs. And lastly, as the finances of Sparta became continually an object of greater and greater importance, the influence of the officers necessarily increased, who had, as it appears, at all times the management of the treasury.

7. There are some other facts which may be added respecting the official proceedings of the ephors. They commenced their annual office with the autumnal equinox, the beginning of the Lacedæmonian year.^a The first of them gave his name to the year, which was called after him in all public transactions. They commenced their official duties with a species of edict, by which the secret officers (κρυπτοί) were sent out: it appears from this that they also exercised a superintendence over the discipline of the Helots and Perioeci.^b In the same edict it was ordered "*to shave the beard, and obey the laws,*"^c the former being a metaphorical, and indeed rather a singular expression for subjection and obedience. They held their daily meetings in the ephors' office, in which they also ate together.^d In this house foreigners and ambassadors were introduced, and hospitably entertained.^e Next to the Ephoreum stood a temple of Fear, which the dictatorial power of

^a Dodwell de Cyc. Diss. VIII. 5. p. 320. Manso, vol. II. p. 379.

^b Which also explains the affair with the Aulonitæ in Xen. Hell. III. 3. 8.

^c Aristot. ap. Plutarch. Cleom. 9. de sera Num. Vind. 4. p. 222. Κεῖρεσθαι τὸν μύστακα καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς νόμοις. Concerning the Laconian word μύσταξ, see Hesychius and Valcken. ad Adonias. p. 288.

^d Pausan. III. 11. 2. Plutarch. Cleom. 8. Ag. 16.

VOL. II.

^e See Plutarch Lac. Apophth. p. 237. Comp. Ælian. V. H. II. 15. This building therefore corresponds to the Prytaneum at Athens, in which the civil laws (ἄξονες) were kept, and ambassadors entertained, together with certain distinguished citizens: indeed the prytanes of Athens themselves, as being presidents of the public assembly, have some similarity to the ephors. See also Proclus ad Hesiod. Op. et Di. 722.

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these magistrates doubtless inspired in the citizens.^a Lastly, these officers also required a religious foundation for their dignity. The ephors at certain periods saw dreams in the temple of Pasiphaa at Thalamæ, and their visions were politically interpreted: we know that a dream of this kind stimulated the Spartans to return to their ancient equality.^b Of their periodical inspection of the heavens we have already spoken, when treating of the kingly office:^c and it is remarkable that this custom, which was doubtless of great antiquity, occurs first in very late times, and was used in support of the tyranny of the ephors over the kings. It is these later times in particular which confirm the assertion made in the beginning of the chapter, that the ephoralty was the moving element, the principle of change, in the Spartan constitution, and, in the end, the cause of its final dissolution; for the ephors, being brought by means of their jurisdiction and their political duties into extensive intercourse with foreign nations, were the first to give up the severe customs of ancient Sparta, and to admit a greater luxury of manners. Even Aristotle censures their relaxed mode of life.^d It is still more to our purpose that the decrees which undermined the constitution of Sparta originated from these magistrates: it was the ephor Epitadeus who first carried through the law permitting the free inheritance of property. For this reason it was necessary for the royal heroes Agis and Cleomenes, when, in a fruitless but glorious struggle with the degenerate age, they undertook to restore the con-

^a Plutarch Cleom. 8, 9.

^b Plut. Ag. 9. Cic. de Div. I. 43, 96. Compare Manso, vol. III. 1. p. 261. Siebelis ad Pausan. III. 26. 1.

^c Above, ch. 6. § 6.—The

ephors also had certain duties to perform at the sacrifices of Athene Chalciæcus, Polyb. IV. 35. 2.

^d *Ἀνεμένη δαίαιτα*, II. 6. 16.

stitution of Lycurgus, to begin with the overthrow of the ephors.^b

8. The undefined and vague nature of the authority of the ephors^c is strongly opposed to the accurate designation of the duties of the other annual officers. Although there were many officers of this description at Sparta, we seldom find any mention of them, as they rarely overstepped the legal bounds of their authority. Yet it is possible that the name *τέλη*,^d which is so frequently used for the presidents of the assembly, and the high court for state offences, and which to a foreigner rather concealed than explained the internal affairs of Sparta, comprehended other magistrates, according to the circumstances of the case, besides the kings, councillors, and ephors. The nomophylaces and *bidiæi*,^e as well as the ephors, had their offices in the market-place. The duties of the former officers are declared by their name, of their number we know nothing; of the latter there were five, and their business was to inspect the gymnastic exercises.^f The *harmosyni* were appointed to superintend the manners of the women;^g the *buagi* regulated a part of the education; to the *empelori* belonged the market-police.^h

^b Which Pausanias had once wished to effect, Aristot. Pol. V. 1. 5.

^c See the comparison of Philo de Provid. 2. p. 80. Aucher.

^d Compare also the Scholiast, and Ducker ad Thucyd. I. 58. Sturz Lex. Xen. IV. p. 276. *Αἱ ἀρχαὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα* is the same, Plut. Lac. Apophth. p. 800. In the army *οἱ ἐν τέλει* are the officers down to the Pentecoster, Xen. Hell. III. 5. 22, 23.

^e Pausan. III. 11. 2.

^f *Ἀ πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων*

in recent inscriptions, Boeckh Corp. Inscript. Nos. 1363, 1364. So also a *πρέσβυς βιδέων* in N^o. 1364. (hence *βιδέει περὶ τὸν* in inscriptions of late date), and there were six *bidei* *inclusively* of this one, as the inscription last quoted, and another of Fourmont's, prove. See above, p. 94. note ^b. Why I pass over Fourmont's pretended ancient inscriptions it is needless to say.

^g Hesych. in v.

^h Hesych. in v. In later times also *ἀγοράνομοι*, in the inscrip-

The polemarchs also, in addition to their military functions, had a civil, together with a certain judicial power. In some Laconian inscriptions, belonging to the Roman time, many names of nomophylaces, buagi, and *σύσσιτοι* of the magistrates are recorded; the meaning of the latter distinction is obscure. The election of regular nomophylaces was an occurrence somewhat unusual.¹ With regard to later times we may further observe, that the ephoralty, which was abolished by Cleomenes, was re-established under the Roman dominion;^k and that the same king instituted a college of *πατρώνομοι* in the place of the gerusia,^l although Pausanias again mentions gerontes; unless it is possible that the two councils coexisted. An inscription of the second century of the Christian era^m mentions a *σύνδικος* at Sparta, a public advocate, and *δαμοσιομάστης*, a public inquisitor, and interpreter of the laws of Lycurgus, concerning whom, as well as others of the magistrates here mentioned, we will say more hereafter.ⁿ

tion N^o. 1364. Hesychius's translation *δήμαρχοι* does not even explain the name of the *γερόακται*.

¹ Plut. Ages. 30. Lac. Apophth. p. 189.

^k Meurs. Misc. Lac. II. 4.

^l Corsini Not. Græc. Diss. V. p. 95.

^m Boeckh No. 1364; compare Boeckh p. 611.

ⁿ Since the first appearance of this work, Boeckh, in his Corp. Inscript. vol. I. p. 603, has shown that the *πατρώνομοι* obtained indeed the power of the gerusia; but that the latter body still possessed an honorary dignity, comp. ib. p. 610. He further proves, p. 606, that the first *patronomus* was the *ἐπώ-*

ρχμος of the state; and that the expression *ἐπὶ τοῦ δέινα*, in the lists of magistrates, refers to him. The regular number of the nomophylaces, according to Boeckh's references to Fourmont's Inscriptions, p. 609, was also five. There was however sometimes a sixth. The *bidiaei* are called in the inscriptions *βίδεοι*, or *βίδνοι*; this, according to Boeckh's ingenious explanation, is the Laconian form of *ἵδνοι*, *φίδνοι*, and signifies witnesses and judges among the youth. Compare the *ἵστωρ* Hom. II. XVIII. 801. XXIII. 486. and concerning the *ἵδνοι* in ancient laws, see Ælius Dionysius quoted by Eustathius on the first passage.

CHAP. VIII.

§ 1. The Cosmi of Crete. § 2. Changes in their powers. § 3. The Prytanes of Corinth and Rhodes. § 4. The Prytanes of ancient Athens. § 5. The Artynæ of Argos; the Demiurgi in several states of Peloponnesus.

1. THE cosmi of Crete are compared by Aristotle, Ephorus and Cicero, with the ephors of Lacedæmon.^a We are first led to suspect the correctness of this comparison by the fact, that the larger part of the extensive power of the ephoralty did not exist in the ancient constitution of Sparta, and consequently there could not have been any thing corresponding with it in the sister constitution of Crete. This conjecture is still further confirmed when we remember that the cosmi were chosen from particular families, rather according to their rank than their personal merits.^b For to take away from the office of ephors their election from among the people would be to give up its most essential characteristic. If then we abandon this comparison, it will be necessary, on account of the great similarity between the two constitutions, to find some other analogous office, and it will then appear that the parallel magistrates to the cosmi in the Spartan government were the kings; whom indeed the cosmi appear to have succeeded, like the prytanes, artynæ, &c., in other states, the expiring

^a Polit. II. 7. 3.—ap. Strab. in his Dissert. Antiquar. X. p. 482 A.—de Rep. II. 33. ^b Aristot. Pol. II. 7. 5. Van Dale de Ephoris et Cosmis

monarchical dignity having been replaced by an aristocratical magistrate.

This assertion is confirmed by whatever knowledge we have of the powers of the *cosmi*, which indeed chiefly regards their influence in foreign affairs. They were commanders in war, like the kings of Sparta.^c They conducted the negotiations with foreign ambassadors (although these last sometimes spoke before the public assembly); and they affixed their official name to the treaties, as well as to all decrees of the state.^d They provided for the ambassadors during their residence,^e and prepared for them the necessary documents.^f They appear to have themselves gone as ambassadors to neighbouring and friendly states.^g For the internal government and administration of the state they shared the power of the senate, with which body they consulted on important affairs.^h The decrees passed in this council were then laid before the public assembly for its decision, according to the manner above stated.ⁱ On an occasion of the connexion of two Cretan cities by *ισοπολιτεία*, the *cosmi* of the one state, who were resident in the other city, went together into the house of meeting of the *cosmi* and of the senate (as it appears) and sat among them in the public assembly.^k

^c Aristot. Pol. II. 7. 3.

^d ἔδοξε τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τῇ πόλει.

^e Treaty between the Hierapytnii and Priansii in Chishull's Ant. Asiat. pag. 130. *πρεϊγία* (*πρεϊγία*, *legatio*) δὲ ὧ καὶ χρεῖαν ἔχῃ πορηίῳ, παρεχόντων οἱ κόσμοι.

^f Cnosian decree, *ibid.* p. 121. τὸς δὲ κόσμος δόμεν ἀντίγραφον τῷδε τῷ ψαφίσματος σφραγίσαν-

τας τῇ δαμοσίᾳ σφραγίδι ἀποκομίσαι Ἡροδότῳ καὶ Μενεκλεί.

^g As it appears from the treaty of the Hierapytnians, p. 130.

^h Ephorus ap. Strab. p. 484 B.

ⁱ Aristot. Pol. II. 7. 4.

^k Treaty of the Hierapytnians, p. 130. A different regulation in that of the Latians and Olontians, p. 134.

The common routine of business they appear to have conducted with a large executive power;¹ they must, for example, have had a compulsive authority, in order to force a person who had kidnapped citizens of a foreign state, against the right of asylum, to restore them.^m In judicial matters they performed, in the times at least subsequent to Alexander, certain duties which had a resemblance to the introduction of the lawsuits by the Athenian magistrates.ⁿ They themselves, however, were not only subject to certain punishments for omission of their duties, but they could also be impeached, apparently during the continuance of their office.^o Upon the whole, without having equal dignity, they had more power and more extensive duties than the Spartan kings; yet both were limited by the large number of the college of *cosmi*, for it contained ten members. The college had power to degrade individuals, although the office was limited to a year, each individual being also permitted to tender his resignation within that period.^p The first of them gave his name to the year; he was called proto-

¹ Vid. *ibid.* p. 130.

^m Decree of the Istronians and Sybritians, p. 113, 114. οἱ κόσμοι—ἐπαναγκαζόντων ἀποδιδόμεν τοὺς ἔχοντας.

ⁿ *Ibid.* p. 131. The Hierapytnians and Priansians had for a time had no *commercium juris dandi repetendique* (*κοινοδικιον*); in this treaty it is agreed that the *cosmi* of the year shall bring before a court appointed by both cities those lawsuits which had been interrupted by the want of a common tribunal; that they shall carry them through during the term of

their office, and give sureties for this in a month after the conclusion of the treaty. Then follow similar stipulations for the future.

^o In the treaty of the Hierapytnians, p. 131, it is permitted that a *γραφὴ τιμητῆ*, according to the Athenian custom, should be instituted against the *cosmus*; in the decree of the Sybritians (p. 114.), however, the *cosmi* are guaranteed for a particular exercise of their power, to be *ἀζάμοι καὶ ἀνυπόδικοι πάσας ζαμίας*.

^p Aristot. Pol. II. 7. 7.

cosmus,¹ although he had probably no distinct privileges. The senate was chosen from persons who had filled the office of cosmus; it was not, however, so arranged that each cosmus, on the cessation of his office, became a senator (as at Athens, after the time of Solon, every archon, if no complaint was made against him, became a member of the Areopagus), but the senators were selected from among the former cosmi, after a fresh examination. For the number of the senators was, doubtless, limited, and was not sufficiently great to comprehend all the cosmi.

2. In the time of Aristotle the power of the cosmi had acquired a despotic character. The number of the families from which they were chosen had become less numerous; individual families had acquired an immediate influence upon the government, and their disputes had created parties, in which the whole nation took a share. The constitution had been thus converted into a narrow oligarchy; the democratic element, the public assembly, being too feeble to put an end to these dissensions. To this was added, at a time when men had ceased to venerate ancient customs, a want of written laws. When powerful families feared for the issue of a lawsuit, they prevented the election of the cosmi, and an ἀκοσμία, as it was called, arose,² in which the chief families and their dependents were opposed to one another as enemies. This state of things had at that time

¹ Lyctian Inscript. Gruter. p. 194. 15. Οἱ σύν τινι κόσμοι frequently occurs. Cf. Polyb. XXIII. 15. 1.

² This sense is required by the context in Aristot. Pol. II. 7. 7; so that after the words

τῶν δυνατῶν, τινές should be restored, and the passage be written thus: πάντων δὲ φανλότατον τὸ τῆς ἀκοσμίας, ἣν συνίστασι πολλάκις, ὅταν μὴ δίκας βούλωνται δοῦναι, τῶν δυνατῶν τινές.

been introduced in several of the chief cities of Crete: at the time, however, when the alliance between the Priansii and Hierapytnii (which is still extant) was agreed to, the government appears to have been better regulated, and the powers of the aristocracy to have been considerably diminished. But before the time of Polybius a complete revolution had taken place, by which the power of the aristocracy was abolished, and the election of all magistrates founded on democratic principles;³ a revolution which gradually overthrew all the ancient institutions; so that the writer just mentioned cannot discover the least resemblance between the Spartan and Cretan governments, the original similarity of which cannot be doubted. It is worthy of remark that cosmi, as far as we know, were the chief magistrates in all the cities of Crete; and their constitutions were in all essential points the same: a proof that these cities, although originally founded by different tribes, were in their political institutions determined by the governing, that is, the Doric race.⁴ In the time of Plato, Cnosus was still, as in the time of Minos, considered the chief seat of ancient Cretan institutions; Ephorus, on the other hand, observes that they had been less preserved in this town than among the Lyctians, Gortynians, and other small cities.⁵

3. With the Cretan cosmi may be compared the magistrates named prytanes, who in Corinth, as well as in other states, succeeded in the place of the kings. The numerous house of the Bacchiadæ were

³ VI. 46. 4. From the context it is plain that the senate was at that time chosen annually

in Crete.

⁴ Similarly Tittmann, p. 413.

⁵ Strabo, p. 481 B.

not content that certain individuals of their number should exercise the government as an hereditary right for life, but wished to obtain a larger share in it, and to give the enjoyment of the supreme power to a greater number. The only difference, however, which existed between a prytanis and a king was, that the former was elected, and only held his office for a year, by which he was compelled to administer it according to the will of his house, into the body of which he was soon to return. In this state, doubtless, there was also a gerusia, but perhaps only consisting of Bacchiadæ. As the Bacchiadæ only intermarried with persons of their own house, they formed an aristocratic caste, whose government, which lasted for ninety years, must have been exceedingly oppressive.^a As Corcyra was founded from Corinth before the commencement of the tyranny of the Cypselidæ, we find that in the latter state annual prytanes, chosen apparently from among the aristocracy, remained the supreme magistrates even in a democratic age.^b

The power of the prytanis, as has been already mentioned, came next in order in that of king, and hence the ancient Charon of Lampsacus called the Spartan kings *prytanes*;^c which was also the proper name of one of them. The early kings of Delphi

^a See Herod. V. 92. Pausan. II. 4. See book I. ch. 8. § 3.

^b See the great inscription, earlier than the Roman times, in Boeckh's *Staatshaushaltung*, vol. II. p. 403, in which Aristomenes the prytanis, the son of Aristolaidas, a Hyllean, is mentioned, whose head occurs on a coin in connexion with the head of Hercules. Another

inscription in the same book also mentions four prytanes together. At that time, however, the government was democratic, since the *ἀλία* was also a court of justice, p. 406.

^c Suidas: *Χάρων πρυτάνεις ἢ ἄρχοντες Λακεδαιμονίων*. It is also used for king by Pindar and Æschylus.

were also, at least about 360 B. C., called prytanes;^a in which state there was for a long time an aristocratic government, similar to that which prevailed in the Homeric age.^b The number of the prytanes was in general only one or two.^c At Rhodes there were two in a year, each of whom had the precedence for six months;^d so that sometimes one, sometimes two prytanes are mentioned: they managed the public affairs with great power in the Prytaneum, in which building the archives of the city were preserved, and foreign ambassadors received.^e Yet their powers cannot have been excessive in the free constitution, which Rhodes, at its most flourishing period, enjoyed. For the senate, which was chosen on purely democratic principles, as we shall see below, shared the management of all public affairs with the prytanes; the people, however, exercised the supreme power in the general assembly, voted by cheirotonia,^f and does not appear to have been even led in its deliberations by the magistrates alone.^g Yet the government of Rhodes was never, up to the time of the Roman dominion, a complete democracy;^h perhaps it approximated at the

^a *Ἡρακλείδου πρυτανεύοντος*, Paus. X. 2. 2.

^b See b. II. ch. 1. § 8. Compare the history in Aristot. Pol. V. 3. 3. Plut. *Præc. Rep. ger.* 52. p. 200. sq.

^c See Dissen's Commentary and my note to Pindar Nem. XI. 4. where now I agree with Boeckh, that the *ἑταῖροι* compose the *βουλή*, over which the *πρύτανις* presides.

^d This I infer from Polyb. XXVII. 6. 2. *Στρατοκλείους πρυτανεύοντος τὴν δευτέραν ἔκμηνον*. Comp. Paulsen de Rhodo, p. 56.

^e See particularly Polyb. XV.

23. 3. XVI. 15. 8. XXIII. 3. 10. XXIX. 4. 4. XXIX. 5. 6.

^f *ἀρχὴ μάλιστα αὐτοκράτωρ*, Appian. Bell. Civ. IV. 66. Comp. Plut. *Præc. Rep. ger.* 17. p. 173. Liv. XLII. 45. Poseidonius the historian was prytanis at Rhodes, Strabo VII. p. 316.

^g Polyb. XXIX. 4. 1.

^h Polybius and Appian ubi sup. mention *δημαγωγοί*; the former writer had also explained the *τρόπος τῆς δημηγορίας*, but the passage is lost.

ⁱ Strabo XIV. p. 652. See below, ch. 9. § 3.

period of the greatest power of these islanders to the *politeia* of Aristotle.¹ But the power of the prytanes, who were also the chief magistrates in Ionian, and especially Æolian^k states, was not everywhere so wisely restrained; in Miletus their authority was nearly despotic.¹ In all places the prytanes inherited from the kings the celebration of public sacrifices, which they generally performed in particular buildings in the market-place, on the common hearth of the state. So the prytanis of Tenedos, to whom Pindar has composed an ode for the sacrifice upon entrance into his office (*εἰσιτήριον*). In Cos a divination from fire was probably connected with the sacrifices of the prytanis.^m These sacrifices, the public banquets, together with the reception of foreign ambassadors, belonged at Athens to the fifty prytanes, as was the case at Rhodes and Cos. But the political signification of the name had, under the democratic government of Athens, become entirely different from that which it bore in other more aristocratic constitutions.

4. The striking dissimilarity in the duties of the prytanes in the Athenian and in the early constitutions of Greece, and a conviction that the democracy of Athens, although relatively modern, had so completely brought into oblivion the former institutions, that they can be only recognised in insulated traces

¹ See Ubbo Emmius de Rep. Rhod.

^k Ad Pind. ubi sup.

¹ Aristot. Pol. V. 4. 3.—The prytanes of Cyzicus were on the other hand democratic.

^m Hesychius *κέρκος*—*ἐχρήτο* δὲ αὐτῇ μάλλον ὁ ἐν Κρ πρύτανις. Compare with this the sacrifice

in the Peace of Aristophanes. The prytanis in the city of Crotona, sacred to Apollo, went every seventh day about the altars, Athen. XII. p. 522 C. Concerning the care of the prytanes for the κοινὴ ἐστία, see Aristot. Pol. VI. 5.

and names which had lost their ancient meaning, encourage me to offer some conjectures on the original nature of the office held by the prytanes of Athens. There was at Athens a court of justice in the prytaneum (*ἐπὶ πρυτανείῳ*), which, in the times of which we have an historical account, only possessed the remnants of a formerly extensive criminal jurisdiction.ⁿ Now that this had once been the chief court in Athens is proved by the name *prytanea*, which were fees deposited by the parties before each lawsuit, according to the amount of value in question, and which served for the maintenance of the judges.^o The name proves that these monies had at one time been the pay of the prytanes, in their judicial capacity, like the gifts in Homer and Hesiod. Furthermore we know that the ancient financial office of the colacretæ at one time, as their name testifies, collected their share of the animals sacrificed (which exactly resembles the perquisites of the kings at Sparta), and that they always continued to manage the banquets in the Prytaneum, and at a later time collected the justice-fees, for example, these very prytanea.^p From the connexion between these functions, which has not been entirely obliterated, it is manifest that the ancient judicial prytanes formed a company or *syssition*, dined in public, were fed at the public expense, and, with regard to their revenues, had stepped into the rights of the kings, whose share in the sacrifices and justice-fees had formerly been collected by the colacretæ.

ⁿ See particularly Andoc. de Myst. p. 37.

^o Boeckh's Economy of Athens, vol. II. p. 64.

^p Ibid. vol. I. p. 232. where the nature of this office was

first explained. The Areopagites also probably received their κρέας through these officers. Comp. Hesych. and Photius in κρέας.

Although there appears to be nothing inconsistent in this account, it is nevertheless singular that a whole court of justice bore the name of prytanes, whereas in other states the number of these magistrates was always very small; and hence we are led to conjecture that the prytanes, as in other places, were merely the leaders and presidents of this supreme court. It is, however, certain that in later times the phylobasileis presided in the Prytaneum, four eupatridæ, who were at the head of the four ancient tribes; and doubtless performed other duties than the sacred functions which are ascribed to them;¹ like the phylarchs of Epidamnus, whose extensive duties were in later times transferred to a senate.² We must therefore suppose that these phylobasileis, who, in consequence of political changes, had at an early period fallen into oblivion, were once, under the name of prytanes, one of the highest offices of the state. Now these four prytanes, or phylobasileis, were assisted in their court by the ephetæ, who, as I have already remarked,³ were before the time of Solon identical with the court of the Areopagus, when they had the management of the criminal jurisdiction, and a superintendence over the manners of the citizens in an extended sense of the word. Both these were also duties of the Doric gerusia, to which the kings stood in nearly the same relation as the prytanes of Athens to the areopagites or ephetæ. Their number was fifty-one, which probably includes the basileus: there could not, however, have been fifty previously to the new division of the tribes

¹ Hence Solon ap. Plut. 19. *ἐκ πρυτανείου καταδικασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων*.—They also sat together in the royal porch, probably also as a court of justice. Pollux VIII. 111, 120. Hesych. in *Φυλοβασιλεῖς*.
² Aristot. Pol. V. 1. 6.
³ Book II. ch. 8. § 6.

by Cleisthenes, before which change their number was forty-eight, according to the four tribes, either with or without the phylobasileis.

If this view of the subject is correct, there is a remarkable correspondence, both in their respective numbers and constitutions, between the criminal court and the first administrative office in the ancient state of Athens. These latter were the naucrari. The naucrari, who were also anciently forty-eight in number, and fifty after the new division of the tribes, in early times managed the public revenue, and therefore fitted out armies and fleets.⁴ Now Herodotus also mentions prytanes of the naucrari, who in early times directed the government of Athens.⁵ Unless we suppose the existence of two kinds of prytanes (which does not appear suitable to the simplicity of ancient institutions), the same persons must have presided over both colleges, and have had an equal share in the jurisdiction and government. The regularity of these institutions would appear surprising, if we were not certain that the same order existed in all the ancient political establishments; at the same time we must leave the relative powers of many officers, such, for example, as those of the archons and prytanes, without any attempt at elucidation.

5. More obscure even than the condition of the cosmi and prytanes are the origin and powers of the ARTYNÆ at Argos.⁶ They cannot have arisen at a late period, for example, after the abolition of the royalty, since the same office existed in their ancient

⁴ Boeckh in several places, Schoemann de Comitibus, p. 364.
⁵ V. 71. Compare Schoemann de Comitibus, p. 12.
⁶ Olymp. 90. 1. 420 B.C. mentioned by Thuc. V. 47. Cf. Æginetica, p. 134.

colony, Epidaurus, whose constitution resembled that of Argos only in the more ancient period. Since it did not originate from the downfall of the royalty, its origin may, perhaps, have been owing to a division of the regal authority, perhaps of the civil and military functions. In Epidaurus the artynæ were presidents of a large council of one hundred and eighty members:^y in Argos they are mentioned in connexion with a body of eighty persons, and a (democratic) senate, of whose respective powers we are entirely ignorant.^z

The present is a convenient occasion for mentioning the DEMIURGI, as several grammarians state that they were in particular a Doric magistracy,^a perhaps, however, only judging from the form *δαμουργός*. These magistrates were, it is true, not uncommon in Peloponnesus,^b but they do not occur often in the Doric states. They existed among the Eleans and Mantineans,^c the Hermioneans,^d in the Achæan league,^e at Argos also,^f as well as in Thessaly;^g officers named *epidemiurgi* were sent by the Corinthians to manage the government of their colony Potidæa.^h The statements and interpretations of the grammarians afford little instruction: among the Achæans at least, their

^y Plut. Quæst. Græc. I.

^z A very numerous synedrion in the Prytaneum at the time of Cassander, Diod. XIX. 63.

^a Æl. Dionys. ap. Eustath. ad Od. XVII. p. 1285. Rom. Hesych. in v.

^b Hence Philip (ap. Demosth. de Corolâ, p. 280.) writes to the demiurgi and synedri of the Peloponnesians.

^c Thuc. ubi sup.

^d Boeckh Corp. Inscript. No. 1193. and see Boeckh, pp. 11. and 594.

^e Polyb. XXIV. 5. 16. Liv. XXXII. 22. XXXVIII. 30.

and Drakenborch's note, Plut. Arat. 43. ΔΑΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΙ in a Dymæan inscription, ib. 1543.

^f Etym. Mag. p. 265, 45. Zonaras in v.

^g Ibid. Aristot. Pol. III. 1.

^h Thuc. I. 56. with the Scholia. Compare Suidas in *δημουργός*. 'Επιδημουργοί are upper *demiurgi*, as the *ἐπιστρατηγοί* in Egypt, in the time of the Ptolemies, were upper or superior *στρατηγοί*.

chief duty was to transact business with the people; which renders it probable, that at Argos they were identical with the *leaders of the people*;ⁱ of whom, as well as of some other public officers, whose functions admit of further explanation, we will speak in the following chapter.

CHAP. IX.

§ 1. Constitutions of Argos. § 2. Epidaurus, Ægina, Cos. § 3. Rhodes. § 4. Corinth. § 5. Corcyra. § 6. Ambracia, Leucadia, Epidamnus, Apollonia. § 7. Syracuse. § 8. Gela, Agrigentum. § 9. Sicyon, Phlius. § 10. Megara. § 11. Byzantium, Chalcedon, Heraclea Pontica. § 12. Cnidos, Melos, Thera. § 13. Cyrene. § 14. Tarentum. § 15. Heraclea Sciritis. § 16. Croton. § 17. And Delphi. § 18. Aristocratic character of the constitution of Sparta.

1. IT is my intention in the present chapter to collect and arrange the various accounts respecting the alterations in the constitution of those Doric states, which deviated more from their original condition than Crete and Sparta: having been more affected by the general revolutions of the Greek governments, and drawn with greater violence into the strong current of political change.

And first, with regard to ARGOS, I will extract the following particulars from former parts of this work. There were in this state three classes of persons; the inhabitants of the city, who were for the most part Dorians, distributed into four tribes; a class of

ⁱ As in Mantinea, Xen. Hell. V. 2. 3. 6. They were different from the regular *τέλη*, Thuc. V. 47. In early times the *δαμουργοί*

γ/αι were of considerable duration, Aristot. Pol. V. 8. 3. Compare Æginetica, p. 134.

Perioeci, and also a class of bondslaves, named gymnesii.^a The kings, who were at first of the Heraclide family, and afterwards of another dynasty, reigned until the time of the Persian war;^b there were also officers named artynæ, and a senate possessing extensive powers. All these are traces which seem to prove a considerable resemblance between the constitutions of Argos and Sparta, at least they show that there was no essential difference. But this similarity was put an end to by the destruction of a large portion of the citizens, in the battle with Cleomenes, and the consequent admission of many Perioeci to the rights of citizenship.^c Soon after this period, we find Argos flourishing in population, industry, and wealth;^d and in the enjoyment of a democratic constitution.^e The latter, however, was ill adapted to acquire the ascendancy in Peloponnesus, which Argos endeavoured to obtain after the peace of Nicias. Hence the people appointed a board of twelve men, with full powers to conclude treaties with any Greek state that was willing to join their party; but in case of Sparta or Athens proposing any such alliance, the question was to be first referred to the whole people.^f The state also, in order to form the nucleus of an army, levied a body of well-armed men,^g who were selected from the higher ranks.^h It was natural that these should endanger the democracy; and after the battle of Mantinea (B.C. 418.) they overthrew it, in concert with the

^a See above ch. 4. § 2.

^b See ch. 6. § 10. The notions of the ancients, on the subject of the Argive kings, seem very vague and doubtful.

^c Book I. ch. 8. § 7.

^d Diod. XII. 75.

^e See particularly Thucyd. V.

29. 41. 44.—τὸ πλῆθος ἐψηφίσατο (404 B.C.). Demosth. de Rhod. Libert. p. 197.

^f Thuc. V. 27, 28.

^g See the passages quoted above, p. 56. note ^γ.

^h Aristotle Pol. II. 3. 5. calls them τοὺς γνωρίμους.

Lacedæmonians, after having put the demagogues to death.ⁱ Their dominion, however, only lasted for eight months, as an insurrection and battle within the city deprived them of their power, and reinstated the democracy.^k Alcibiades the Athenian completed this change by the expulsion of many oligarchs, who were still remaining in the city;^l afterwards he wished to overthrow the democracy by means of his friends,^m in consequence of which they were all killed. Two parties, however, must have still continued to exist in this state. Æneas the Tactician relates, that the rich purposing to attack the people for the second time, and on a certain night having introduced many soldiers into the city, the leaders of the people hastily summoned an assembly, and ordered that every armed man should that night pass muster in his tribe,ⁿ by which means the rich were prevented from uniting themselves in a body. The *leaders of the people* (δήμου προστάται^o) are here manifestly democratic magistrates, who rose to power during the contests between the opposite factions, and differed chiefly from the demagogues of Athens, in that their authority was official, without which they would not have been able to convene an

ⁱ Aristot. ubi sup. Diod. XII. 80. Thuc. V. 81. τὸν ἐν Ἀργεὶ δῆμον κατέλυσαν, καὶ ὀλιγαρχία κατέστη. cf. 76.

^k In July of 417 B.C. Thuc. V. 82. Diod. XII. 80.

^l Thuc. V. 84. Diod. XII. 81.

^m Thuc. VI. 61. Diod. XIII. 5.

ⁿ C. 11.—πάντας, ὄντας ἐκατὸν, the emendation of Casaubon, who wishes to introduce the word ἐκατοστὺς, does not agree with what follows. Per-

haps there were at that time ten tribes at Argos, as in Athens, and the χίλιοι λογάδες are here meant: but even then it would be difficult to fix the time of this event.

^o Compare Plut. Alcib. 14. Nicostratus, who according to Theopompus ap. Athen. VI. p. 252 A. was προστάτης τῆς πόλεως at the time of Artaxerxes Ochus, was probably an officer of this description. Compare what was said on the demiurgi, ch. 8. § 5.

assembly of the people. For although the appellation of *δήμου προστάτης* in the Doric states, as well as at Athens, sometimes denotes merely a person who by his character and eloquence had placed himself at the head of the people; we shall produce hereafter certain proofs, when we speak of Gela and Calymna, that it was also the title of a public officer.^p

When, during the peace of Artaxerxes, the Lacedæmonians had ceased to possess any extensive share in the direction of public affairs in Peloponnesus, a spirit of ungovernable licentiousness and ochlocracy arose in those cities which had hitherto been under an oligarchical rule; everywhere there were vexatious accusations, banishments, and confiscations of property, especially of the property of such persons as had filled public offices under the guidance of Sparta, though, even during that period, (B.C. 374.) Argos had been a place of refuge for banished democrats.^q But after the battle of Leuctra, when the power of Lacedæmon was completely broken, and Peloponnesus had for a certain time lost its leader, the greatest anarchy began to prevail in Argos. Demagogues stirred up the people so violently against all privileged or distinguished persons, that the latter thought themselves driven to plot the overthrow of the democracy.^r The scheme was discovered, and the people raged with the greatest ferocity against the real or supposed conspirators. On this occasion, more than 1200 of the chief persons (many upon mere suspicion) were put to death;^s and at length the demagogues, fearing to carry

^p Below, § 8.

^q Diod. XV. 40.

^r Diod. XV. 57, 58.

^s Plutarch (Præc. Reip. ger.

17. p. 175.) reckons 1500 in all.

He is followed by Helladius

Chrestom. p. 979. in Gronov.

Thesaur. Gr. vol. X.

through the measures which themselves had originated, suffered the same fate. This state of things was called by the name of *σκυταλισμός*, or *club-law*; it appears to have been a time when the strongest man was the most powerful. When the Athenians heard of these transactions, they purified their market-place, thinking that the whole of Greece was polluted by such atrocities:^t it was probably at the same time that the Argives themselves offered an expiatory sacrifice to the mild Zeus (*Ζεὺς Μείλιχος*), for the free blood which had been shed.^u Notwithstanding these proceedings, the rich and distinguished continued to be persecuted at Argos with the greatest violence;^v for which the ostracism, a custom introduced from Athens,^w together with other democratic institutions,^x was the chief instrument. In times such as these, the chief and most noble features of the Doric character necessarily disappeared; the unfortunate termination of nearly all military undertakings^a proves the decline of bravery. In so unsettled a state of public affairs, sycophancy and violence became prevalent:^b notwithstanding which, their eagerness and attention to public speaking produced no orator, whose fame was sufficient to descend to posterity.^c

2. In EPIDAUROS, on the other hand, the aristocracy continued in force, and accordingly this city

^t Plut. ubi sup. compare also Dionys. Hal. Archæol. Rom. VII. 66.

^u Pausan. II. 20. 1.

^v Isocrat. ad Philipp. p. 92 C. D. Even however after this time *principes* occur, Liv. XXXII. 38.

^w Aristot. Pol. V. 2. 5. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 851. Phavorinus

in *ὀστρακινὰ*. Compare Paradys *de Ostracismo* in the Classical Journal, vol. XIX. p. 348.

^x See Aristid. II. p. 388.

^a Isocrat. ubi sup.

^b *Ἀργεῖα φερά* ap. Diogenian. II. 79. Apostol. IV. 28. Eus-tath. ad Il. β. p. 286 Rom.

^c Cicero Brut. 13.

was as much attached to the Spartans, as Argos was disinclined to them. Of the artynæ in this state, and of the senate of 180, as well as of the class of cultivators, and of the tribes, we have spoken in former parts of this work.^d

As long as ÆGINA remained an independent state, the government was held by the hereditary aristocracy, whose titular dignity was probably increased by the power derived from the possession of great wealth. The insurrection of a democratic party remained fruitless. Ægina and Corinth are decisive proofs, that under an aristocratical government an active and enterprising spirit of commerce may arise and flourish.

The Epidaurian colony, Cos, without doubt, originally adopted the constitution of its mother-state. Before the 75th (probably about the 73rd or 74th) Olympiad, we find a tyrant appointed by the king of Persia reigning in this island, Cadmus, the son of Scythes of Zancle;^e after some time, however, he quitted Cos, having established a senate, and given back the state its freedom; yet the island appears to have immediately afterwards fallen under the dominion of Artemisia.^f At a later period, the influence of Athens opened the way to democracy, but it was overthrown by violent demagogues, who compelled the chief persons in self-defence to combine against it.^g The senate (βουλὴ or γερουσία) of the Coans, as well as their prytanes, have been mentioned above;^h the nominal magistrates under the Roman dominion need not be here treated of.

3. In the Argive colony of RHODES, it may be sup-

^d Ch. 5. § 1. ch. 8. § 5.

^e See vol. I. p. 187. note ^a.

^f Herod. VII. 99.

^g Aristot. Pol. V. 4. 2.

^h P. 94. note ^b. and p. 140. note ^m.

posed that an ancient Doric constitution existed; for there were kings of the Heraclide family, and probably also a council with the same powers as the Spartan gerusia. The royalty expired after the 30th Olympiad (660 B.C.); but the ancient family of the Eratidæ at Ialysus, retained a considerable share in the government; probably exercising nearly the powers of a prytanis. Pindar shows that the frame of justice belonged to this once royal family,¹ when he says, "Give, O father Zeus, to Diagoras favour both with citizens and with strangers, since he walks constantly in the way opposed to violence, knowing well what the just minds of noble ancestors have inspired in him. Destroy not the common progeny of Callianax. At the solemnities for the victory of the Eratidæ, the whole city rejoices in banquets. Yet in a moment of time many winds meet from many quarters." Pindar thus early (464 B.C.) predicts the dangers that then awaited the ancient family, to which Rhodes owed so much, from the growing influence of Athens;² throughout the whole ode he cautions the citizens against precipitate innovation, and prays for the continuance of the ancient firmly-seated constitution.¹ Both prophecies were fulfilled. The sons of Diagoras were condemned to death, and banished by the Athenians, as heads of the aristocracy; but the hero Dorieus returned to his country from Thurii, with Thurian ships, and fought with them against the enemies of his family, as a faith-

¹ Olymp. VII. 87. Callianax was one of the ancestors of Diagoras of the γένος Ἐρατιδῶν.
² Compare what Timocreon the Rhodian said in Olymp. 75. 4. 477 B. C. concerning

the proceedings of Themistocles in this and in other islands, Plut. Them. 21.

¹ See Boeckh's masterly explanation of this ode at the end.

ful partisan of the Spartans. He was taken by the Athenians in the year 405 B.C., who, when about to condemn him, were moved by the appearance of the noble son of Diagoras (whose boldness of spirit corresponded with the size and beauty peculiar to his family), to release him from imprisonment and death.^m The ancient fortune of the Rhodians, which was owing to their strict adherence to the Doric customs, and to their great commercial activity, was interrupted by the troubles of the Peloponnesian war, in which the alternation of the Athenian and Lacedæmonian influence by turns introduced democracy and aristocracy. At the time of the Sicilian expedition, Rhodes was under the power of Athens;ⁿ but the Spartans having in 412 B.C. obtained the superiority in this island,^o and Doriæus having been recalled by them (413 B.C.) in order to suppress internal dissensions, the governing power again reverted to the nobles: these latter having been compelled to unite against the people by the demagogues, who, while they distributed the public money among the people in the shape of salaries, had not repaid the sums due to the trierarchs, and at the same time vexed them by continual lawsuits.^p Soon

^m See Thucyd. VIII. 35, 84. Xen. Hell. I. 1, 2. I. 5. 19. Diod. XIII. 38, 43. Pausan. VI. 7. 2. The correctness of what Androtion relates in this passage is very doubtful.

ⁿ Thuc. VII. 57.

^o Thuc. VIII. 44.

^p Aristot. Pol. V. 2. 5, 6. V. 5. 4. These three passages apparently refer to the same event; which (if this is the case) must have taken place at the time to which I have in the text re-

ferred it; for in the middle one the popular party is said to have been defeated by the nobles, *πρὸ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως*, which cannot signify "before the revolution," a meaning which neither the words nor the context will admit; but "before the congregation of the inhabitants of the three small towns to the city of Rhodes," the *ἀνάστασις ἐπὶ μίαν πόδον*. Goettling indeed (ad. I.) is of opinion, that the two first passages can-

after this period (408 B.C.),^q the large city of Rhodes was founded, by collecting to one spot the inhabitants of the three small cities of the island, Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus. But in 396 B.C. Rhodes was again recovered by Conon to Athens, and became democratical;^r yet in five years (391 B.C.) the Spartan party was again victorious;^s and the Social War finally put an end to the influence of the Athenians. From this time the interference of the Carian rulers, Mausolus and Artemisia, commenced, by which the oligarchy was greatly raised, and the democratical party driven out; to restore which, and to regard rather the cause of popular freedom in Greece, than the injuries received from the Rhodians, was the advice of Demosthenes to the Athenians.^t At that time a Carian garrison was in the Acropolis of Rhodes. Out of these troubles and dissensions a constitution arose, in which, as far as we are able to ascertain, democracy prevailed, although the small number and extensive powers of the prytanes prove that it was not unmixed with aristocratical elements. According to the description which Cicero puts in the mouth of the younger Scipio, at this time all the members of the

not refer to the same event, since in the first the constitution of Rhodes is stated to have perished through *φόβος*, in the latter through *καταφρόνησις*. But the same example might have been strictly applicable to both; the *γνώριμοι* dreaded the disturbances of the demagogues, and at the same time despised the irregular proceedings of the people, and therefore overthrew the democracy.

^q Diod. XIII. 75. See also Boeckh, Public Economy of Athens, vol. II. p. 155.

^r Diod. XIV. 79.

^s Xen. Hell. IV. 8. 20—22. Diod. XIV. 97.

^t In the speech concerning the freedom of the Rhodians, cf. *περὶ Συντάξεως*, p. 194. The oligarchy of Hegesilochus (Theopompus ap. Athen. X. p. 444.) perhaps belongs to this period.

senate belonged (in the same year) to the public assembly, and sat in alternate months (probably periods of six months, like the prytanes) in the senate and among the people; in both capacities they received pay (*conventicium*): the same persons also sometimes sat as judges among the people in the theatre, sometimes in the senate in criminal and other cases.^u These statements cannot be easily reconciled with Strabo's view of the constitution, and yet there can be no doubt that he, as well as Cicero, speaks of the time preceding Cassius' conquest of Rhodes. "The Rhodians," he says, "though not under a democratic government, took great care of the people; in order to support the number of poor in the state, they provided them with corn, and the rich maintained the poor according to an ancient custom; there were also liturgies, by which the people were furnished with meat, &c."^x Notwithstanding the democratic institution of the senate, many offices, those perhaps in particular which were connected with the administration, such for example as the superintendence of the marine, were managed on oligarchical principles; the internal quiet of Rhodes at this period is also a proof against the existence of an unmixed democracy. Accordingly, the true Doric characteristics were here retained for a longer time than in most other Doric states; viz., courage, constancy, patriotism, with a haughty stern-

^u If I correctly understand de Repub. III. 35. cf. I. 31. and the traces of the later constitution in Aristid. Rhod. Conc II. p. 385. and Dio Chrysost. Orat. 31. passim.—With the passage in Cicero compare particularly Sallust. de Rep. Ord. 2., who

states, that in Rhodes rich and poor sat together in judgment on both important and unimportant affairs. Tacitus also in Dial. de Cl. Orat. 40. represents the Rhodian constitution as democratic.

^x Strab. XIV. p. 653 A.

ness of manners, and a certain temperance, which was indeed in some manner contrasted with their magnificence in meals, buildings, and all arts.^y

4. CORINTH, delivered by Sparta from its tyrants, had again reverted to its former constitution, which however was not so oligarchical as the hereditary aristocracy of the Bacchiadæ. Some noble families, as the Oligæthidæ,^z had a priority, probably the gerusia was composed of them; and the public assembly was restricted in a manner similar to that of Sparta. But at the same time Pindar celebrates Corinth as "*the city in which Eunomia (or good government) dwells, and her sisters, the firm supports of cities, Justice and Peace, the bestowers of riches, who know how to keep off Violence, the bold mother of Arrogance.*" From these words it may also be conjectured, that the aristocratical party was compelled to resist the endeavours made by the people to extend their power: it remained, however, unshaken up to the date of the Peloponnesian war, and Corinth, with the exception of a short time, continued the faithful ally of Sparta, and foe of Athens.^a At a later period, a democratic party, which relied upon Argos, rose in Corinth, by the assistance of Persian money: this at first obtained the supreme power, and afterwards attacked the Lacedæmonian party, consisting of the noble families, at the festival of the Euclea; and at last proceeded so far, as to wish to abolish the independence of Corinth, and to

^y Meurs. Rhod. c. 20.—The supposed letter of Cleobulus to Solon, in which he says that Lindus *δαμοκρατεῖ* (Diog. Laërt. I. 93. Suidas in *Κλεόβουλος*) evidently cannot be used for the constitutional history of Rhodes.

^z Pind. Olymp. XIII. 2. *οἷ-κος ἄμερος ἀσποῖς*.

^a In early times a close friendship existed between Corinth and Athens, Herod. V. 75. 95. Thuc. I. 40, 41.

incorporate it completely with Argos (B.C. 395 and 394.)^b The banished aristocrats, supported by some Lacedæmonians who were quartered at Sicyon, continued nevertheless to keep up a contest, and maintained themselves at Lechæum;^c after this they must have returned and restored the ancient constitution: for we find Corinth again true to the Lacedæmonian alliance.^d In the time of Dion (356 B.C.) Corinth was under a government nearly oligarchical, little business being transacted in the popular assembly:^e and although this body sent Timoleon as general of the state to Sicily (B.C. 345.), there was then in existence a gerusia (a name completely aristocratic), which not only treated with foreign ambassadors, but also, which is very remarkable, exercised a criminal jurisdiction.^f The tyranny of Timophanes, who was slain by Timoleon, was, according to Aristotle, a short interruption of the oligarchy.^g

5. From the moderate and well-balanced constitution, which Corinth had upon the whole the good fortune to possess, its colony CORCYRA had at an early period departed. Founded under the guidance of Chersicrates, a Bacchiad, it was for a time governed by the Corinthian families, which had first taken possession of the colony. At the same time, however, a popular party was formed, which obtained a greater power by the violent disruption of Corcyra from its

^b See Xen. Hell. IV. 4. 3. sqq.

^c IV. 4. 6. sqq.

^d See particularly VII. 4. 6. The refugees from Corinth to Argos in Olymp. 101. 2. 375 B.C. (mentioned by Diodorus XV. 40.) were therefore democrats.

^e Plut. Dion. 53. No conclusion can be drawn from the word *δημοκρατία* in Plutarch. Timol. 50. for it is there used only to signify the contrary of *τυραννίς*.

^f Diod. XVI. 65, 66.

^g Polit. V. 5. 9.

mother-country, and the hostile relation in which the two states were thus placed. In addition to these differences, the connexion between Corcyra and the Peloponnesian league had been relaxed, and was replaced by a closer intimacy with Athens; so that while the aristocratic party had lost its hold, the democratic influence had taken a deep root. The people also strengthened themselves by the union of a numerous class of slaves.^h By means of this combined force, the aristocratical party was overthrown, whose expulsion was attended with such scenes of blood and atrocity, as were hardly known in any other state of Greece.ⁱ But even before these occurrences the constitution had been democratical.^k The popular assembly had the supreme power; and although the senate had perhaps a greater authority than at Athens,^l it was manifestly only a part of the *demus*:^m leaders of the people appear to have been in this, as well as in other states, a regular office.ⁿ From this time the most unbounded freedom prevailed at Corcyra, of which the Greek proverb says coarsely indeed, but expressively, *Ἐλευθέρα Κόρκυρα, χέζ' ὅπου θέλεις*.^o The Corcyreans were active, industrious, and enterprising, good sailors, and active merchants; but they had entirely lost the stability and noble features of the Doric character. In absence of all modesty they even exceeded the Athenians, among whom the very dogs, as a certain philosopher said, were more

^h Thuc. III. 73.

ⁱ See Dionys. Halic. Archæol. Rom. VII. 66. Diod. XIII. 48.

^k Thuc. III. 81.

^l For a *βουλευτής* could hope, by virtue of his office, to persuade the people to an alliance with Athens, Thuc. III. 70.

^m Thuc. III. 70.

ⁿ Thuc. III. 70. IV. 46.

^o Æneas Poliorc. 11. Diodorus XII. 57. however says only, *τοὺς δημαγωγεῖν εἰωθότας καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πλήθους προϊστάσθαι*.

^p Strabo lib. VII. Excerpt. 2. Proverb. Metric. p. 569. Schott.

impudent than in any other place: fabulous reports were circulated in Greece, respecting the excessive luxury of the successors of the Phæacians.⁷ Yet even in this state an antidemocratic party, inclined to the Lacedæmonians, was never entirely expelled; and it frequently rose against the people without success,⁸ but in the time of Chares with a fortunate result.⁹ The four or five¹⁰ prytanes, who were at a later period the chief magistrates of Coreyra, seem not to have been entirely democratic magistrates, although the government was democratical; besides these officers, there occur in an important monument,¹¹ *πρόδικοι βουλᾶς*, who appear as accusers in a lawsuit which has reference to the administration; also *πρόβουλοι*¹² with a *προστάτης*, who brings a lawsuit of the same description before the courts; besides which we learn, that from time to time revisions (*διορθώσεις*) of the laws took place, for which certain persons named *διορθωτῆρες* were appointed; and that a *ταμίας* and a *διοικητής* were among the financial authorities.

6. Another colony of Corinth, AMBRACIA, had been ruled by a tyrant of the family of the Cypselidae, named Gorgus (Gorgias), who was succeeded by Periander, evidently a member of the same

⁷ Concerning the *ἐλεφαντίνας* of the Coreyran whips, see Aristoph. ap. Hesych. in *ἐλεφαντίνα μαστίξ*, Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1463. Zenob. IV. 49.

⁸ In Olymp. 92. 3. 410 B.C. Diod. XIII. 48. and in Olymp. 101. 3. 374 B.C. Diod. XV. 46.

⁹ *Æneas Poliorc.* 11.

¹⁰ See p. 138. note 7. Perhaps five prytanes in the inscription in Mustoxidi, Illustr. Corciresi,

tom. II. p. 87. [*Δαμ*]οῦξενος Μολωτα προταγένης καὶ οἱ συναρχοί [*Δαμ*]ων Μολωτα Ἰεραίδας . . . Ἡ[λεία]ρχος Λεοντος . . .

¹¹ The inscription quoted above, p. 138. note 7.

¹² *Πρόβουλοι* and *πρόβουλοι* also occur in another inscription, not written in the Doric dialect, in Mustoxidi, tom. II. p. 92. n. 43., in which an *ἀμοιβότολος* (as in Syracuse) is also mentioned.

house:² this latter tyrant, having insulted one of the subjects of his illicit pleasures, was put to death by the relations of the latter.³ The people had taken a share in the insurrection, and obtained the supreme power:⁴ the first change having, however, been into a government founded on property, which insensibly passed into a democracy, on account of the low rate of property which qualified a person for public offices.⁵

In the Corinthian colony of LEUCADIA, the large estates were originally inalienable, and in the possession of the nobles: when the inalienability was abolished, a certain amount of property was no longer required for the holding of public offices, by which the government became democratic.⁶

EPIDAMNUS was founded by Corinthians and Corcyraeans, and a Heraclide, Phalias, from the mother-country, was leader of the colony. It cannot be doubted that the founders took possession of the best lands, and assumed the powers of government, only

² If Periander was the son of Gorgus, and the latter (according to Anton. Lib.) the brother of Cypselus, Neanthes of Cyzicus (ap. Diog. Laërt. I. 98.) was correct in stating that the two Perianders were ἀνελκοί. Yet the hypothesis adopted in b. I. ch. 6. § 8. has its reasons. According to that, the genealogy would be

Cypselus. Gorgus (Gorgias)

Periander: Periander.

and then also Psammetichus might be considered as son of the same Gorgias (Gordias), without supposing the oracle in Herodotus V. 92 to be false.

³ Aristot. Pol. V. 8. 9. Plut.

Erot. 23. p. 60.

⁴ Aristot. Pol. V. 3. 6. The Spartans also assisted in overthrowing the tyranny, b. I. ch. 9. § 5.

⁵ Aristot. Pol. V. 2. 9. According to Anton. Liber. 4. a tyrant Phalæcus also reigned at Ambracia, against whom an insurrection was caused by an oracle of Apollo, whom the Ambraciots considered as the author of their *εὐνομία*. This Phalæcus (as is evident from the passage quoted) is called Phaylus by Ælian. de Nat. Animal XII. 40. Compare the MSS. of Ovid's Ibis, 502.

⁶ Aristot. Pol. II. 4. 4.

admitting persons of the same race to a share. A single magistrate, similar to the cosmopolis at Opus, was at the head of the administration;^c the phylarchs composed a species of council. But in the second period of the constitution, the phylarchs were replaced by a senate (βουλῇ), chosen on democratic principles: a remnant, however, of the early constitution was preserved, in the regulation that all magistrates, who were chosen from the ancient citizens (the proper πολίτευμα), were compelled to be present in the public assembly, if a magistrate required it;^d the highest archon also alone remained.^e The Peloponnesian war was occasioned by a contest between the popular party at Epidamnus, and the nobles, in which the Corinthians, from jealousy against Corcyra, unmindful of their true interests, supported the former: of the issue of this contest we are not informed. The number of resident and industrious foreigners was very great:^f besides this class of persons, none but public slaves were employed in mechanical labour, and never any citizen.^g

Of all the Corinthian settlements, APOLLONIA kept the nearest to the original colonial constitution,^h upon which its fame for justice is probably founded.ⁱ The government remained almost exclusively in the hands of the noble families and

^c Ibid. III. 11. 1. V. 1. 6.

^d This I conceive to be the meaning of Aristot. Pol. V. 1. 6. according to the reading of Victorius, Ἡλιαία is only a different form of ἀλιαία. See above, p. 88. note ⁿ. The occasion of the revolution is perhaps related in V. 3. 4.

^e In the clause ἀρχων ὁ εἷς ἦν ἐν (V. 1. 6.), it appears to me,

that the word ἐστίν, in III. 11. 1. and the context, require the omission of ἦν. [This conjecture has since been confirmed by the best manuscript of the Politics. See Goettling's edition, p. 391.]

^f Ælian. V. H. XIII. 5.

^g Aristot. Pol. II. 4. 13.

^h See above, ch. 4. § 4.

ⁱ Strabo VII. p. 316 C.

descendants of the first colonists, to whom the large estates doubtless belonged.^k Perhaps Apollonia was indebted for the stability of its government to the Xenelasia;^l an institution which was of the first importance for the preservation of ancient Greek customs, to a state closely bordering on barbarous nations.

7. That we may not disturb the order of the Corinthian colonies, we will immediately proceed to consider the state of SYRACUSE. In the Syracusan constitution the following were the chief epochs. In the *first*, the government was in the hands of the gamori,^m originally together with a king,ⁿ whose office was afterwards abolished. These we have already stated^o to have been the original colonists, who took possession of the large estates cultivated by native bondslaves, and exercised the chief governing power. It is probable that the magistrates, and the members of the council,^p who were leaders of the people in the assembly (ἀλία), were chosen from this body; in the same manner as the geomori of Samos formed a council, which after the subversion of the royalty governed the state.^q Against these authorities, the people, having gradually become more pressing in their demands, at length rebelled, and expelled them, by combining with their slaves the Cyllyrrii (before B.C. 492.^r); but the de-

^k Aristot. Pol. IV. 3. 8. cf. Herod. IX. 93.

^l Ælian. ubi sup.

^m Ἐν Συρακούσαις τῶν Γεωμόρων κατεχόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν are the words of the Parian Marble, Ep. 37. ad Olymp. 41.

ⁿ See above, p. 113. note ^m.

^o Ch. 4. § 4.

^p See also Plutarch. Præc. VOL. II.

Reip. 32. p. 201. In the account of the confiscation of Agathocles' property (Diod. Exc. 8. p. 549 Wess.) the geomori appear as the supreme court of justice.

^q Plutarch. Qu. Gr. 57.

^r Herod. VII. 155. Dion. Hal. VI. 62. Compare Zenobius, quoted above, p. 61. note ^p.

mocracy which succeeded was so irregular and lawless, that it was of very short duration;^a the people therefore voluntarily opened the gates to Gelon, when he came to restore the gamori, and gave themselves entirely into his power,^b in 485 B.C. The rule of Gelon, and of his successor, was, although monarchical, yet not oppressive, and upon the whole beneficial to the state: as the former allowed an extraordinary assembly of the people to decide concerning his public administration,^c it may be perhaps supposed that he wished to be considered an *Æsymnetes*, to whom the city, overcome by difficulties, intrusted the unlimited disposal of its welfare. With the overthrow of this dynasty, the *second* period begins, during which there was upon the whole a moderate constitution, called by most writers democracy,^d and by Aristotle distinguished from democracy as a *politeia*, in his peculiar sense of the word.^e Immediately after the downfall of Thrasybulus an assembly was convened, in which it was debated concerning the constitution. The public offices were only to be filled by the ancient citizens; while those who had been admitted by Gelon from other cities, together with the naturalized mercenaries,^f were not

^a This is stated by Aristot. Pol. V. 2. 6. The story in Aristot. Pol. V. 3. 1. Plut. Præc. Reip. ubi sup. refers to the dissolution of the ancient hereditary aristocracy, which Plutarch calls ἀρίστην πολιτείαν.

^b Herod. ubi sup.

^c Diod. XI. 26. Ælian. V. H. XIII. 36.

^d Thuc. VII. 55. Demosth. Leptin. p. 506, &c.

^e Pol. V. 3. 6. Compare,

however, V. 10. 3.

^f Herod. VII. 156. Diod. XI. 25. The reason why there was so great a number of foreign mercenaries in Sicily, is, that the native Sicilians would not serve as hired troops (Hesychius and Apostolius in Σικελὸς στρατ. Toup in Suid. vol. II. p. 614); the tyrants were therefore compelled to hire *Condottieri*, as for instance Phormis the Mænalian.

to enjoy the complete rights of citizenship:^a measures which occasioned a war within the walls of Syracuse. Lastly, in this, as well as in the other states of Sicily, peace was re-established by the restoration of the ancient citizens, a separation of the foreigners, who found a settlement at Messana, and a new allotment of the lands,^b in which the estates of the nobles were probably divided anew. At the same time, by the violence of these proceedings, the states of Sicily were reduced to a feeble condition, which occasioned numerous attempts to set up a tyranny. As a security against this danger, the people (in 454 B. C.) established the institution called *petalism*, in imitation of the ostracism of Athens; but they had sufficient discernment soon to abolish this new form of tyranny, as all distinguished and well educated men^c were deterred by it from taking a part in public affairs. Syracuse suffered at that time, as well as Athens, by the intrigues of demagogues and cabals of sycophants.^d In this city, at an early period, a talent for the subtleties of oratory had begun to develope itself; which owed its origin to Corax, a man employed by Hieron as a secret spy and confidant, and celebrated among the people as a powerful orator and sagacious

^a Diod. XI. 72, 73.

^b Diod. XI. 76. cf. Aristot. Pol. V. 2. 11. This is the πολιτογραφία and the ἀναδοσμός, Diod. XI. 86. Compare Goeller de Situ Syracusarum, 3. p. 9.

^c Οἱ χαριέστατοι Diod. XI. 87. Compare the χαρίεντες in Plutarch Phocion. 29. Dion. 28. Aristot. Eth. Nic. I. 4. 2. I. 5. 4. IV. 8. 10. Concerning the Petalism, see, besides Diodorus, Hesychius in v. Rivinus in

Schlaeger's Dissert. 1774. vol. I. p. 107.

^d What sycophants were in a democracy, were the ὠτακουσται and ποταγωγίδες in the tyranny of Hieron. (Aristot. Pol. V. 9. 3. comp. the *vetus interpret* ap. Schneider.), and of the Dionysii (Plut. Dion. de Curios. 16. p. 147. who supposed that the latter were men). Compare vol. I. p. 183. note ⁿ.

councillor.^e The naturally refined, acute, and lively temperament of the Sicilian Greeks^f had already turned towards cunning and deceit; and in particular the young, eager after all novelty, ran counter to the temperance and severity of the ancient customs and mode of life.^g As to the constitution at the time of the Sicilian war, we know that all public affairs of importance were decided in the popular assembly,^h and the management of them was in great part confided to the leaders of the people (*δήμου προστάται*), who seem to have been regular public officers.ⁱ In what manner the people was led, is shown by the instance of Athenagoras, who represents the expedition of the Athenians, when already approaching the shores of Sicily, as a story invented by the oligarchs to terrify the people. To what extent a complete freedom of speaking before the people existed, is not altogether clear.^k That persons of an aristocratic disposition still continued to possess political power, is evident from the speech of Athenagoras;^l and it is probable from Aristotle, that they had an exclusive right to

^e See the mutilated Scholia to Hermogenes in Reiske's Orators, vol. VIII. p. 196. together with Aristotle ap. Cic. Brut. XII. 46.

^f *Siculi acuti*, Cic. Verrin. III. 8. *acuta gens et controversa natura*, Brut. XII. 46. *dicaces*, Verr. IV. 43. *faceti*, Orat. II. 54.

^g Diod. XI. 82. probably from Philistus.

^h Thuc. VI. 32 sqq. 72 sq. Diod. XV. 19. 95.

ⁱ Thuc. VI. 35.

^k Thuc. VI. 32, 41. Diod. XIII. 19.

^l Hermocrates, of an aristo-

cratic disposition, filled a public office.—The *νεώτεροι* in Thucyd. VI. 38. cannot, from the context, be generally the young men of the city; they must be a party of youthful aristocrats, who were peculiarly hostile to the people, and, according to the statement of Athenagoras, wished to take advantage of the fear of a war and the blockade of Syracuse, for the purpose of regaining their lost privileges. In this sense *οἱ τε δυνάμενοι καὶ οἱ νέοι* are combined in VI. 39. [See Arnold's History of Rome, vol. I. p. 332, note 29.]

certain offices. The *third* period begins with the victory over the Athenian armament. As this was decided by the fleet of the Syracusans, the men of inferior rank, who served as sailors, obtained a large increase of importance in their own sight, and were loud in their demands for admission to the highest offices; in the very same manner as at Athens, after the battle of Salamis. In 412 B.C., upon the proposal of Diocles the demagogue,^m a commission was appointed for the arrangement of a new constitution, in which the original contriver of the plan had himself the first place. The government was thus converted into a complete democracy, of which the first principle was, that the public offices should be filled not by election, but by lot.ⁿ There was formed at the same time a collection of written laws, which were very precise and explicit in the determination of punishments, and were doubtless intended, by their severity, to keep off those troubles, which the new constitution could not fail to produce. This code, which was also adopted by other Sicilian states, was written in an ancient native dialect, which seventy years afterwards (in the time of Timoleon) required an interpreter.^o Notwithstanding these precautions, we find the democracy an Olympiad and a half later fallen into such contempt,^p that the people, utterly incapable of protecting the city in the dangers of the time, appointed a general with unlimited power:

^m Diodorus XIII. 19, 55. Apophth. p. 89, 90. The general calls him a demagogue.

ⁿ Aristot. Pol. V. 3. 6. Diod. XIII. 35. The *δημηγοροῦντες* cast lots merely for the *succession* in which they were to address the people, Plut. Reg.

The generals were still chosen from among the *δυνατώτατοι*, Diod. XIII. 91.

^o Diod. XIII. 33, 35.

^p Plut. ubi sup. p. 92.

which measure, though always attended with bad success, they repeatedly had recourse to. Dionysius, a man powerful as well from his talents, as from the means which his situation as demagogue afforded him of keeping the people in continual dread of the nobles,^a soon became tyrant;^b but he still allowed an appearance of freedom to remain in public assemblies, which he summoned, conducted, and dismissed.^c Dion restored the democracy for a short time, and only partially;^d for it was his real intention to introduce a Doric aristocracy upon the model of those in Sparta and Crete.^e Timoleon with more decision abolished the democracy, and restored the former constitution,^f as may be supposed, not without sycophants and demagogues, who were not slow to turn their arms against the founder of the new liberty.^g A mixture of aristocracy is discernible in the office of *amphipolus* of the Olympian Zeus, which lasted three centuries from 343 B. C. and probably combined political influence with the highest dignity; the person who filled it gave his name to the year. Three candidates were chosen for this office from three families by vote, and one of the three was selected by lot.^h

^a Aristot. Pol. V. 4. 5. V. 8. 4. Diod. XIII. 96.

^b Diod. XIII. 94. cf. Polyæn. V. 2. 2.

^c Diod. XIV. 45, 64, 70. See several passages in Pseud-Aristot. Econ. II. 2. 20. The assemblies summoned by Dion, for example, against Dionysius the Second (Diod. XVI. 10, 17, 20. Plut. Dion. 33, 38.), must not be considered as in any way connected with the tyranny. Cicero de Rep. III. 31. denies

that Syracuse in the reign of Dionysius was a *Respublica* at all.

^d Plutarch. Dion. 28.

^e Ibid. 53. σχῆμα—ἀριστοκρατίαν ἔχον τὴν ἐπιστατοῦσαν καὶ βραβεύουσαν τὰ μέγιστα. See above, ch. I. § 7.

^f Diod. XVI. 70.

^g Plutarch. Timol. 37.

^h Diod. XVI. 81. with Wesseling's note, Cic. in Verr. I. 2. 51.

It may be observed, that Timoleon caused a revision of the laws to be made by Cephalus, a Corinthian, who, however, was only called an interpreter of the code of Diocles, although, as it appears, he entirely remodelled the civil law.^a We must pass hastily over the later times, remarking in general, that a feeble democracy continued to exist, frequently contending with clubs of oligarchs,^b and afterwards falling into the hand of tyrants who had risen from demagogues; such, for instance, as Agathocles, who undertook to bring about a redivision of the lands, and an abolition of all claims of debt.^c Hiero II. did not suppress the council of the city, which Hieronymus never consulted; but as it again returned into existence immediately after the death of the latter prince, it appears that it could not have been a body chosen annually, but a board appointed for a considerable period.^d The generals had at all times very large powers, especially in the popular assembly, in which, however, persons of the lowest condition had liberty to speak.^e Another military office also, that of the *hipparchs*, exercised a superintendence over the internal affairs of the state, in order to guard against disturbances.^f

^a Diod. XIII. 35. XVI. 70.

^b Diod. XIX. 3—5. After a democracy of this kind, and before the time of Agathocles, the state was legally governed by a synedrium of 600 of the most distinguished persons (*χαρμόστειροι*), XIX. 6.

^c Diod. XIX. 4. 6—9. He also sometimes convened public assemblies, when it pleased him to play the *δημοτικός*. Diod. XX. 63, 79.

^d Otherwise it must have been

newly appointed by election or lot at the death of Hieronymus, of which Livy XXIV. 22 says not a word. The *seniores* (c. 24.) are probably members of this senate; a *γερονσία* also probably existed at that time, which occurs in a late inscription in Castelli Inscript. Sic. V. 5. p. 44.

^e Liv. XXIV. 27.

^f See Hesychius, Suidas, and Zenobius in *ἐπάρχων πίναξ*; on this tablet were entered *τὰ*

8. After this account of the constitution of Syracuse, we may proceed to notice those of GELA, and its colony AGRIGENTUM; as these cities, though deriving their origin from Rhodes, perhaps took Syracuse for their model in the formation of their government. In both states the noble and wealthy first held the ruling power; which was afterwards for a long time possessed by tyrants.^g Agrigentum, after the overthrow of Thrasydæus in 473 B. C., received a democratic constitution:^h we know, however, that at that time an assembly of a thousand, appointed for three years, governed the state. This assembly was suppressed by Empedocles the philosopher;ⁱ who obtained so large a share of popular favour that he was even offered the office of king.^k The assembly of a thousand also occurs in Rhegium and Croton, in speaking of which city we will again mention this subject. Further than this all information fails us. Scipio established anew the senate of Agrigentum, and ordered that the number of the new colonists of Manlius should never exceed that of the ancient citi-

τῶν ἀτακτούντων ὀνόματα. In Diod. XIV. 64. ἱππεῖς appears to be the name of the class of knights.

^g At Gela Cleander was tyrant, after a period of oligarchy (Aristot. Pol. V. 10. 4.), from 505 to 498 B. C. (Herod. VII. 157. Dion. Hal. VII. 1. Pausan. VI. 9.); then his brother Hippocrates 498—491 B. C. Gelon in 491 B. C. At Agrigentum there was a timocracy (Arist. Pol. V. 8. 4.), then Phalaris 555—548 B. C. according to Eusebius and Bentley, then

Alcmanes and Alcander (Herod. Pont. 36.), Theron 488—473 B. C. according to Boeckh, and Thrasydæus, who was expelled in the same year.

^h Diod. XI. 53. κομισάμενοι τὴν δημοκρατίαν.

ⁱ See Diogen. Laërt. VIII. 66. Timæus Fragm. 2. ed. Geller. Sturz Empedocles, p. 108.

^k Aristot. ap. Diog. VIII. 63. The words, ὥστε οὐ μόνον ἦν τῶν πλουσίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τὰ δημοτικά φρονούντων, do not present any difficulty.

zens.^l The same senate, in an inscription of the Roman time,^m is called σύγκλητος, συνέδριον, and βουλῇ, and appears to have consisted of 110 members; the day of meeting is stated: it appears that the senate then alternated every two months;ⁿ the decree of the senate is referred to the popular assembly (ἀλία); over which a προάγορος presided^o (which was also the name of the supreme magistrate at Catana in the time of Cicero);^p the Hyllean tribe has the precedence on the day of this assembly. A hierothytes gives his name to the year, corresponding to the amphipolus at Syracuse; in whose place a hierapolus^q is mentioned in a similar decree of Gela,^r together with whom a κατενιαύσιος, an annual magistrate (perhaps archon), is mentioned. In this state the senate (βουλῇ) appears to have been changed every half year,^s their decrees being also confirmed by the assembly (ἀλία);^t the assembly is led by a προστάτης, the same magistrate whom we have already met with in nearly all the democratic states of the Dorians, in Argos, Corcyra, and Syracuse.^u

9. We now return to Peloponnesus. In SICYON the tyrants had, as in other states, been the leaders of a democratic party;^x but their dominion put an end

^l Cic. Verr. I. 2. 50.

^m Gruter, p. 401. Castelli, p. 79, &c.

ⁿ Ἀλιασμα ἑκτὰς διμήνων Καρυεῖον ἐξηκοντος ΠΕΜΠΤΑΙ. See above concerning Rhodes, § 3.

^o The Hierothytes was the παρπροστάτης of the βουλῇ (ΠΑΡΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΑ ΤΑΣ should be written).

^p Verr. I. 4. 23, 39.

^q Concerning the ἱεράπολοι see Boissonade in the Classical Journal, vol. XVII. p. 396.

^r Maffei Mus. Veron. p. 329.

Muratori, p. 642, 1. Castello, p. 84. cf. ibid. p. 25.

^s Βουλὰς ἀλιασμα (vulg. ἀλιασματά) δευτέρως ἑξαμήνου Καρυεῖον τριακάδι.

^t Εδοξε τὰ ἀλία καθα καὶ τὰ βουλὰ, as the sense requires us to read with Castello.

^u See also the Calymnian decree (Chandler, p. 21. n. 85.) εδοξε τὰ βουλὰ καὶ τῷ δαμφγνωμα προστάταν.

^x B. I. ch. 8. § 2.

to the times of disturbance and irregularity, which had occasioned the Pythian priestess to say, that "Sicyon "needed a disciplinarian."^y After their overthrow an early constitution was restored, which remained unshaken during the Peloponnesian war. We are only informed that in 418 B. C. the Lacedæmonians made the constitution more oligarchical;^z that it had not previously been entirely democratical, is shown by the fidelity with which Sicyon adhered to the head of the Peloponnesian league. After the battle of Leuctra we find that Sicyon possessed an Achæan constitution, i. e., one founded on property, in which the rich were supreme;^a Euphron, in 369 B. C., undertook to change this into a democracy, and thus obtained the tyranny, until the party of the nobles, whom he persecuted, overthrew him.^b Plutarch states most clearly the changes in this constitution; "after the unmixed "and Doric aristocracy^c had been destroyed, Sicyon "fell from one sedition, from one tyranny into another;" until, at the time of Aratus, it adopted the almost purely democratical institutions of the Achæans.

As PHILIUS during the whole Peloponnesian war remained faithful to the interest of Sparta and hostile to Argos, it is evident that the state was under an aristocratic government.^d In a revolution which took place before 383 B. C. the Lacedæmonian party had been expelled, but were in the same year again received by the people; the government, however, did not become democratical, until Agesilaus, introduced by the former party, conquered the city, and remo-

^y Plutarch. de sera Num. Vind. 7. p. 231.

^z Thucyd. V. 81.

^a Xen. Hell. VII. 1. 44.

^b VII. 1. 45. VII. 3. 4.

^c "Ἀκρατος καὶ Δωρικὴ ἀριστοκρατία, Plutarch. Arat. 2.

^d Some members of the oligarchical party of Argos also fled to Philus, Thucyd. V. 83.

delled the constitution^e (379 B. C.). Before this period the democratic assembly consisted of more than 5000 members, those who were inclined to the Lacedæmonians furnished above 1000 heavy-armed soldiers. A very regular system of government is proved to have existed, by the patience and heroism with which the Phliasians, in 372—376 B. C., defended their city and country against the attacks of the Argives, Arcadians, Eleans, and Thebans, until, without breaking their fidelity to Sparta, they concluded a peace with Thebes and Argos (366 B. C.).

10. IN MEGARA the tyranny of Theagenes, to which he rose from a demagogue, was overthrown by Sparta, and the early constitution restored, which for a time was administered with moderation,^f but even during the Persian war it had already been rendered more democratical by the admission of Periæci.^g The elegiac poet Theognis shows himself about this time the zealous friend of aristocracy;^h he dreads in particular men who stir up the populace to evil, and, as leaders of parties, cause disorder and dissension in the peaceful city; he laments the disappearance of the pride of nobility, the general eagerness for riches, and the increase of a crafty and deceitful disposition.ⁱ These struggles after popular

^e Xen. Hell. V. 2. 8. sqq. V. 3. 10. sqq. V. 3. 21. sqq. Fifty persons of each party made a plan for a new constitution, Hell. V. 3. 25. The refugees residing at Argos, in 375 B. C. were manifestly democrats, the same as in Xen. Hell. VII. 2. 5. in 369 B. C.

^f Plutarch. Qu. Gr. 18. Μεγαρεῖς Θεαγένη — ἐκβαλόντες, ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐσωφρόνησαν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν.

^g See above, ch. 3. § 3. It appears to me nearly certain that the passage refers to Megara near Corinth.

^h See above, ch. 1. § 4. ch. 4. § 8.

ⁱ V. 43, 66, 847. ed. Bekker. [See generally on the aristocratic tendency of the poetry of Theognis, and the constitution of Megara, Welcker, *Prolegomena ad Theognin*, pp. x—xli.]

liberty, promoted by demagogues, soon produced the greatest disturbance; the people no longer paid the interest of their debts, and even required a cession of that which had been already paid (*παλινοτομία*); the houses of the rich, and the very temples, were plundered; many persons were banished for the purpose of confiscating their property.^k It was perhaps at this time that the Megarians adopted the democratic institution of ostracism.^l The nobles, however, soon returned, conquered the people in a battle, and restored an oligarchy, which was the more oppressive, as the public offices were for a time exclusively filled by persons who had fought against the people.^m It is probable that the consequence of this return was the revolt of Megara from Athens, in 446 B.C.;ⁿ in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedæmonian party was predominant. But in the eighth year of the war the aristocratic party of Megara was in banishment at Pegæ; and when they were about to be recalled, and restored to their city, the leaders of the people preferred to have the Athenians in the town rather than the citizens whom they had driven from their walls. By the influence of Brasidas, however, they returned, upon a promise of amnesty, which they did not long observe. For having first obtained the supreme offices (to which they must therefore have had a particular claim), they brought a hundred of their chief enemies before the people, and forced

^k Aristot. Pol. V. 2. 6. V. 4. 3. Plut. ubi sup. I suspect that Theognis (v. 677.) speaks of this period, *χρήματα δ' ἀρπάζουσι βίᾳ, κόσμος δ' ἀπόλωλεν*, and in the whole political allegory of the passage. This was the time of the violence done

to the Peloponnesian theori, Plutarch ubi sup. p. 59.

^l Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 851. Phavorinus in *ὀστρακίνδα*.

^m Aristot. Pol. V. 4. 3. IV. 12. 10.

ⁿ Thuc. I. 114. cf. 103.

them to pass sentence upon the accused with open votes. The people, terrified by this measure, condemned them to death. At the same time the dominant party established a close and strict oligarchy,^o which remained in existence for a very long period.^p In 375 B.C., we again find that democracy was the established constitution, and that the attempts of the oligarchs to change it were defeated.^q Demosthenes^r mentions a court of three hundred in this state, sitting in judgment on public offences; and at this time nobility and wealth were frequently united in the same persons. Of the Megarian magistrates we have already mentioned a king,^s to which may now be added the hieromnamon, an office always held by the priest of Poseidon,^t and probably having the same duties and privileges as the amphipolus, hierapolus, and hierothytes in the Sicilian states. The antiquity of this office is evident from its occurrence in the colonies of Megara, Byzantium and Chalcedon. In the former a hieromnamon is mentioned in a decree quoted by Demosthenes,^u who gives his name to the year; in the latter, a decree now extant^x mentions first a king, then a hieromnamon, then a prophet, together with three nomophylaces, all administering the public

^o Thuc. IV. 66, 74.

^p Thuc. ubi sup. et V. 31. In this aristocratic period the *πρόβουλοι* were magistrates of high authority in Megara, Aristoph. Acharn. 755.

^q Diod. XV. 40.

^r *περὶ παραπρεσβείας*, pp. 435, 436.

^s Above, p. 113, note ⁱ.

^t Plutarch. Symp. VIII. 8. 4. p. 379, where indeed the expression is very indefinite.

^u De Corona, p. 255. and in another decree in Polyb. IV. 52. 4. They also occur in coins.

^x In Caylus, Recueil, II. pl. 55. in the king's library at Paris. It is the same which Corsini F. A. I. 2. p. 469. considered as Delphian. It decrees a crown to a *Ἀγεμὼν βουλᾶς*, and the eight persons whose names are subscribed are probably senators.

affairs (*αἰσυμνῶντες*) for the appointed term of a month. The two first we have already seen united in the very same manner at Megara; the third refers to the worship of Apollo, of the transfer of which from the mother-state to Chalcedon we have already spoken, and pointed out an oracle of Apollo which was delivered there;⁷ the nomophylaces also occur at Sparta. The hieromnamon was probably priest also of Poseidon in the colonies, the worship of which god, deriving its origin from the Isthmus of Corinth, was at least more prevalent than any other.⁸

11. The constitution of BYZANTIUM was at first royal,^a afterwards aristocratical,^b and the oligarchy, which soon succeeded, was, in 390 B.C., changed by Thrasybulus the Athenian into democracy.^c Equal privileges were at the same time probably granted to the new citizens, who, on account of their demands, had been driven from the city by the ancient colonists.^d After this, the democracy appears to have continued for a long time;^e but on account of the duration of this form of government, and the habit of passing their

⁷ Vol. I. p. 250, note 1.

⁸ See, besides other writers, Boettiger, *Amalthea*, vol. II. p. 304.—Of the hieromnemons Letronne has treated at full length, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tom. VI. p. 221, but without remarking that, besides Delphi, they are peculiar to Megara and its colonies.

^a At least if Dineus (*Dinæus*) was king, see book I. ch. 6. § 9; this Dineus is, however, called by Hesychius Milesius, § 20, only general of the Byzantians, and *τοπάρχης* of Chalcedon. He appears, nevertheless, to be an historical personage.

Concerning the bondslaves, see above, ch. 4, § 5.

^b According to Hesychius Milesius, *Λέων τις τῶν Βυζαντίων ἀριστοκρατίαν ἐδέξατο*.

^c Xen. *Hell.* IV. 8. 27. What the Thirty in Diodorus XIV. 12. are, whom Clearchus put to death after the magistrates, we are entirely ignorant, since the right explanation or emendation of the word *Βουρωδὸς* is still a desideratum.

^d Aristot. *Pol.* V. 2. 10.

^e Theopompus ap. Athen. XII. p. 526 E. cf. Memnon. 23. ap. Phot. *Biblioth.* p. 724.

time in the market-place and the harbour, which the people had contracted from the situation of the town, a great dissoluteness of manners existed; and this was also transferred to the neighbouring city of Chalcedon; which had adopted the Byzantine democracy, and, together with its ancient constitution, had lost the temperance and regularity for which it had been distinguished. In these times the Byzantians were frequently in great financial difficulties, from which they often endeavoured to extricate themselves by violent measures.^f In the document quoted by Demosthenes, the senate (*βωλὰ*) transfers a decree in its first stage, called *ρήτρα*,^g to an individual, in order to bring it before the people in the assembly (*ἀλία*), nearly in the same manner as was customary at Athens; the existing constitution is called in this document *ἀ πατριος πολιτεία*. The office of archon was perhaps introduced together with the democracy;^h the civil authority of the generals existed in many states in later times. The hundreds (*ἐκατοστῦς*) occur apparently as a subdivision of the tribes,ⁱ and therefore as a species of *phratriæ*; ^k they were probably common to all the colonies of Megara, since we find them in Heraclea on the Pontus. In this city we know to a certainty that the hundreds were divisions of the tribes, of which there were three;^l the rich (i. e., the

^f Pseud-Aristot. *Œcon.* II. 2. 3. The transit duties levied at the Bosphorus are well known, Boeckh's *Economy of Athens*, vol. II. p. 40.

^g A decree of the senate before it had received the sanction of the people was also called *ρήτρα* in Sparta; see above, ch. 5. § 8.

^h It occurs on coins. See

Heyne *Comment. rec. Gotting.* vol. I. p. 8.

ⁱ Pseud-Aristot. *ubi sup.*

^k Chandler. *Inscript. App.* 12. p. 94.

^l Æneas Poliorcet. 11. (ad calc. Polyb.) *οὐσῶν αὐτοῖς τριῶν φυλῶν καὶ τεττάρων ἐκατοστῶν*. There must evidently have been more than four hundreds to three tribes, as Casaubon re-

possessors of the original lots) were all in the same hundred; but the demagogues, intending to destroy the aristocracy, divided the people into sixty new hundreds, independent of the tribes, in which rich and poor were entered without distinction: nearly the same measure as that by which Cleisthenes had so greatly raised the democracy at Athens.

This HERACLEA PONTICA, a settlement in part of Bœotians, but chiefly from Megara,^m had doubtless originally possessed the same constitution as other Doric colonies; and the different classes were, first, the possessors of the original lots; secondly, a *demus*, or popular party, who had settled either at the same time or subsequently; and, thirdly, the bondslaves, the Mariandynians.ⁿ Although we are not able to give any detailed account of the changes in the government of this state, it may be observed, that for a time the citizens alone had political power (the *πολίτευμα*); but that the people had the privilege of judging (that is, probably in civil cases), which occasioned a change in the constitution.^o Before 364 B.C. the popular party demanded with violence an abolition of debts, and a new division of the territory; the senate, which at that time was not a body selected from the people, but from the aristocracy,^p at length, being unable to act for itself, knew no other means than to call in the assistance of Clearchus, an exile, who im-

marks. Perhaps we should read *τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσι ἑκατοστύων*, or with Goettling (Hermes, vol. XXV. p. 155.) *τεττάρων ἐν ἑκάστη ἑκατοστύων*. Casaubon's emendation of *τεττάρων* for *τεττάρωντα* is not admissible, as forty is not divisible by three without a re-

mainder. The event probably took place before the 104th Olympiad, 364 B.C.

^m See book I. ch. 6. § 10.

ⁿ See above, ch. 4. § 5.

^o Aristot. Pol. V. 5. 6.

^p This is evident from the context of the passage in Justin. XVI. 4.

mediately marched with a body of soldiers into the city. But, instead of protecting the dignity of those who had called him in, he became a leader of the people, and, what in fact he is already, who sets the blind fury and physical force of the multitude in action against justice and good order—a tyrant.¹ Clearchus put to death sixty of the members of the senate, whom he had seized,² liberated their slaves, i. e., the Mariandynians; and compelled their wives and daughters to marry these bondsmen, unquestionably the best means of extirpating an hereditary aristocracy; but the pride of noble descent was so strong in the breasts of these women, that the greater number freed themselves from the disgrace by suicide. It must be supposed, that a tyranny administered in so violent a spirit, and continued through several generations, destroyed every vestige of the ancient constitution.³

12. In the Spartan colony of CNIDOS the government was a close aristocracy. At the head of the state was a council of sixty members, who were chosen from among the nobles. Its powers were precisely the same as those of the Spartan gerusia, from which its number is also copied. It debated concerning all

¹ Compare with Justin Æneas Poliorc. 12.

² According to Polyænus II. 30. 2. Clearchus caused the whole senate of 300 to be put to death, which is here represented as a standing body.

³ Of the Megarian colony *Astypalæa* we have inscriptions in tolerable preservation, but not until the last times of independence, when the constitution became similar to that of Athens. An inscription, already quoted in vol. I. p. 116, note 1, be-

gins *εδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δαμῷ φιλ. ἐνεὺς ἐπεστατεὶ γνῶμα πρυτανίων ἐπεί* δὴ Ἀρκεσίλας Μοιραγενεὺς αἰ[ρεθεὶς] ἀγορανομὸς ἐπεμελήθη τοῦ δαμου μετὰ πάσας φιλοτιμίας, &c. Another contains *συνθήκαι* between the *δῆμος τῶν Ἀστυπαιαίων* and the *δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων*; in this also we read, *εδοξε τῷ δήμῳ Εὐχωνίδας Εὐκλεὺς ἐπεστατεὶ πρυτανίων [γνῶμα]*. See Boeckh Corp. Inscript. Gr. Nos. 2483. 2485.

public affairs, previously to their being laid before the assembly of the people, and had the superintendence of manners. The office lasted for life, and was subject to no responsibility.¹ The members were styled ἀμνήμενες, and the president was called ἀφεστήρ, who inquired the opinion of each councillor. Only one person from each family was eligible to the council and public offices, younger brothers being excluded. This occasioned dissensions between members of the same family; those who were not admitted joined the popular party, and the oligarchy was overthrown.² This event probably took place a short time before the life of Aristotle. Eudoxus the philosopher, and Archias, a person of whom little is known, are mentioned as legislators of the Cnicians.³

In the Spartan island of MELOS we find nothing remarkable, except that the power of the magistrates was at least greater than at Athens.⁴ Of the ancient constitution of THERA, and of its ephors, we have already spoken.⁵

13. The changes in the government of CYRENE we pointed out when speaking of the Periœci. Originally the constitution was perhaps nearly similar to that of Sparta. Afterwards the ancient rights of the colonists came into collision with the claims of the later settlers, and at the same time the kings obtained an unconstitutional and nearly tyrannical power. It appears that they were stimulated by their connexion, both by friendship and marriage, with the sovereigns of Egypt, to change the ancient

¹ All this is stated in Plutarch. The latter by Theodoretus Qu. Gr. 4. Græc. Aff. IX. 16.

² Aristot. Pol. V. 5. 3, 11.

³ The former by Hermippus ap. Diog. Laërt. VIII. 88. and Plutarch. in Colot. 32. p. 194.

⁴ Thucyd. V. 84.

⁵ Above, ch. 6, § 10, and ch. 7, § 1.

royalty into an oriental despotism. Hence, in the reign of Battus III., Demonax the Mantinean, who was called in to frame a constitution for this city, restored the supremacy of the community; he likewise gave to the new colonists equal rights of citizenship with the ancient citizens, although the latter doubtless still retained many privileges. The power of the kings was limited within the narrowest bounds; and they were only permitted to enjoy the revenues flowing from the sacerdotal office and their own lands,^a whereas they had before claimed possession of the whole property of the state;^b they had, like the Spartan kings, a seat and vote in the council, and probably presided over it, which duties were performed by Pheretime, the mother of Arcesilaus III., during the absence of her son.^c These restrictions were, however, violently opposed by the princes just mentioned, as well as by their successors, who thus drew upon themselves their own ruin. Arcesilaus also, to whom Pindar addressed an ode, the fourth of the name, ruled with harshness, and protected his power by foreign mercenaries;^d and the poet doubtless advised him with good reason, although without success, "*not to destroy with sharp axe the branches of the great oak (the nobles of the state), and disfigure its beautiful form; for that, even when deprived of its vigour, it gives proof of its power, when the de-*

^a Τεμένεια in the Homeric sense, Herod. IV. 161. Cf. Diod. Exc. 8. vol. II. p. 551. Wesseling. Τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα in Herodotus, IV. 162. which Arcesilaus wished to regain, refers to the revenues, as well as to the privileges of which

the kings had been deprived. Compare Thrige, Res Cyrenensium, p. 154. note.

^b Diod. vol. II. p. 550. Wess.

^c Herod. IV. 165.

^d Boeckh Explic. ad Pind. Pyth. IV. p. 266.

"*structive fire of winter (of insurrection) snatches it; or, having left its own place desolate, serves a wretched servitude, supporting with the other columns the roof of the royal palace*" (i. e., if the people in despair throws itself under the dominion of a foreign king).^e But the soothing hand with which the poet advises that the wounds of the state should be treated was not that of Arcesilaus, celebrated only for his boldness and valour. For these reasons he was the last in the line of the princes of Cyrene (after 457 B.C.), and a democratical government succeeded. His son Battus took refuge in the islands of the Hesperides, where he died; and the head of his corpse was thrown by these republicans into the sea.^f The new form of government obtained stability and duration by an entire change; the number of the tribes and phratrias was increased, the political union of the houses destroyed, the family rites were incorporated in the public worship,^g &c. Some element of disturbance and revolution must, however, have been still left in the constitution,^h if the Cyrenæans requested Plato to contrive for them a temperate and well-ordered government, which the philosopher is said to have declined, on the ground that they seemed too prosperous to themselves. At a later period, Lucullus the Roman

^e Pyth. IV. 263. according to Boeckh's explanation.

^f Heracl. Pont. 4.

^g Aristotle Pol. V. 2. 11. says, that the founders of the democracy at Cyrene established other and more tribes; which statement must be referred to this time; for that by the τὸν δῆμον καθιστάντες Demonax is not meant, is evident from the

circumstance that this person only instituted three tribes, and therefore could hardly have increased their number. See Thrige, Res Cyrenensium, pp. 103—192.

^h See also concerning the contest between a democratic and aristocratic party in Olymp. 95. 1. 400 B.C. Diod. XIV. 34.

is said to have restored the city to tranquillity, after many wars and tyrannies.ⁱ

14. In the constitution of the Lacedæmonian colony of TARENTUM there were two chief periods. In the first we must infer, from the analogy of the other Doric colonies, that there was the same division of ranks, viz., noble citizens, governing the state under a king;^k the people, to whom few and limited powers were allowed; and aboriginal bondsmen, chiefly residing upon the lands of the highest class.^l This constitution must, however, have been gradually relaxed; for Aristotle calls it a *politeia* in the limited sense, which, as he informs us, lasted over the Persian war, and did not pass into a democracy until a large part of the nobles had been slain in a bloody battle against the Iapygians (474 B.C.)^m The transition was introduced without any violent revolution, by some measures, in which the aristocracy submitted to the claims of the people. First of all, according to Aristotle,ⁿ they

ⁱ Plut. Lucull. 2.—Concerning the ephors of Cyrene see above, ch. 7. § 1.

^k Ch. 6. § 10.

^l Concerning these see above, page 52. note ^f. From these Pelasgian bondsmen, bands of robbers, called περιδιννοι, proceeded, according to Plato Leg. VI. p. 777. Cf. Athen. VI. p. 267.

^m Polit. V. 2. 8. See Heyne Opusc. Acad. vol. II. p. 221.

ⁿ Aristot. Pol. VI. 3. 5. οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, κοινὰ ποιῶντες τὰ κτήματα τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐπὶ τὴν χρῆσιν, εὐνοὺν παρασκευάζουσι τὸ πλεονέκτημα. ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς πάσας ἐποίησαν διττὰς, τὰς μὲν αἰρετὰς, τὰς δὲ κληρωτάς· τὰς μὲν κληρωτάς, ὅπως ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν

μετέχῃ, τὰς δ' αἰρετὰς, ἵνα πολιτεύωνται βέλτιον. These institutions can only be referred to this period, for the present tense παρασκευάζουσι shows their existence when the author was writing; ἐποίησαν refers only to the time of the institution, and the words ἵνα μετέχῃ again prove their actual existence.—As to the interpretation of the words κοινὰ ποιῶντες τὰ κτήματα ἐπὶ τὴν χρῆσιν, it is known that at Rome, when the *ager publicus* was divided among the plebeians, it was either given them by assignation as absolute property (*mancipium*, *dominium*), in which case it ceased to be *publicus*; or it was held by *possessiones*, in early times by the

divided the public property among the poorer classes; but only gave them the use of it; i. e., apparently the public lands were apportioned out to them; but at the payment of a small rent, in token that they had not the absolute property in the soil. Besides this popular measure, the number of all the public offices was doubled; and one half was filled by election, the other by lot; in order, by the latter mode of nomination, to open a way to their attainment by the lower orders. This democracy at first promoted to a great degree the prosperity and power of the state,^o while persons of character and dignity were at the head of the government; for example, one of the first men of the time, Archytas the Pythagorean, a man of singular vigour and wisdom, who, as well as all adherents of the Pythagorean league (of which he could not then have been a member), was of an aristocratical disposition.^p He was general seven times, although it was prohibited by law that the same person should hold this office more than once,^q and never suffered a defeat: the people with a noble confidence entrusted to him for a

patricians, who only occupied it with an usufructuary right, while the land remained *publicus*, was not marked out with limits, and could be at any time reclaimed by the state (See Niebuhr's Roman History, vol. II. p. 363. sqq. ed. 1. Eng. Transl. compare vol. I. note 443. ed. 2.). The occupation of the public lands of Tarentum was probably allowed to the poor on similar conditions. As to the *δίττας ποιεῖν τὰς ἀρχάς*, Aristotle seems to mean, that if, for example, there had been two agoranomi, four strategi, &c. they then made four agoranomi, eight strategi,

&c.: of whom two and four were chosen by lot, two and four by election.

^o Strabo VI. p. 280.

^p Which would also be proved by the Fragment of Archytas concerning the Spartan constitution (Stobæus Serm. 41. Orelli Opusc. Moral. vol. II. p. 254.), if it were genuine.

^q Diog. Laërt. VIII. 79. six times, according to Ælian. V. H. VII. 14. cf. III. 17.

^r Aristoxenus ap. Diog. L. VIII. 82. See Jamblich. Pythag. § 197. Hesych. Miles. in Vit. Archyt.

considerable time the entire management of public affairs.^s At a subsequent period, however, as there were no longer any men of this stamp to carry on the government, and the corruption of manners, caused by the natural fruitfulness of the country, and restrained by no strict laws, was continually on the increase, the state of Tarentum was so entirely changed, that every trace of the ancient Doric character, and particularly of the mother-country, disappeared; hence, although externally powerful and wealthy, it was from its real internal debility, in the end, necessarily overthrown, particularly when the insolent violence of the people became a fresh source of weakness.^t

15. On the constitution of the Tarentine colony HERACLEA (433 B.C.) the monuments extant, although important in other respects, afford little information. In the well-known inscription of this city, an ephor gives his name to the year, five chosen surveyors (*ῥευσταί*) are to value the sacred lands of Bacchus, and to measure it according to the rules of Etruscan *agrimensores*, upon the decree of the public assembly,^u in order to ascertain what had been lost in the course of time, and to secure the remainder. After this, the state, two polianomi, and the horistæ, let the sacred land according to a decree of the Heracleans, and state the conditions; in which certain officers named *σιτα-*

^s Strab. p. 280. Demosth. Ἐρωτ. p. 1415. Plut. de Educ. lib. 10. p. 28. Præc. ger. Reip. 28. p. 191. Cf. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. ed. Harles. vol. II. p. 30.

^t Concerning the *ἀσέλγεια* and *ὑβρις* of the Tarentines, see particularly Dionys. Hal. ed. Mai. XVII. 5, 7.—Α βουλὴ at Tarentum, whose *προβούλευμα*

was necessary for a declaration of war, in Livy VIII. 27. A public assembly deciding concerning peace and war, Diod. XIX. 70. Plut. Pyrrh. 13. Cheirotonia of this assembly, Plut. Qu. Gr. 42. from Theophrastus.

^u See above, p. 88. note 1.

γεγραμμένοι are mentioned as inspectors of the public corn-magazine. The annual polianomi are bound to take care that the contracts of lease shall be observed; they carry on inquiries upon this subject jointly with ten sworn colleagues, elected by the people, in case of any breach of contract, collect the appointed fines, and refer, in cases of singular importance, to the public assembly, they themselves being subject to the responsibility.

16. To these we may add CROTON, since this city, founded under the authority of Sparta by a Heraclide, and therefore revering Hercules himself as its founder,^x must be considered as belonging to the Doric race, although at a later period the more numerous Achæan portion of the population appears to have preponderated. Croton was the soil upon which Pythagoras endeavoured to realise his notions of a true aristocracy, an endeavour in which he succeeded. This, however, we cannot comprehend, unless we consider his ideal state as no airy project or phantom of the brain, but rather as founded upon national feelings, and as being even the foundation of the governments of Sparta, Crete, and the cities of Lower Italy, in which Pythagoras first appeared: and for this reason he is described as in part merely to have restored and renewed; for example, to have destroyed tyrannies, quieted the claims of the people, and re-established ancient rights,^y &c. Croton, however, he selected as the centre of his operations, as being under the protection of Apollo, his household god;^z and, secondly, as being the "city of the healthy," an advan-

^x See b. I. ch. 6. § 12. and 15. p. 255, 257. Cf. Porph. Pythag. II. ch. 12. § 5.

^y Jambl. Pythag. 7. p. 33. ^z B. II. ch. 38 7

tage which it owed to its climate, to gymnastic exercises, and to purer morals than were prevalent at least in the neighbouring cities of Tarentum and Sybaris. The government of this city was, when the philosopher came forward, in the hands of the senate of a thousand,^a which formed a synedrion; the Crotoniats are reported to have offered to Pythagoras the presidency of this senate,^b probably as prytanis.^c A similar senate of a thousand existed at Agrigentum in the time of Empedocles; the same number of persons, elected according to their property, were sole governors at Rhegium.^d This council of a thousand members also existed at Locri.^e From this we may infer that the thousand of Croton were the most wealthy citizens: who in states of which the power is derived from the possession of land are, before the government is disturbed by revolutions, generally identical with the noble families. At Croton they had power to decide in most affairs without the ratification of the popular assembly,^f and also possessed a judicial authority.^g Now the council instituted by Pythagoras (which appears not to have been formed of members elected according to property, but to have been chosen on purely aristocratical principles) only contained three hundred members,^h a number which frequently occurs under similar circumstances;ⁱ at the head of this council was Pythagoras himself. One of the most remarkable phenomena in the political history

^a Jambl. Pythag. 9. p. 45. and Dicæarchus ap. Porphy. 18. who calls the members γεροντες. Perhaps the σύγκλητος in Diod. XII. 9. is the same.

^b Valer. Max. VIII. 15. ext. 1.

^c See above, p. 140, note m.

^d Heraclid. Pont. 25.

^e See below, ch. 11. § 6.

^f Jamblich. 35. p. 260.

^g See b. I. ch. 6. § 12.

^h Diog. Laërt. VIII. 3. See Apollon. ap. Jamblich. 35. p. 254, 261. Justin. XX. 4.

ⁱ See above, ch. 5. § 4.

of the Greeks is, that the philosophy of order, of unison, of κόσμος, expressing, and consequently enlisting on its side, the combined endeavours of the better part of the people, obtained the management of public affairs, and held possession of it for a considerable time; so that the nature and destination of the political elements in existence being understood, and each having assigned to it its proper place, those who were qualified both by their rank and talents were placed at the head of the state; a strict self-education having in the first place been made one of their chief obligations (as it was of the φύλακες of Plato), in order by this means to prepare the way for the education of the other members of the community. At present it is generally acknowledged that the Pythagorean league was in great part of a political nature, that its object was to obtain a formal share in the administration of states, and that its influence upon them was of the most beneficial kind, which continued for many generations in Magna Græcia after the dissolution of the league itself.^k This dissolution was caused by the natural opposers of an aristocracy of this description, the popular party and its leaders; for in this character alone could Cylon have been the author of the catastrophe which he occasioned; it is recorded, that the opposition of this order to an agrarian law, which referred to the division of the territory of the conquered Sybaris among the people, served to inflame

^k The elucidation of this fact is without doubt the work of Meiners, Geschichte der Wissenschaften, vol. III. ch. 3. The reason why Plato, de Rep. X. p. 600, represents Pythagoras as one who had been a master of education not in a public

but a private capacity, is, that the Pythagorean discipline and mode of living, the βίος ἐπὶ στήθῃ, was only kept up as a private institution, while the public regulations of Pythagoras had long fallen into oblivion.

their minds.¹ The opposite party demanded that the whole people should have admittance to the public assemblies and to public offices, that all magistrates at the expiration of their offices should render an account to a tribunal composed of members elected by lot,^m that all existing debts should be cancelled, and that the lands should be newly divided:ⁿ from which we must infer, that the highest officers of the Pythagoreans were, according to the Spartan and Cretan principle, irresponsible, and that they considered election by vote as necessary for all such situations. How fatal to the quiet of Lower Italy were the convulsions which followed the destruction of this league (about 500 B.C.), is proved by the large share which the whole of Greece took in their pacification. This was at length effected by the Italian cities entirely giving up the Doric customs, and adopting an Achæan government and institutions;^o which they were afterwards, first by the power of Dionysius of Syracuse, and then of the neighbouring Barbarians, compelled to surrender. Now the Achæan constitution, according to Polybius,^p had become a democracy immediately after the overthrow of the last king Ogyges; and retained the same general character, though some subordinate parts experienced very great alterations: we also know that it was very unlike the Spartan government.^q I cannot, however, refrain from doubting whether it could properly be termed democracy at so early a period, since Xenophon states, that in Sicily, in 368—365 B.C., timocracy was the

¹ Apollonius ap. Jamblich. p. 263. See Heyne Opuscul. Acad. II. p. 178.

^m Ibid. p. 257. cf. 260.

ⁿ Jambl. 35. p. 262.

^o Polyb. II. 39. Jambl. 35.

^p II. 41. 5. and *passim*. Pausan. V. 7. 1.

^q Thucyd. V. 80.

prevailing form of government, "according to the laws of the Achæans,"¹ which words cannot be referred to a mere transitory condition of that race. There also was always among the Achæans an equestrian order (ἵππεῖς), of greater consideration and influence on the government than can be reconciled with complete democracy.² So also at Croton, in the year of the city 637 (117 B.C.), there was a complete democracy; but (as in all the cities of the Italian Greeks at this period) a senate of nobles existed, which was frequently at open war with the people.³

17. Lastly, it is proper to mention the constitution of DELPHI, if our supposition is admitted to be correct, that the most distinguished Delphian families were of Doric origin.⁴ It was also shown that these families composed at an early period a close aristocracy; the priests were chosen from among the nobles, to whom the management of the oracle belonged; from their body was taken the Pythian court of justice (which may be compared with the Spartan gerusia, and the Athenian court of the ephetae), as well as the chief magistrates, among whom in early times a king,⁵ and afterwards a prytanis, was supreme.⁶ At a later period we find mention of archons who gave their name to the year.⁷ At the same time a popular party was formed (perhaps from the subjects of the temple), which in a later age at least exercised its authority in

¹ Hell. VII. 1. 44.

² See, for example, Plutarch. Philopœmen. 7, 18.

³ Liv. XXIV. 2, 3.

⁴ B. II. ch. 1. § 8. Above, ch. 8. § 3.

⁵ Above, ch. 6. § 10. From the passage quoted it is seen that even in Plutarch's time a βασιλεὺς, in name at least, ex-

isted.

⁶ Above, ch. 8. § 8.

⁷ Boeckh Corp. Inscript. Nos. 1688, 1689, 1694, 1705.

The Delphian archons Gylidas and Diodorus in Olymp. 47. 3. 590 B.C. and 49. 3. 582 B.C. (Argument. Schol. Pind. Pyth.) were, however, perhaps, prytanes.

a public assembly.^a The senate (βουλὴ) of Delphi was at this period, as in Gela and Rhodes (according to the hypothesis before advanced), renewed every half year; but it appears to have consisted of very few members, for only one senator (βουλευόμενος), or at most a few, in addition to the archon, are named in the donatory decrees of Delphi.^b Many particulars which belong to a later date we pass over, as our only object is to point out the characteristic points of the ancient constitution.

18. From these various accounts it follows, that although there was no one form of government common to the Doric race in historic times, yet in many of these states we find a constitution of nearly the same character, which preceded and caused the subsequent changes and developments; and was of unequal duration in different states. This constitution, which we, with Pindar, consider as most strongly marked in the *Spartan* form of government, was of a strictly aristocratic character;^c hence Sparta was the basis and corner-stone of the Greek aristocracies, and in this country alone the nobility ever retained their original dignity and power. Hence also Sparta, during the flourishing period of her history, never had a large number of exiles on political grounds, while in the other Grecian states the constant revolutions to which they were subject generally kept one party or other of the citizens in banishment; nor did she ever ex-

^a Ibid. No. 1693.

^b Ibid. Nos. 1702. sqq.

^c Ἀριστοκρατικὴ καὶ ἀριστοκρατικὴ πολιτεία, Plutarch. Comp. Lycurg. et Num. 2. According to Plutarch de Monarchia 2. p. 205. the government of

Sparta was an ἀριστοκρατικὴ ὀλιγαρχία καὶ αὐθέκαστος. Isocrates Nicocl. p. 31. D. says of the Lacedæmonians, οἱ μὲν ὀλιγαρχοῦμενοι, περὶ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον βασιλευόμενοι. Comp. Cragius I. 4.

perience any violent disturbances or changes in her constitution,^d until the number of the genuine Spartans had nearly become extinct, and the conditions necessary for the permanence of the ancient government had in part been removed. Now I call the Spartan constitution an *aristocracy*, without the least hesitation, on account of its continued and predominant tendency towards governing the community by a few, who were presumed to be the best, and as it inculcated in the citizens far less independent confidence than obedience and fear of those persons whose worth was guaranteed by their family, their education, and the public voice which had called them to the offices of state. The ancients,^e however, remark, that it might also be called a *democracy*, since the supreme power was always considered as residing in the people, and an entire equality of manners prevailed; that it might be called a *monarchy* on account of the kings;^f and that in the power of the ephors there was even an appearance of *tyranny*: so that in this one constitution all forms of government were united.^g But the animating soul of all these forms was the Doric spirit of fear and respect for ancient and established laws, and the judgment of older men, the spirit of implicit

^d Isocrat. Panath. p. 287 A. Crete also was free from tyranny, according to Plato Leg. IV. p. 711.

^e Isocrates Areopag. p. 152 A. says that the Lacedæmonians were κάλλιστα πολιτευόμενοι, because they were μάλιστα δημοκρατούμενοι. Plat. Leg. IV. p. 712 D. Aristot. Pol. II. 3. 10. IV. 5. 11. IV. 6. 4, 5. and compare Cicero de Rep. II. 23. who states that the

respublica Lacedæmoniorum was *mixta*, but not *temperata*; and on the other side the pretended Archytas in Stob. Serm. 41.

^f The king in the Doric constitution was said to honour the people, δᾶμον γεραίρειν, Pind. Pyth. I. 61.

^g The Cretan constitution also, according to Plato (ubi sup.), united every form of government.

obedience towards the state and the constituted authorities (πειθαρχία);^h and, lastly, the conviction that strict discipline and a wise restriction of actions are surer guides to safety, than a superabundance of strength and activity directed to no certain end.

The relation which, according to these Doric principles, existed between an inferior and a superior, between the private citizen and the magistrate, also extended to the Spartans and other states, as the former were for a long time considered as aristocrats when compared with the other Greeks. This superiority was not caused by external preponderance and compulsion, but by the internal acknowledgment that strict laws and a well-ordered discipline belonged to them above all. It is often curious to remark how great was the power of a Lacedæmonian cloak and stick (σκυτάλη καὶ τρίβων, as Plutarch says) among the other races of the Greeks:ⁱ how, as it were by magic, the single Gylippus, although by no means the best of his nation, brings union and stability into the people at Syracuse, and first gives all their undertakings force and effect; on more than one occasion a single Spartan was enough to unite squadrons of Æolians and Ionians of Asia, and make them act in common; and even at the times of the dissolution of the Grecian name, we see Spartans acting as the generals of mercenaries

^h To this, and not to conquests, the expression of Simonides, δαμασίμβροτος Σπάρτα, refers, according to Plutarch Agesil. 1. Compare Polyb. IV. 22. 2. Plut. Lycurg. 30. Præc. Ger. Reip. 20, 21. p. 181, 182. Lac. Apophth. p. 246. the verses of Ion the tragic poet in Sextus Empiricus adv. Ma-

them. p. 69 A. and a Spartan inscription of late date, Boeckh Corp. Inscript. No. 1350. ἡ πόλις Μ. Αἰρ. Ἀφροδείσιον—τῆς ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις Λυκούργειοις ἔθεσιν εὐψυχίας καὶ πειθαρχίας χάριν.

ⁱ See Plutarch. Lycurg. 29, 30.

bound by no other law than the firm and decided will of their leaders.

Many of the noblest and best of the Athenians always considered the Spartan state nearly as an ideal theory realised in practice; and, like Cimon and Xenophon (whose decided preference for Sparta, though perhaps sometimes prejudicial to his own country, must not be called folly), joined themselves to this state with zeal and eagerness, even to the prejudice of their own interests. The preference of all the followers of Socrates for Sparta is well known;^k and Lycurgus, the most just of financiers, united to an aristocratical disposition an admiration for the laws of Lacedæmon.^l It is singular that men of such eminence, both in a practical and theoretical view, should express their admiration of a state,^m which modern writersⁿ have often represented to us as a horde of half savages. Nor must the judgment of the persons above mentioned, who were without doubt sufficiently acquainted with the object of it, be attributed to a morbid craving after a state of nature which the Athenians had for ever lost.

We moderns, on the other hand, on account of our preconceived notions with respect to the advancement of civilization, do not read without partiality the lessons which history affords us; we refuse to recognise the

^k Compare the Platonic Socrates, Criton. 14. Protag. p. 342 C. Repub. VIII. p. 544 C. with the Socrates of Xenophon, Mem. III. 5. 15. and what Antisthenes says in Plut. Lyc. 30.

^l In Leocr. p. 166. 5. The words of Æschines, ἀλλ' οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιοι (in Timarch. 25. 32.), are merely a ridiculous imitation of Cimon.

^m Polybius IV. 81. 12. also calls the Spartan constitution καλλίστη πολιτεία.

ⁿ As, for example, the ignorant de Pauw, who was preceded among the ancients in an attempt to decry Sparta by Polycrates (probably the orator), Heyne de Spart. Rep. Comment. Gotting. vol. IX. p. 2.

most profound political wisdom in an age which we believe to have been occupied in rude attempts after the formation of a settled form of government. Far otherwise the political speculators of antiquity, such as the Pythagoreans and Plato, who considered the Spartan and Cretan form of government, i. e., the ancient Dorian, as a general model of all governments; and, in fact, the ideal constitution which was realized in Sparta approaches most nearly to that which Pythagoras attempted to establish in Lower Italy, and which Plato brought forward as capable of being put in practice, viz., a close communion, nearly similar to that of a family, having for its object mutual instruction. For the regulations of Pythagoras have many things besides their aristocratic spirit in common with the Spartan form of government, such as the public tables, and in general the perpetual living in public, with the number of laws for the maintenance of public morality (*disciplina morum*); and the community of goods, which existed among the Pythagoreans, is nearly allied to the Doric system of equalizing the landed estates. And Plato, although he at times criticises the Spartan and Cretan constitution in a somewhat unfair manner, has evidently derived his political notions, mediately or immediately, from the consideration of that form of government:^o for it is hardly possible that any person should speculate upon government, without proceeding upon some chosen historical basis, however he may endeavour to conceal it. But the Athenian and Ionic democracy he altogether despises, because that appeared on his principles to be an annihilation of government rather than a

^o Concerning the similarity of monian government, see Mor-Plato's state, and the Lacedæ- genstern de Platon. Rep. p. 305.

government, in which every person, striving to act as much as possible for himself, destroyed that unison and harmony in which each individual exists only as a part of the whole.

It would be interesting to know what were the opinions and judgments of Spartans of the better time concerning these relaxed forms of government. We may well suppose that they did not view them in a favourable light. The people of Athens must indeed have appeared to them in general, as a Lacedæmonian in Aristophanes^p expresses himself, as a lawless and turbulent rabble. For this reason they refused in the Peloponnesian war to negotiate with the whole community; and would only treat with a few selected individuals.^q Upon the whole, the state of Sparta, being, in comparison with the general mutability of the Greeks after the Persian war, like the magnet, which always pointed to the pole of ancient national customs, became dissimilar, both in political and domestic usages, to the rest of Greece;^r and for this reason the Spartans who were sent into foreign parts either gave affront by their strangeness and peculiarity, or, by their want of consistency and firmness, forfeited that confidence with which they were everywhere met.

^p ῥυάχερος, Lysistrat. 170. Compare the λάβρος στρατός of Pindar quoted above, p. 9. note ^v.
^q Thuc. IV. 22. Compare the excuses of Alcibiades VI. 89.
^r Thuc. I. 77.

CHAP. X.

§ 1. Tenure of land in Laconia. § 2. Partition of the land into lots, and their inalienability. § 3. Law of inalienability of land repealed by Epitadeus. § 4. Lacedæmonian law respecting marriage portions and heiresses. § 5. Similar regulations respecting landed property in other states. § 6. The syssitia of Crete and the phiditia of Sparta. § 7. Contributions to the public tables in Crete and Sparta. § 8. Domestic economy of Sparta. § 9. Money of Sparta. § 10. Regulations respecting the use of money in Sparta. § 11. Changes in these regulations. Taxation of the Spartans. § 12. Trade of Peloponnesus. Monetary system of the Dorians of Italy and Sicily.

1. Having now considered the individuals composing the state in reference to the supreme governing power, we will next view them in reference to property, and investigate the subject of the public economy. It is evident that this latter must have been of great simplicity in the Doric states, as it was the object of their constitution to remove everything accidental and arbitrary; and by preventing property from being an object of free choice and individual exertion, to make it a matter of indifference to persons who were to be trained only in moral excellence; hence the dominant class, the genuine Spartans, were almost entirely interdicted from the labour of trade or agriculture, and excluded both from the cares and pleasures of such occupations.^a Since then upon this principle it was the object to allow as little freedom as possible to individuals in the use of property, while the state gained what these had lost, it is manifest that under a government of this kind there could not have been any

^a Above, ch. 2. § 3.

accurate distinction between public and private economy; and therefore no attempt will be made to separate them in the following discussion.

All land in Laconia was either in the immediate possession of the state, or freehold property of the Spartans, or held by the Perioeci upon the payment of a tribute. That there were flocks and lands belonging to the state of Sparta, is evident from facts which have been already stated;^b although perhaps they were not so considerable as in Crete:^c the large forest, in which every Spartan had a right of hunting, must also have belonged to the community. There can be no doubt that this property of the state was different from the royal lands,^d which were situated in the territory of the Perioeci: it is probable that these (as well as the rest of that district) were cultivated by the Perioeci, who only paid a tribute to the king. The rest of the territory of the Perioeci was divided into numerous but small portions, of which, as has been already remarked, there were 30,000;^e a number which was probably arranged at the same time with that of the hundred towns.^f In each lot (κληρος) only one family resided, the members of which subsisted upon its produce, and cultivated it, to the best of our knowledge, without the assistance of Helots. For this reason the 9000 lots of the Spartans, which supported twice as many men as the lots of the Perioeci,^g must upon the whole have been twice as extensive; each lot must therefore have been seven times greater. Now the property of

^b Herod. VI. 57. Compare above, ch. 6. § 9.

^c See ch. 4. § 1. concerning the *μνοία*. Compare the *τεμένη* δημόσια of Byzantium in Pseudo-Aristot. *Œcon.* II. 2. 3.

^d As also in Cyrene. See ch. 9. § 13.

^e Ch. 3. § 6.

^f Ch. 2. § 1.

^g Ch. 3. § 6.

the Spartans was, according to the united testimony of all writers, set out in equal lots; probably according to some general valuation of the produce;^h for the area could not have been taken as a standard in a country where the land was of such different degrees of goodness. Yet even this method of allotment might not have precluded all inequality; which, on account of the natural changes of the soil, must in the course of time have been much augmented; and to this result the variable number of the slaves, which were strictly connected with the land, necessarily contributed. Nevertheless this fact proves that there existed a principle of equality in the contrivers of the regulation: for, as we remarked above, this division was in strictness only a lower degree of a community of goods, which the Pythagoreans endeavoured to put in practice, on the principle of the possessions of friends being common;ⁱ and which actually existed among the Spartans in the free use of dogs, horses, servants, and even the furniture of other persons.^k The whole institution of the public tables in Sparta and Crete was, indeed, only a means of producing an equal distribution of property among the members of them.^l

2. Although similar partitions of land had perhaps been made from the time of the first occupation of Laconia by the Dorians, the later division into 9000 lots cannot have taken place before the end of the

^h Compare the supposed apophthegm of Lycurgus concerning the equal ricks of corn, Plut. *Lyc.* 8.

ⁱ See, among others, Timæus ap. Schol. Plat. *Phæd.* p. 68. Ruhnke. and ap. Diog. Laërt. VIII. 10. Meiners, *Geschichte der Wissenschaft*, III. 3. Cicero

de Rep. IV. (p. 281. Mai.) ap. Non. in v. *proprium*, p. 689. Gothofr. compares Plato's *Communitas bonorum* with the institution of Lycurgus.

^k Xen. Rep. Lac. 6. 3. 4. Aristot. Pol. II. 2. 5. Plut. Lac. Inst. p. 252.

^l Aristot. Pol. II. 2. 10.

first Messenian war.^m There is something very remarkable in the historical account, that Tyrtæus by means of his poem of Eunomia repressed the desire of many citizens for a redivision of the lands.ⁿ It may be explained by supposing that the Spartans, who before that time had possessed allotments in Messenia, from which they then obtained no returns, wished that new estates in Laconia should be assigned to them.^o At the time, however, of that division Sparta must in fact have had about 9000 fathers of families (or, according to the ancient expression, so many οἶκοι), of which each received a lot; for families and lots were necessarily connected.^p If then we suppose that every family of a Spartan was provided with a lot, the chief object was to keep them together for the future by proper institutions: and to ascertain the means which were employed to attain this end (for they were upon the whole successful) is a problem which has never yet been satisfactorily solved.^q The first part was the preservation of families, in which the legislator was in ancient times assisted by the sanction of religion. Nothing was more dreaded by the early Greeks than the extinction of

^m The apophthegm of Polydorus ap. Plutarch. p. 223. shows that this king set on foot a κλήρωσις of Messenia.

ⁿ Aristot. Pol. V. 6. 1.

^o This agrees completely with a fact mentioned by Pausan. IV. 18. 2. that Tyrtæus appeased the internal troubles, which arose from Messenia having been left uncultivated, on account of the incursions of the Messenians from Eira.—It was doubtless on this occasion that the Spartans, who had lots

in Messenia, called for a fresh division of the Spartan territory; and to quiet these complaints Tyrtæus composed his Eunomia.

^p Plut. Agis 5. καὶ τῶν οἰκῶν ὃν ὁ Λυκούργος ὤρισε φυλαττόντων ἀριθμὸν ἐν ταῖς διαδοχαῖς, καὶ πατὴρ παιδὶ τὸν κληρὸν ἀπολιπόντος. See Heyne ut sup. p. 15.

^q The difficulties have been well perceived by Friederich von Raumer, Vorlesungen über alte Geschichte, vol. I. p. 236.

the family, and the destruction of the house; by which the dead lost their religious honour, the household gods their sacrifices, the hearth its flame, and the ancestors their name among the living. This was in Sparta provided against by regulations concerning heiresses, adoptions, introductions of mothaces, and other means which will presently be mentioned: those persons also who had not as yet any children were sometimes spared in war.^r The second means was the prohibition to alienate or divide the family allotment,^s which necessarily required the existence of only one heir,^t who probably was always the eldest son.^u The extent of his rights, however, was perhaps no further than that he was considered master of the house and property; while the other members of the family had an equal right to a share in the enjoyment of it. The head of the family was styled in Doric ἐστιοπάμων, *the lord of the hearth*;^v the collective members of the family were called by Epimenides the Cretan ὁμοκάποι, that is, literally, *eating from the same crib*;^w and by Charondas ὁμοσίπνοι, or *“living*

^r Thus Herodotus VI. 86. says of Glaucus the Spartan, οὔτε τι ἀπόγονον, οὔτ' ἐστὶν οὐδὲμία νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαύκον.

^s Herod. VII. 205. Compare Diod. XV. 64. also Thucyd. V. 64.

^t Heraclid Pont. 2. πωλεῖν δὲ γῆν Λακεδαιμονίοις αἰσχρὸν νομίσταται (cf. Arist. Pol. II. 6. 10.), τῆς ἀρχαίας μοίρας ἀνανέμεσθαι οὐδὲν ἔξεστι. Cf. Plut. Inst. Lac. p. 252.

^u This is quoted as a Lacedæmonian law by Proclus ad Hes. Op. 374. p. 198. Gaisford.

^w Younger brothers, however, inherited immediately, if the

elder died without lawful issue, Plutarch. Ages. 4.

^v Pollux I. 8. 75. X. 3. 20. with Hemsterhuis' note. Concerning the words derived from πάω, see Valckenær. ad Ammon. 3, 7.

^z The members of a family might be said to eat together, to be ὁμόκαποι, notwithstanding the institution of the syssitia, for the public tables did not furnish all the food. Ὀμόκαπνοι (the reading of the best MS.) comes to the same thing; as the fire of the hearth was used by the Greeks more for cooking than for warmth; and in the

"upon the same stock;"^a and by the Spartans perhaps *παῶται*.^b The master of the family was therefore obliged to contribute for all these to the *syssitia*, without which contribution no one was admitted;^c we shall see presently that he was able to provide this contribution for three men and women besides himself; the other expenses were inconsiderable.^d If, however, the family contained more than three men, which must frequently have been the case, the means adopted for relieving the excessive number were either to marry them with heiresses, or to send them out as colonists; or the state had recourse to some other means of preventing absolute want. This would have been effected with the greater ease, if it were true, as Plutarch relates, that immediately after the birth of every Spartan boy, the eldest of the tribe, sitting together in a *lesche*, gave him one of the 9000 lots.^e For this, however, it must be assumed that the state or the tribes had possession of some lots, of those perhaps in which the families had become extinct; but we know that these lots went in a regular succession to other families,^f by which means many became exceedingly rich. These elders of the tribe, mentioned by Plutarch, were therefore probably only the eldest of the *house* or *γένος*, who might take care that, if several sons and at the same time several lots had fallen together in one family, the younger sons should,

summer for the former exclusively.

^a Aristot. Pol. I. 1. 6.

^b Hesychius, *παῶται*: συγγενεῖς, οἰκεῖοι.

^c Aristot. Pol. II. 6. 21.

^d The *μικρὰ ἔχοντες* in Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 7. 4. must be those who possess no *κληρος* of

their own, like the *μικρὰν οὐσίαν κεκτημένοι* in Aristot. Pol. II. 6. 10.

^e Lycurg. 16.

^f When a family was entirely extinct, probably they passed to that next in order in the *τριακᾶς*.

as far as was possible, be in the possession of land, without however violating the indivisible unity of an allotment.

In this manner at Sparta the family, together with the estate, formed an undivided whole, under the control of one head, who was privileged by his birth. But if the number of persons to be fed was too great, as compared with the means of feeding them, the natural consequence was, that the privileged eldest brother could afford to marry, while the younger brothers remained without wives or children. This natural inference from the above account is strikingly confirmed by a most singular statement of Polybius,^g which has lately been brought to light, viz., that "in Sparta several brothers had often one wife, and that the children were brought up in common." If we may here infer a misrepresentation, to which the Spartan institutions were particularly liable, it is seen how the custom just described might cause *several* men to dwell in one house, upon the same estate, of whom *one* only had a wife. But it must be confessed that the Spartan institution was very likely to lead to the terrible abuse which Polybius mentions, particularly as the Spartan laws, as we shall see presently,^h did not absolutely prohibit the husband from allowing the procreation of children from his wife by strangers. It is therefore possible that the Hebrew institution of the Levirate-marriage (viz., that if a man died without leaving children, his widow became the wife of her former husband's brother, who was to raise up seed to his brother)ⁱ was extended in Sparta to the lifetime of the childless elder brother.

^g Mai Nov. Collect. Vet. Scriptor. vol. II. p. 384.

^h Below, § 4. near the end.

ⁱ See Deuteron. xxv. 5—10.

3. This whole system was entirely broken up by the law of the ephor Epitadeus, which permitted any person to give away his house and lot during his lifetime, and also to leave it as he chose by will.^k Whence, as might have been expected, the practice of legacy-hunting rose to a great height, in which the rich had always the advantage over the poor. This law, which was directly opposed to the spirit of the Spartan constitution, was passed after the time of Lysander, but a considerable period before Aristotle; since this writer, manifestly confounding the state of things as it existed in his time with the ancient legislation,^l reckons it as an inconsistency in the constitution of Sparta, that buying and selling of property was attended with dishonour,^m but that it was permitted to give it away, and bequeath it by will.ⁿ From that time we find that the number of the Spartans, and particularly of the landed proprietors, continually decreased. The first fact is very remarkable, and can hardly be accounted for by the wars,^o in which moreover the Spartans lost but few of their number; it was perhaps rather owing to the late marriages,

Michaëlis on the Laws of Moses, vol. II. p. 21—33. Engl. translation.

^k Plutarch Agis 5.

^l This circumstance is otherwise understood by Manso, vol. I. 2. p. 133. Tittmann, p. 660. Götting ad Arist. Pol. p. 467. endeavours to exculpate Aristotle from this charge by supposing that under the word νομοθέτης he also comprises the later innovators of the constitution; but the author nowhere shows that he had any knowledge of these changes: otherwise he could not have stated

that the destructive law of Epitadeus (for such in fact it was, which διδόναι καὶ καταλείπειν ἔξουσίαν ἔδωκε τοῖς βουλευμένοις) was a part of the original constitution, as well as the corresponding laws respecting sacrifices.

^m This also occurs in later times, Plut. Agis 13. Ælian. V. H. XIV. 44.

ⁿ II. 6. 10. To give away χρήματα, or κειμήλια, was also permitted in early time, Herod. VI. 62. Plut. Ages. 4.

^o See Clinton, F. H. vol. II. p. 383. ed. 2.

which also frequently took place between members of the same family. After all, it must be confessed that the constitution of Sparta too much restrained the natural inclination of the citizens; and by making every thing too subservient to public ends, checked the free growth of the people, and, like a plant trimmed by an unsparing hand, destroyed its means both of actual strength and future increase. At the time of Aristotle they endeavoured to increase the population by exempting the father of three sons from serving in war, and the father of four sons from all taxes.^p But even Herodotus only reckons 8000 Spartans in the 9000 families: in the middle of the Peloponnesian war Sparta did not send quite 6000 heavy-armed soldiers into the field.^q Aristotle states that in his time the whole of Laconia could hardly furnish 1000 heavy-armed men;^r and at the time of Agis the Third there were only 700 genuine Spartans.^s Even in 399 B. C. the Spartans who were in possession of lots^t did not compose a large number in comparison with the people; for the numerous Neodamodes must not be included among them, who it appears could not obtain lots in any other manner than by adoption into a Spartan family, before which time they were provided for by the state. We are entirely uninformed in what manner the loss of Messenia was borne by Sparta; it cannot be supposed

^p Ἀτελῇ πάντων, e. g., of the contribution to the syssitia, Aristot. Pol. II. 6. 13. Ælian (V. H. VI. 6.) mentions five instead of four. Manso (I. 1. p. 128.) remarks that the law can hardly have proceeded from Lycurgus.

^q See below, ch. 12. § 2.

^r Pol. II. 6. 11.

^s Plut. Ag. 5. According to

Macrobius (Sat. I. 11.) at the time of Cleomenes there were only *mille et quingenti Lacedæmonii, qui arma ferre possent*.

^t These only are called by Xenophon (Hell. III. 3. 5.) Σπαρτιάται, as is plain from the words; ὅσοι ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις Σπαρτιατῶν τύχοιεν ὄντες, ἕνα μὲν πολέμιον τὸν δεσπότην.

that whole families completely lost their landed property; for they would have perished by famine. No writer has, however, preserved a trace of the mode in which these difficulties were met by the state. At the time of Agis the Third we know that of the 700 Spartans, about 100 only were in possession of the district of the city.^u

4. From this view of the times, which succeeded the innovation of Epitadeus, we will now turn to the original system, which indeed we are scarcely able to ascertain, from the feeble and obscure indications now extant. In the first place, we know with certainty that daughters had originally no dowry (in Doric *δωρίνη*),^x and were married with a gift of clothes, &c.;^y afterwards, however, they were at least provided with money and other moveable property.^z At the time of Aristotle, after the ephoralty of Epitadeus, they were also endowed with land.^a This was the regulation in case of the existence of a son; if there

^u Plut. Agis 5.

^x Dionys. Byz. de Bosp. Thrac. p. 17. Hudson. Also Varro de Ling. Lat. V. (IV.) 36. p. 48. Bipont. says that the Sicilian Greeks (who were chiefly Dorians) used *δωρίνη* for dowry.

^y Plut. Lac. Apophth. p. 223. Ælian. V. H. VI. 6. Justin. III. 3. Compare the corrupt gloss of Hesychius in *ἀγπερήματα*.

^z Plut. Lysand. 30. Apophth. p. 229. Ælian. V. H. VI. 4. With regard to the story of Lysander's daughters, it should be remarked, that the suitors could not have been deceived as to whether they possessed landed property or not; but

they thought that the father had large personal property, and that this would be divided among them. — Lysander also left male issue, as appears from Paus. III. 6. 41. of whom one was named Libys, in memory of the proxenia of Lysander with the Ammonians. The name could hardly have been transmitted through Lysander's daughters, since it is certain that they were not heiresses.

^a See Polit. II. 6. 10. In Plutarch (Agid. 6.) a very rich sister of a poor and distressed brother occurs. See also Plutarch Cleomen. I. concerning the wealth of the women in Sparta. But the rich wife of Archidamus II. (Athen. XIII.

was none, the daughter, and if there were several daughters, probably the eldest, became heiress (*ἐπίκληρος*, in Doric *ἐπιπαματίς*);^b that is to say, the possession of her was necessarily connected with that of the inheritance. Regulations concerning heiresses were an object of chief importance in the ancient legislations, on account of their anxiety for the maintenance of families, as in that of Androdamas of Rhegium for the Thracian Chalcideans,^c and in the code of Solon,^d with which the Chalcidean laws of Charondas appear to have agreed in all essential points.^e We will mention the most important of these regulations. The heiress, together with her inheritance, belonged to the kinsmen of the family (*ἀγχιστεῖς*); so that in early times^f the father could not dispose of his daughter as he liked without their assent. But, according to the later Athenian law, the father had power either during his life or by will to give his daughter, with her inheritance, in marriage to whom-ever he wished. If, however, this power was not exercised, the kinsmen had a right of claiming the daughter by a judicial process; and the right to marry her went round in a regular succession.^g But

p. 566 D.), Eupolia, the daughter of Melesippidas, must have been an heiress.

^b Compare Bunsen De Jure Hered. Attico I. 1. p. 18.

^c Aristot. Pol. II. 8. 9.

^d See, besides Bunsen, Platner, Beiträge, p. 117. sqq. Sluiter Lect. Andoc. 5. p. 80. sqq.

^e Diod. XII. 18. Heyne Opsc. Acad. II. p. 119.

^f This is evident from the Supplices of Æschylus, particularly v. 382.

ἢ τοι κρατοῦσι παῖδες Αἰγύπτου σίβην, νόμῳ πόλιος φάσκοντες ἰγγύτατα γένους

εἶναι, τίς ἂν τοῖσδ' ἀντιωθῆναι θέλοι;

^g Isæus de Pyrrhi Hered. p. 54. — The Jewish law was strikingly similar. See Numbers xxvii. 1—11. The daughters had the inheritance of their father, but they were not permitted to marry out of the family; the nearest relation had the first claim to her, if he relinquished it, the next followed, and so on, Ruth iv.

the unmarried man, to whom of all her kinsmen she was allotted, was not only privileged, but also compelled to marry her.^h The laws also exercised a further superintendence over him, and enjoined that he should beget children from his wife,ⁱ which then did not pass into his family, but into that of his wife, and became the successors of their maternal grandfather. Now there is no doubt that in Sparta the family was continued by means of the heiresses; but it is probable that they always chose for their husbands persons who had no lots of their own, such as the descendants of younger brothers, and, first, persons of the same family,^k if there were any, then persons connected by relationship, and so on. If the father himself had made no disposition concerning his daughters, (in which respect, however, his choice was limited,) it was to be decided by the king's court who among the privileged persons should marry the heiress.^l It was not until after the time of Epitadeus that the father could betroth his daughter to whom

^h See the law in Demosth. in Steph. p. 1134. 15. which I interpret thus: "Whatever woman is betrothed by her father, her brother by the same father, or her paternal grandfather, is a legitimate wife: if neither of these is living, and the woman is an heiress, she shall marry the nearest relation, the κύριος; but if she is not an heiress (e. g., if there are grandsons of the deceased alive), that relation shall give her in marriage to whom he pleases"—besides which it is his duty to portion her according to his valuation. The laws of Charondas also compelled the relation to marry

the heiress, and to endow her if poor, Diod. XII. 18.

ⁱ Plutarch Solon 20.

^k Thus Leonidas married Gorgo, the heiress of Cleomenes, as being her nearest relation (ἀγχιστεῦς). It was however a common practice in Sparta to marry in the οἶκος. Thus Archidamus married his aunt Lampito, Herod. VI. 71; thus Anaxandridas married his sister's daughter, V. 39. Thus the wife of Cleomenes (Plut. Pyrrh. 26.) was of the same family as her husband; and so with regard to the wife of Archidamus V. Polyb. IV. 35. 15. Plut. Ag. 6.

^l Herod. VI. 57.

he pleased; and if he had not declared his intention, his heir had equal right to decide concerning her.^m

If, however, the family was without female issue, and the succession had not been secured during the father's lifetime by adoption in the presence of the king, it is probable that the heads of houses related to the surviving daughter married her to a son of their own, who was then considered as successor of the family into which he was introduced—a means employed at Athens,ⁿ and probably therefore at Sparta also, for preventing the extinction of families. But there were two customs peculiar to the Lacedæmonians; in the first place, a husband, if he considered that the unfruitfulness of the marriage was owing to himself (for if he considered his wife as barren he had power immediately to put her away),^o gave his matrimonial rights to a younger and more powerful man, whose child then belonged to the family of the husband, although it was also publicly considered as related to the family of the real father.^p The second institution was, that to the wives of men, who, for example, had fallen in war before they had begotten any children, other men (probably slaves) were assigned, in order to produce heirs and successors, not to themselves, but to the deceased husband.^q Both these customs, which appear to us so singular (though similar regulations existed in the constitution of Solon), originated from the superstitious dread of the destruction of a family. When this motive lost its power

^m Aristot. Pol. II. 6. 11. Compare Manso I. 2. p. 131.

ⁿ See Demosth. in Macart. p. 1077. Compare Platner, Beiträge, p. 139.

^o Herod. V. 39. VI. 61.

^p Xen. Rap. Lac. I. 7—9. From Xenophon Plut. Lyc. 15. Comp. Num. 3.

^q The ἐπεύνακτοι mentioned above in ch. 3. § 5.

upon the mind, these ancient institutions were probably also lost, and the population and number of families were continually diminished.

5. In Sparta, however, the principle of community of goods was carried to a further extent than in any other nation, although it was the principle on which the legislation of many other Grecian states was founded. Phaleas the Chalcedonian had made it the basis of his laws.¹ The prohibition of Solon, that no citizen should possess more than a certain quantity of land, appears to have been a remnant of a former equality in the lots of the nobles.² In cases, however, in which the restoration or introduction of equality was not possible, the legislators endeavoured to make the landed estates inalienable. For this reason the mortgaging of land was prohibited in Elis;³ and among the Locrians land could not be alienated without proof of absolute necessity.⁴ We have already spoken of the inalienability of the lots at Leucas.⁵ The ancient Corinthian lawgiver, Phidon, made no alteration in the unequal size of landed estates, but he wished to restrict their extent, as well as the number of the landed proprietors, who were all citizens.⁶ Philolaus the Corinthian, who gave laws to Thebes in the 13th Olympiad, went still further;⁷ since he not only endeavoured to retain the same number of lots, by laws

¹ Aristot. Pol. II. 4. 1. In this passage it appears to me that the context requires *πρώτον*, not *πρώτος*. "By some the division of property has been considered a point of first importance in legislation; for which reason the first laws which Phaleas promulgated were on this subject."

² Aristot. Pol. II. 4. 4.

³ Aristot. Pol. VI. 2. 5.

⁴ Aristot. Pol. II. 4. 4.

⁵ Ch. 9. § 6.

⁶ Aristot. Pol. II. 3. 7.

⁷ Orchomenos, p. 407, 408. where, however, Aristot. Rhet. II. 23. is incorrectly applied (the passage refers to Epaminondas).

concerning the procreation and adoption of children,^a but endeavoured to restore the original equality from time to time, perhaps in a manner similar to the jubilee-year of the Hebrews:^b this was in fact most simply effected by the Illyrian Dalmatians, who made a new division of the tillage-land every seven years.^c If the Doric legislation of Crete had originally a tendency of this kind, its adoption in practice had evidently been hindered by peculiar circumstances. For Polybius^d at least knew of no Cretan laws which laid any restriction upon the purchase of land, nor indeed upon gain in general:^e the landed estates were divided among the brothers, the sisters receiving half a brother's share.^f In this manner, in the narration of Ulysses,^g the sons of Castor, the son of Hylacus, made a division of their patrimony; the illegitimate son receiving only a small share (*νοθεῖα*). But the poor frequently, by marriage with wealthy wives, attained to riches, together with personal distinction. In addition to this, privateering expeditions, sometimes as far as Egypt, for which individual adventurers frequently equipped whole flotillas, gave an opportunity for a more rapid acquisition of wealth. This habit of living in ships,

^a Aristot. Pol. II. 9. 7. With regard to the *νόμοι θετικοὶ* of Philolaus, I also remark, that the *οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὴν οὐσίαν ποιῆσθαι τοὺς παῖδας* is often recommended among the Greeks. See Plato de Rep. II. p. 372. with Hesiod Op. et Di. 374. This is the "*liberorum numerum finire*" of Tacitus, German. 19.

^b Aristot. Pol. II. 9. 8. where *ἀνομάλωσης* appears to signify a fresh equalization, as *ἀναδασμός* signifies a fresh division. Göt-

ting writes *Φαλέου* for *Φιλόλαου*: concerning which it is difficult to decide, as the passage is evidently much mutilated.

^c Strab. VII. p. 315.

^d VI. 46. 1.

^e This, however, does not disagree with the accurate separation of the rulers and the countrymen, which still existed in the time of Aristotle, Pol. VII. 9. 1.

^f Strabo X. p. 482.

^g Od. XIV. 206.

and at the same time the variable condition of the different states, necessarily produced a frequent change of property, and soon put an end to all firmness and equality wherever they existed.

6. But the Cretan institution of the *syssitia* was, at least according to the judgment of Aristotle, founded more upon the principle of community of goods than the same establishment in Sparta, since in the former country the expenses of it were defrayed by the state, and not by the contributions of the citizens.^h This institution of the ancient Dorians, or rather of the ancient Greeks in general, we will consider in a subsequent part of this work, with reference to manners and taste; here it must be viewed as affecting the public economy. In Sparta every member of the *phiditia* contributed to them, as has been already stated, from his own stock;ⁱ the amount required was about one Attic medimnus and a half of barley-meal, eleven or twelve choëis of wine,^k five minas of cheese, with half the same quantity of figs, together with dates,^l and ten Æginetan oboli for meat.^m The approximate statement of one Attic medimnus and a half is probably meant as an equivalent to one Æginetan medimnus;ⁿ the ten oboli are equal to a Corinthian stater, or a Syracusan decalitre; the whole is doubtless the monthly contribution of an individual,^o and is amply sufficient for the consumption of one person. For the daily allowance being elsewhere

^h Pol. II. 6. 21. II. 7. 4.

ⁱ Κατὰ κεφαλὴν, Aristot. Pol. II. 7. 4.

^k Eight choëis, according to Plutarch. Lyc. 12.

^l According to Schol. Plat. Leg. I. p. 223. Ruhnke.

^m Dicaearchus ap. Athen. IV. p. 141 B.

ⁿ See Æginetica, p. 90. For this reason Plutarch ubi sup. mentions *one* medimnus.

^o See the Scholia quoted in note ¹.

reckoned at two choenices, and one cotyla of wine (although the latter is an extremely small quantity),^p this contribution would give rather more than two choenices, and five cotylas for each day. There appears to have been only a small allowance for meat, but the want of it was partly supplied by the frequent sacrifices, and partly by the excellent institution of the *ἐπάϊκλα*, which were additions to the regular meal or *αἶχλον*. The poorer members of the *syssition* furnished these from the proceeds of the chase, while wealthier persons supplied wheaten bread (the common provision being barley cakes, *μαῖζαι*), with young cattle from their flocks, birds prepared as *ματτόα*, and the fruits of the season from their lands.^q Voluntary gifts of this kind were probably seldom wanting, so long as the spirit of community influenced their minds; it was also natural that they should contribute largely, in order to give variety and grace to their otherwise uniform banquet.

7. In the Cretan institution, however, the state provided for all the citizens and their wives.^r The revenues received by the community from the public lands, and from the tributes of the *Perioeci*, were divided according to the months of the year into twelve parts;^s and also into two according to the purpose to which it was appropriated; so that one half defrayed the sacrifices and the expenses of the government, the other

^p Herod. VI. 57.

^q See Sphærus (the Borysthenite and Stoic, who had seen Sparta before the time of Cleomenes, Plutarch. Cleomen. 2.) Δακ. πολ. ap. Athen. IV. p. 141 B. Molpis, p. 141 D. cf. XIV. p. 664 E. Nicocles the Laconian, IV. p. 140 E. Per-

seus Δακ. πολ. ibid. Xen. Rep. Lac. 5. 3.

^r Aristot. Pol. II. 7. 4. ἐκ κοινοῦ (i. e. from the public revenue) τρέφεσθαι πάντας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας.

^s According to the Κρητικὸς νόμος in Plat. Leg. VIII. p. 847.

went to the public banquets.[†] Now this latter half was divided among the different families, and each gave his share into the company of *syssitia* (*ἐταιρία*) to which he belonged.[‡] It may be asked why the state did not allot these sums directly among the *syssitia*, instead of making the payment indirectly through the members: it is, however, probable that these companies were formed at will by the several messmates. The division of the public revenue is in some measure similar to the proceeding of the Athenians with respect to the Laurian silver-mines.[§] In addition to this, every citizen furnished a tenth of the produce of his lands, and every *Clarotes* an *Æginetan stater* for his master.[¶]

Although the meaning and object of this institution is quite intelligible, it is not easy to obtain a clear notion of the Lacedæmonian system. The produce of a lot amounted for the Spartans, according to a passage above quoted, to 82 medimni. If we suppose these to be Attic medimni, as was there assumed upon a mere approximate calculation, each lot would have enabled three men to contribute to the *syssitia* (54 medimni), and would also have furnished a scanty subsistence at home to three women. But this would leave a surplus, in addition to whatever money was

[†] Aristot. Pol. II. 7. 4.

[‡] Dosiadas ap. Athen. IV. p. 143 B. *ἐκαστος τῶν γενομένων καρπῶν ἀναφέρει τὴν δεκάτην εἰς τὴν ἐταιρίαν*. Every one (*ἐκαστος*) was therefore a member of an *ἐταιρία*, a company of persons who always ate together, which consisted of citizens; consequently he is speaking of citizens, and not of the *Periæci*, and therefore agrees with the

passage just quoted from Aristotle. The *διανέμειν εἰς τοὺς ἐκάστων οἴκους* must have preceded the *ἀναφέρειν*, and the *οἴκοι* are manifestly the citizens' families included in the companies.

[§] See Boeckh's Public Economy of Athens, vol. II. p. 462. Engl. transl.

[¶] See above, ch. 4. § 1.

required as a subscription to the *syssitia*, for all other household expenses. Now it is true that among the poorer citizens these could not have been considerable, since the younger children went with their fathers to the public tables, and the elder were educated and maintained by the state; to which might be added the produce of the chase, and the charity of other persons. But after making all allowance for these causes, the expenses for dwellings, clothing, furniture, and partly for food not provided by the *syssitia*, still remain undrained. It is, however, evident that there would have been sufficient income to meet these demands, if we suppose that the 82 medimni were not Attic, but *Æginetan*, which were considerably larger.^{*} But even upon this supposition one lot could not have maintained more than six persons, unless the rent of the Helots is assumed higher: and it might also be the case (which however, according to Aristotle, appears to have been of rare occurrence), that they were not able to pay their contributions.

8. Of the domestic economy of Lacedæmon we have little knowledge; although Aristotle, or rather Theophrastus (who is now known to be the author of the first book of the Economics), gives it a separate place in treating of this subject. Every master of a family, if he received his share of the produce of the soil, laid by a portion sufficient for the year's consumption, and sold the rest in the market of Sparta:[†] the exchange being probably effected by barter, and not

^{*} In that case, Plutarch in the 12th, as well as in the 8th chapter of the Life of Lycurgus, means *Æginetan* medimni; and both passages were probably

taken from some Lacedæmonian writer, such as Nicocles, Hip-
pasus, Sosibius, or Aristocrates.

[†] See above, ch. 7. § 3.

by the intervention of money.^b It should be observed, that the system of keeping the fruits in store had something peculiar,^c and the regularity was celebrated, by which every thing could be easily found and made use of.^d We are also informed that the Spartans had granaries (ταμιεῖα) upon their estates, which, according to ancient custom, they kept under a seal; it was however permitted to any poor person, who for example had remained too long in the chase, to open the granary, take out what he wanted, and then put his own seal, his iron ring, upon the door.^e

9. In the market of Sparta, money was employed more often as a medium of comparison than of exchange; small coins were chiefly used, and no value was attributed to the possession of large quantities.^f This usage Lycurgus had established, by permitting only the use of iron coin, which had been made useless for common purposes, by cooling in vinegar, or by some other process.^g In early times iron spits or bars had been really used as money,^h which after the time of Phidon the Argive were replaced by coined metal. The chief coin was called from its shape, and perhaps

^b Polyb. VI. 49. 8. ἡ τῶν ἐπετείων καρπῶν ἀλλαγὴ πρὸς τὰ λείποντα τῆς χρείας—κατὰ τὴν Λυκούργου νομοθεσίαν. The case was probably the same among the Locrians of Italy. Heracl. Pont. 29. καπηλείον οὐκ ἔστι μεταβολικὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ γεωργὸς πωλεῖ τὰ ἴδια.

^c Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. I. 6.
^d Ibid. ad fin. Compare Schneider ad Anon. Œcon. Præf. p. 16.

^e See the passages quoted above, p. 201. note ^q.

^f The leathern money is pro-

bably a mere fable; Nicolaus Damascenus, Senec. de Benef. V. 14. Boeckh's Economy of Athens, vol. II. p. 389. Engl. transl. Concerning the money of Sparta, see Oudinet in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres. tom. I. p. 227.

^g Plut. Lyc. 9. Lysand. 17. Comp. Arist. et Cat. 3. Pollux IX. 6. 79. Pseud-Æschin. Eryx. 100. and see Fischer ad c. 24.

^h Plut. Lys. 17. Compare Pollux VII. 105.

also from its size, πέλανορ, *the cake used in sacrifices*; its value was equal to four chalcûs, that is, to a half obolus, or the twelfth of a drachma¹ (manifestly of the Æginetan standard, as the Spartan coinage must necessarily have been adapted to this measure), and weighed an Æginetan mina.^k Now as a mina of silver contained 1200 half oboli, the price of silver must have been to that of iron as 1200 to one; an excessive cheapness of the latter metal, which can only be explained by the large quantity of iron found in Laconia, and the high price of silver in early times. Ten Æginetan minas of money were, according to this calculation, equal in weight to 1200 minas, and it is easy to see that it would have required large carriages for transport, and an extensive space when kept in store.^l

10. That, however, the possession of gold and silver money was expressly interdicted to the citizens of Sparta, is abundantly proved by the prohibition renewed at the time of Lysander by Sciraphidas or Phlogidas:^m and how strong was the hold of this ancient custom is seen from the punishment of death which was threatened to those who secretly transgressed it. The possession of wrought precious metals does not appear to have been illegal. This decree, however, expressly permitted to the state the possession of gold and silver:ⁿ which enactment was also doubtless a

¹ Hesych. in πέλανορ. The Scholia ad Nicand. Alexipharm. 488. incorrectly explain πέλανον βάρος to be the weight of an obolus.

^k Plutarch. Lac. Apophth. p. 220. τὸ σιδηροῦν ὃ ἔστι μνᾶ ὀλκῇ Αἰγιναία, δυνάμει δὲ χαλκοὶ τέτταρες.

^l Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. 7. 5.

Plut. Lyc. 9.

^m Ephorus and Theopompus ap. Plut. Lys. 17. Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. 7. 6. χρυσίον γε μὴν καὶ ἀργύριον ἐρευνᾶται καὶ ἥν τι πον φανῇ, ὃ ἔχων ζημοῦται. Comp. Nicolaus Damascenus, and Ælian. V. H. XIV. 29.

ⁿ Δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἔδοξεν εἰσάγεσθαι νόμισμα τοιοῦτον, ἣν δὲ

restoration of ancient custom. Without the possession of a coin of general currency, Sparta would have been unable to send ambassadors to foreign states, to maintain troops in another country, or to take foreign, for instance Cretan, mercenaries into pay. We also know that the Lacedæmonians sent sacred offerings to Delphi, as for example, the golden stars of the Dioscuri dedicated by Lysander;^o and Lacedæmonian artists made for the state statues of gold and ivory.^p This took place about the time of the Persian war. A century indeed earlier, Sparta had not enough gold to gild the face of the statue of Apollo at Thornax, and endeavoured to buy it in Lydia, probably in exchange for silver.^q It follows from this, that in Sparta the state was sole possessor of the precious metals, at least in the shape of coin (though it did not coin any money of its own before the time of Alexander),^r which it used in the intercourse with foreign nations. The individual citizens however, who were without the pale of this intercourse, only required and possessed iron coin;^s in a manner precisely similar to that proposed by Plato in the Laws, viz., that the money

τις ἀλφ' κεκτημένος ἰδίᾳ, ζημίαν ὤρισαν θανάτου. Cf. Polyb. VI. 49. 8.

^o Plutarch. Lys. 18. Comp. Herod. I. 51. Posidonius ap. Athen. VI. p. 235 F. I do not mention the Thesaurus of Brasidas (Plut. Lys. 18.), because this general dedicated it, together with the inhabitants of Acanthus in Thrace, and moreover from Athenian plunder (Olymp. 89. 1.). See Plutarch. Pyth. Or. 14. p. 269. 15. p. 271. Lysand. I.

^p Above ch. 2. § 3.

^q Herod. I. 69. See book II.

ch. 3. § 1. ch. 8. § 17. The story in Herodotus III. 56. we will not make use of, since Herodotus himself rejects it.

^r King Areus appears to have been the first who coined silver money, and he imitated without exception the method employed by the kings of Macedon, Eckhel. D. N. I. 2. p. 278. 281.

^s Thus far Boeckh has carried the investigation, Public Economy of Athens, vol. II. p. 385 sq. Engl. transl. Compare vol. I. p. 43. Heeren, Ideen, vol. III. part 1. p. 294. ed. 2.

generally current should be at the disposal of the state, and should be given out by the magistrates for the purposes of war and foreign travel, and that within the country should be circulated a coinage in itself worthless, deriving its value from public ordinance.^t

Still, however, some difficult questions remain to be considered. In the first place, it is evident that whatever commerce was carried on by Laconia,^u could not have existed without a coinage of universal currency. Now it is impossible that this trade could have been carried on by the state, since it would have required a proportionate number of public officers; consequently it was in the hands of the Perioeci. We must therefore suppose that the possession of silver coin was allowed to this class of persons; in general, indeed, the Spartan customs did not without exception extend to the Perioeci. Nor could this have had much influence upon the Spartans, since they had not any personal connexion with the Perioeci, the latter being only tributary to the state. In the market of Sparta, in which the Spartans and Helots sold their corn, and the products of native industry were exposed, all foreigners being entirely excluded,^x doubtless none but the iron coin was used; and so also in the whole of Laconia it was current at its fixed value; but those Lacedæmonians who were not of Doric origin must have possessed a currency of their own, probably under

^t The latter however accords better with the *Byzantine* σιδάρτοι, which were tokens, than with the Lacedæmonian coins, which were really worth what they passed for.

^u See above, ch. 2. § 3. and concerning the corn trade down to Corinth, b. I. ch. 4. § 7.

^x The Epidamnians also, who retained much of ancient customs, paid great attention to the intercourse with foreigners. They held once in each year, under the superintendence of a πωλητής, a great public market with the neighbouring Illyrians, Plutarch. Qu. Græc. 29. p. 393.

certain restrictions. And the tributes of these persons were doubtless the chief source from which the state derived its silver and gold coins. Besides this, the kings must also have been privileged to possess silver and gold. If some permission of this kind had not existed, Pausanias (who was in strictness only guardian of the king) would not have been able to receive among other spoils ten talents from the plunder of Plataea;^y and Pleistonax and Agis the First could not have been fined in the sums of fifteen talents, and 100,000 drachmas:^z at a later time also, as has been already remarked, Agis the Third was possessed of six hundred talents.^a The estates of the kings were also situated in the territory of the Periceci, in which silver money was in circulation, and it is at least possible that the payments may have been made to them in this coinage. Herodotus states that every king at the beginning of his reign remitted all the debts of the citizens both to the state and to the kings:^b they therefore cancelled all certificates of debt, which in Sparta were called *κλάρια*, or mortgages, probably because the land (and in early times the produce of the land only) was assigned as security.^c This was a wise institution, by

^y Herod. IX. 81.

^z See above ch. 6. § 9. and Plut. Pericl. 22. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 855. from Ephorus.

^a Proofs of wealth, if not of the possession of money, are the *ἵπποτροφία*, and the maintenance of race-horses for the Olympic games. King Demaratus had conquered in the chariot-race (*ἄρματι*), and allowed Sparta to be proclaimed conqueror, Herod. VI. 70. The horses of Eua-goras had won three times at the Olympic games. Herod. VI.

103. before the 66th Olympiad, according to Pausan. VI. 10. 2. According to Pausanias VI. 2. 1. the Lacedæmonians incurred great expenses for horses after the Persian war; he mentions Xenarges, Lycinus, Arcesilaus, and his son Lichas, as conquerors, and cap. 1. Anaxander and Polycles. Concerning the female victors, see b. IV. ch. 2. § 2.

^b V. 59.

^c Plut. Agis 13.

which those persons in particular were relieved who had, for a particular object, received from the kings or the state, gold or silver, which on account of the small value of the iron coinage they were seldom able to repay. Now gold and silver were, for example, necessary to all persons who had to undertake a journey out of Laconia, and these they could not obtain otherwise than from the magistrates or the king,^d a measure which must have placed great obstacles in the way of foreign travel.

11. It is, however, well known that in this respect the ancient severity of custom was gradually relaxed. Even in the third generation before the Persian war, the just Glaucus was tempted to defraud a Milesian of a sum of money deposited with him. The Persian war only increased the public wealth, and the Persian subsidies were confined to the payment of national expenses. When at length Lysander brought vast sums of money into Sparta, and made this state the most wealthy in Greece,^e the citizens are reported still to have maintained the same proud indigence. But was it possible for individuals to despise what the state esteemed so highly, and would they not naturally endeavour to found their fame upon that on which the power of the nation depended? Even Lysander, who, with all the artfulness and versatility of his manners, had a considerable severity of character, was still unwilling to enrich himself;^f a credible witness^g indeed

^d Herod. VI. 70. καὶ ἐπὶ δία λαβὼν ἐπορεύετο εἰς Ἡλιν. Boeckh, Public Economy of Athens, vol. I. p. 43. Engl. tr.

^e Which Plato Alcib. I. (cf. Hipp. Maj. p. 283 D.) says of earlier times. Compare Bitaubé sur les Richesses de Sparte, Mémoires de Berlin. tom. XII. p. 559. Manso, Sparta, II. p. 372.

^f See above, p. 204. note 2.

^g Anaxandridas (περὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς συληθέντων χρημάτων) ap. Plut. Lys. 18.

relates, that he had deposited a talent and fifty-two minas of silver, together with eleven staters, probably in case he should have occasion for them when out of the country; but how small is this sum when compared with the acquisitions of others in similar situations!

It appears, however, to have been at that time customary to deposit money without the boundaries, especially in Arcadia, and this was the first means adopted for evading the law.^h Lysander, however, was far exceeded by Gylippus in love for money, in whose family avarice appears to have been hereditary; for his father Cleandridas had been condemned for taking bribes.ⁱ Lastly, after the death of Lysander, the possession of precious metals must have been allowed to private individuals, under certain conditions with which we are unacquainted. At least some supposition of this kind must be adopted, to enable us to account for the fact, that Phoebidas was fined 100,000

^h Posidonius ap. Athen. VI. p. 233 F.

ⁱ He had been bribed by Pericles as being the adviser of Pleistonax. See Plut. Pericl. 22. Nic. 28. de Educ. Puer. 14. Timæus ap. Plut. Compar. Timol. 2. Ephorus ap. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 855. Diodorus XIII. 106. calls him Clearchus. He was afterwards banished, and went to Thurii (Thuc. VI. 104. see Wesseling ad Diod. XII. 23.), fought with the inhabitants of that town, against the Tarentines, but afterwards had a share in the foundation of their colony Heraclea. See B. I. ch. 6. § 12. Polyænus II. 10. 1. 2. 4. 5. relates several martial exploits of this Cleandridas, in the wars which he

waged with the Thurians against Terina and the Lucanians. Niebuhr, in the 3rd vol. of his Roman history, considers the Cleandridas, who took a part in the foundation of Heraclea, as the same person as Leandrias the Spartan, who, according to Diod. XV. 54, fought at Leuctra on the side of the Thebans. This supposition, however, cannot be reconciled with the chronological succession of the events; since the battle of Leuctra was 75 years later than the colony of Thurii. The political contrivances, which Cleandridas, according to Polyæn. II. 10. 3, practised against Tegea, must fall in the war between Sparta and Arcadia, which ended in Olymp. 81.

drachmas for the taking of the Cadmea, and Lysanoridas an equally large sum for his weak defence of the same citadel.^k

No regular taxation of the citizens of Sparta existed in any shape.^l Extraordinary contributions and taxes were, however, raised for the purposes of war, which, on account of their unusual and irregular occurrence, were collected with difficulty.^m This will serve to explain the exemption from duties (*ἀτέλεια*) that is sometimes mentioned.ⁿ When in the time of Agis the Third the ephor Agesilaus extended the annual period of his office for a month, in order to increase his receipts,^o it is probable that he reckoned upon large fines;^p of which he, as it seems, would receive a part. There was no public treasure at Sparta up to the time of the Peloponnesian war;^q the revenue and expenditure were therefore nearly equal; and the Spartans were honest enough to require from the allies only the sums which were necessary.^r The altered state of these circumstances in later times lies without the sphere of our inquiries.

12. I shall equally abstain from collecting the

^k Plut. Pelop. 6. 13, &c.

^l Plut. Lac. Apophth. p. 197. *πυνθανόμενον τινὸς διὰ τὴν χρημάτων οὐ συνάγουσιν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον.*

^m Aristot. Pol. II. 6. 23. *εἰσφέρουσι κακῶς.* The most opulent were bound to provide horses for military service (Xen. Hell. VI. 4. 11.), which burden was in Corinth, according to an ancient usage, imposed upon the families of orphans and heiresses (Cic. de Rep. II. 20. and compare Niebuhr's Roman History, vol. I. p. 408. ed. 2.);

not so unfairly as at first sight it appears, since these did not furnish any armed man, and would therefore have an advantage, if their concerns were honestly managed.

ⁿ See above, p. 203. note p. and concerning the family of Anticrates, Plut. Ages. 35.

^o Plut. Ag. 16.

^p Above, ch. 10. § 3.

^q Thucyd. I. 80. *χρήματα οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ ἔχομεν οὔτε ἐτοίμως ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φέρομεν.* Aristot. ubi sup.

^r B. I. ch. 9. § 2.

various accounts respecting the finance and trade of other Doric states; since the inland countries, in which many peculiarities may perhaps have existed, are little known; and the commercial cities, such as Ægina, Corinth, Rhodes, and Cyrene, gave up their national customs for the sake of trade. In Peloponnesus, however, the cities on the coast of Argolis were adapted by nature for exchanging the products of the agricultural nations of the interior for foreign commodities;^a and thus they established a connexion and intercourse between Laconia and Arcadia, and other countries.^b In these cities also there were many commercial establishments, which did not manufacture only for the interior.^c In Corinth, the duties from the harbour and market had in the time of Periander become so considerable, that the tyrant limited his receipts to that one branch of revenue;^d although, according to a fabulous tradition, the golden colossus of Cypselus at Olympia was consecrated from a tax of a tenth upon all property continued for ten years.^e

The strongest proof of the ancient commerce of Peloponnesus, and of its great extent, is the Æginetan money; the standard of which was in early times prevalent in Peloponnesus, in Crete, in Italy,^f and even

^a Thucyd. I. 120.

^b The Arcadian commerce of Ægina (Æginetica, p. 74.) was the basis of its other trade.

^c Concerning Ægina, see Æginetica, p. 79. Megara manufactured ἐξώμίδες in particular, Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. III. 7. 6. Compare Aristoph. Acharn. 519.

^d Heraclid. Pont. 5. Concerning the trade of Corinth, see above, p. 24. note ^a.

^e Pseud-Aristot. Econ. II. 2. Suidas in Κνψ. ἀνάθημα. See also vol. I. p. 184. note ^p. and Schneider Epimetr. ad Xen. Anab. p. 473. The tithe paid by the Syracusans for the building of temples was something extraordinary. Prov. Vatic. IV. 20. from Demon.

^f Æginetica, p. 89. According to Lucian περὶ πένθους 10. the Æginetan obolus was in his time still in circulation, as also

in the north of Greece, since the early Bœotian, Thessalian, and Macedonian coins were before the time of Philip adapted to it.^a In Italy the monetary system was arranged in a peculiar manner, for the convenience of intercourse with the natives; and as this subject is of much importance in a historical point of view, we will now examine it briefly, without attempting a complete investigation. If we consider the names of the coins in use among the Dorians of Italy and Sicily, for example, at Syracuse and Tarentum (as they had been collected by Aristotle in his Constitution of the Himeræans from Doric Poets),^b viz., λίτρα for an obolus, ἡμίλιτρον for six, πεντόγκιον for five, τετράς for four, τριάς for three,^c ἐξᾶς for two,

among the Achæans, according to Hesychius in παχεία (Æginetica, p. 90.); nevertheless, ever after the foundation of Megalopolis and Messene in Peloponnesus, the Athenian standard seems to have prevailed.

^a I am unwilling to make use of Romé de l'Isle's valuations of Greek coins, as in his *Métrologie* he shows such a complete want of historical talent and knowledge. It is at once evident that his 14 different kinds of drachmas are a mere absurdity; the very first of 60 grains, which he calls *drachme d'Ægium ou du Péloponnèse*, is nothing more than a half Æginetan drachma, which should properly, according to the ratio to the Attic drachma (of 82 grains), contain 137 grains, but they are generally much rubbed on account of their great antiquity. To these belong the ancient χελῶναι, the coins with

the Bœotian shield in the early style, the Corinthian coins with the Coppa and Pegasus, also the early Thessalian coins, more especially those found in Thrace, and generally marked *Lete*; together with those of the Macedonian kings prior to Philip. To the *drachme d'Ægine* he only assigns three coins.

^b Followed by Pollux IV. 24. 173. IX. 6. 80. The names frequently occurred in Sophron and Epicharmus as coins and weights, as may be seen from Pollux; cf. Phot. in λίτρα et ὀγκία.

^c I am of opinion, in opposition to Bentley Phalarid. p. 419, that the testimony of Pollux must be followed. In Hesychius also in ν. τριάντος πόρνη, a τριάς is reckoned equal to 20 λεπτά; now the ὀγκία is generally made equal to the χαλκοῦς Ἀπτικὸς (Aristot. ap. Poll.), and a τριάς is in that case equal to 21 λεπτά, which Hesychius gives in round

ὀγκία for a twelfth; it is at once evident that these Greeks had adopted the Italian and Roman duodenary system, in which the libra, the pound of brass, was the unit;^d a system which was originally unknown to the Greeks, and accordingly the word λίτρα has no root in their language. Now, together with these coins in the Greek states, the νόμος,^e among the Latins *numus*, occurs; manifestly, as Varro says, a word belonging to the former people, and signifying a coin current by law; whence it is evident that the Italians, in the regulations of their monetary system, did not merely give to the Greeks of Italy, but that they also received something in return, and that one standard was compounded, partaking in some measure of both methods of computation. If we, then, consider the form and value of these coins, it is plain that the Greek colonies retained the system of money which they brought with them from Peloponnesus; and that they did not till subsequently adapt their coinage to the native standard. They then made the litra equal to the obolus, i. e., to the Æginetan, which was also the Corinthian;^f so that a Corinthian stater of ten oboli was called in Syracuse a δεκάλιτρον, or piece of ten litras. At the time, therefore, when this system was

numbers. Diodorus' estimate of the πεντηκοντάλιτρον at 10 drachmas, which is otherwise very inexact, is explained by Boeckh, *Economy of Athens*, vol. I. p. 37. from the different prices of gold in Attica and Sicily.

^d Since copper was the basis of all coins in Italy, Epicharmus (but not an Athenian or Peloponnesian) could say χαλκὸν ὀφείλειν, *as alienum habere*,

Pollux IX. 6. 92.

^e That νόμος, not νοῦμος, is the proper Greek form, is shown by Blomfield ad Sophronis *Fragm. Classical Journal* vol. V. p. 384. (See also Knight, *Proleg. Homer.* p. 29. note 4.)

^f Aristot. in *Acragant. Polit.* ap. Poll. IX. 6. 80. Æginetica, p. 91. Bentley, from not taking this statement as his foundation, has given a false direction to his inquiries.

formed, the lb. of copper must have really been equal in value to a silver obolus. Now since the former weighed 6048,^g the latter nearly 23 French grains,^h the ratio of silver to copper must at the time of this arrangement have been as 1 to 263; the commerce of these regions having in early times determined this proportion. But as more silver was gradually introduced by the trade with the west of Europe, and probably at the same time some native copper-mines were exhausted, copper, which was the circulating medium of Italy, rose in comparison with silver, the circulating medium of Greece; and this was the principal cause of the constant diminution in the weight of the as in Etruria and Rome. But a detailed examination of this subject, so important in the history of the commerce of Greece and Italy, does not fall within the plan of the present work.ⁱ

What was the value of the νόμος of the Sicilian Greeks we are not informed by any decisive testimony: the name, however, proves that it was a current coin, and not of very inconsiderable value. For this reason I cannot assume that it was equal to a litra;^k Aristotle^l also states that the impression of the Tarentine coins was Taras sitting upon the dolphin; now, in the first place, this device does not occur on any litras or oboli of Tarentum; and, secondly, the coin would not be of sufficient size to contain it: for which reason the Greeks, whenever they stamped so small a coin of silver, always made use of the simplest devices. If, however, the Tarentine numus

^g According to Romé de l'Isle, vol. I. p. 309—329. p. 40.

^h Which is Boeckh's opinion, *Public Economy of Athens*, vol. I. p. 27. Engl. tr.

ⁱ See the author's *Etrusker*, Ap. Poll. IX. 6. 80.

had the same ratio to the litra as the Roman numus sestertius to the as,^m the former would have been a large coin; and we are also on the same supposition enabled to explain how it came that in Sicily an amount of 24, and afterwards of 12 numi, was called a talent;ⁿ for in that case 24 numi would be equal to 60 lbs. of copper, which was the same number of minas that the Æginetan talent of silver contained. It is also confirmed by the fact mentioned by Festus, that this talent in Neapolis amounted to six, and in Syracuse to three denarii, by which he means decalitra.^o And therefore, although other circumstances tend to shake the certainty of this supposition,^p it will be better to acquiesce in these arguments, on account of the harmony of the different statements.

^m As Bentley supposes, *ibid.* p. 410.

ⁿ See Aristot. *ap. Poll.* IX. 6. 87. Apollodorus *ἐν τοῖς περὶ Σώφρονος* *ap. Schol. Min. et Venet.* ad Il. V. 576. and Schol. Gregor. Nazianz. in Montfauc. *Diar. Ital.* p. 214. according to the correction of NOMΩN for MNΩN, also Suidas in *τάλαντον* according to Scaliger, likewise Bentley p. 409. The Venetian Scholia on Il. XXIII. 269. mention several other talents, but without specifying the places where they were current.

^o Aristotle, as well as Apollodorus, states in the passages just quoted, that the νόμος was equal to τρία ἡμιωβόλια, which, according to the probable supposition of Salmasius and Gronovius, is a mistake for τρίτον ἡμιωβόλιον.

^p These reasons are, 1st, that the coins with the figure of Taras generally weigh 72 and 140—155 grains, and therefore

they are manifestly not sesterces, but rather quinarii and denarii, as determined by the depreciated litra; which would therefore have been about equal to an Attic obolus. 2dly, that the great Inscription of Tauromenium in D'Orville and Castello without exception contains talents of 120 litras (according to which the νόμος would have been again equal to 5 or 10 litras), as may be seen at once from an item in the account: "ἔσοδος 56,404 talents, 88 litras, ἔξοδος 30,452 talents, 42 litras, λοιπὸν 4935 talents, 112 litras, and χρήματα δα-νειζόμενα 20,016 talents, 54 litras (χίλια should be supplied), therefore 56,404 talents 88 litras, are equal to 56,403 talents 208 litras, i. e., 1 talent, 88 litras. The well-known Epigram of Simonides, on the tripod of Gelon, also contains talents of more than 100 litras (*fragm.* 42. Gaisford.).

CHAP. XI.

§ 1. Simplicity of the Law of Sparta. § 2. Spartan System of Judicature. § 3. Penal system of Sparta: fine, infamy, § 4. exile, and death. § 5. Origin of the laws respecting the penalty of death in the Doric states. § 6. Connexion of Locri with the Doric race. § 7. Laws of Zaleucus.

1. THE law, as well as the economy, of the Dorians, seems to bear a character of very great antiquity, as far as our scanty means of information permit us to judge. It exhibits strong marks of the early time at which it originated, and it is impossible not to recognise in it a certain loftiness and severity of character. For this reason it was ill suited to the circumstances of the more unrestrained and active manners of later times, and only owed its continuance to the isolated situation in which Sparta succeeded in keeping herself. Thus the civil law was less definite and settled here than in any other part of Greece in early times, as property was, according to the Spartan notions, to be looked upon as a matter of indifference; in the decrees and institutions attributed to Lycurgus, no mention was made of this point, and the ephors were permitted to judge according to their own notions of equity. The ancient legislators had an evident repugnance to any strict regulations on this subject; thus Zaleucus, who, however, first made particular enactments concerning the right of property,^a expressly interdicted certificates of debt.^b The laws of that early period had a much more personal tendency, and rather regulated the actions of every individual by means of the national customs. It was nearly in-

^a Strab. VI. p. 398.

^b Zenob. Prov. V. 4.

different whether those actions immediately concerned other persons or not; the whole state was considered as injured and attacked when any individual did not comply with the general principles. Hence the ancient courts of justice exercised a superintendence over the manners of the citizens, as, for instance, the Areopagus at Athens, and the Gerusia at Sparta: hence the extensive interference of the law with the most private relations, such, for example, as marriage. But the history of nations is a history of the progress of individual liberty; among the Greeks of later times the laws necessarily lost this binding force, and obtained a negative character, by which they only so far restrained the actions of each individual, as was necessary for the co-existence of other members of the state. In Sparta, however, law and custom retained nearly equal power; it will therefore be impossible to treat of them separately, and we must be satisfied with some observations upon the judicial system in Sparta and other Doric states.

2. The courts of justice in Sparta have already been spoken of in several places.^c The Gerusia decided all criminal causes, together with most others which affected the conduct of the citizens; the other jurisdiction was divided among the magistrates according to the branches of their administration.^d The ephors decided all disputes concerning money and property, as well as in accusations against responsible officers, provided they were not of a criminal nature; the kings decided in causes of heiresses and adoptions, and the *bidiæi* in disputes arising at the gymnasia. Public offences, particularly of the kings

^c Above, ch. 6. § 3, 7. ch. 7. § 3, 4.

^d As is also proposed by Plato Leg. VI. p. 767.

and other authorities, were decided by a supreme court of judicature.^e The popular assembly had probably no judicial functions; disputes concerning the succession to the throne were referred to it only after ineffectual attempts to settle them, and it then passed a decree.^f The assembly took the case of those who fled from their ranks at the battle of Leuctra out of the hands of the regular court, by nominating an extraordinary nomothetes for the occasion, and afterwards confirming his proposal.^g It does not appear that the practice of ostracism was known in the Doric states before the destruction of the early constitution.^h Arbitrators were also employed at Sparta for the decision of private cases, as in the Homeric time;ⁱ but whether they were publicly appointed, as in Athens, is not known.

At Sparta, as well as at Athens, the parties interested were, of course, entitled to accuse in private causes; and in criminal cases the next of kin; it cannot however be supposed that in Sparta, as in Athens, every citizen of the state was empowered to institute a public action; as a regulation of this kind

^e According to Plutarch de Socrat. Dæm. 33. p. 365. the *gerontes* fined Lysanoridas (see above, ch. 10. § 11.), but it was probably the supreme court of public magistrates.

^f See above, ch. 5. § 8. p. 104. note ^a.

^g Plut. Ages. 30.

^h See above, ch. 9. § 1. 7. 10. But in Crete, and perhaps in Ægina (*Æginetica*, p. 133), there were similar oligarchical institutions.

ⁱ Plutarch. Lac. Apophth. p.

200.—Of the courts of justice at Argos, we only know of that upon the Pron (*Dinias* ap. Schol. Eurip. Orest. 869, from which Scholia it is also seen, that the place of the public assembly, *ἀλιείας*, whence *ἡλιαία*, was in the neighbourhood; see above, ch. 5. § 9.), which was perhaps similar to the Areopagus of Athens, together with the court *ἐν Χαράδρῳ* without the city, before which generals after their return were arraigned (Thuc. V. 60.).

appears too inseparably connected with democracy. Private individuals were therefore only permitted to lay an information before a magistrate, which was also allowed to the Helots;^k the action being conducted, as we find to have been so frequently the case with the ephors, by some public officer. In the judicial procedure of Sparta, it is probable that much of the ancient Grecian simplicity remained, which Aristotle for example remarks in the criminal proceedings of the Æolic Cume, where in trials for murder witnesses from the family of the murdered person were sufficient to prove the offence.^l In the ancient laws of Rhadamanthus, disputes were generally decided in a very summary manner by oath,^m and the legislation of Charondas for the Chalcidean colonies was the first that instituted inquiries concerning false testimony.ⁿ

The laws by which the decisions were regulated were supposed to live in the breasts of the magistrates themselves; nor was there any written law during the flourishing times of Sparta. The interpreters of the laws of Lycurgus, who occur at a late period,^o appear to imply the existence of a written code, if they are compared with the Syracusan interpreters of the code of Diocles;^p yet it is possible that they may have merely given answers from an innate knowledge of

^k Thuc. I. 132.

^l Aristot. Pol. II. 5. 12. This may be compared with the Cuman law, that the neighbours of a person who had been robbed should replace the stolen property (Heraclid. Pont. II. comp. Hesiod. Op. et Di. 348. and see Strabo. XIII. p. 622.). Yet Ephorus (ap. Steph. in *Βουωρία*)

praises the *νόμων εὐραξία* of his countrymen.

^m Plat. Leg. XII. p. 948.

ⁿ Aristot. Pol. II. 9. 8.

^o *Ἐξηγητὴς τῶν Λυκούργειων*, in a late inscription, Boeckh N^o. 1364.

^p See above, ch. 9. § 7. and Ruhnken ad Tim. p. 111.

the traditional law, like the *ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων* at Athens.^q Thus also it was allowed to the judges to impose punishments according to their own pleasure; the laws of Sparta contained no special enactments on this point, which were first added by Zaleucus to his code.^r

3. Among the various punishments which occur, fines levied on property would appear ridiculous in any other state than Sparta on account of their extreme lowness. Perseus in his treatise on the Lacedæmonian government, says, that "the judge immediately condemns the rich man to the loss of a "dessert (*ἐπάϊκλον*); the poor he orders to bring a "reed, or a rush, or laurel-leaves for the public banquet." Nicocles the Lacedæmonian says, upon the same subject, "when the ephor has heard all the "witnesses, he either acquits the defendant or condemns him: and the successful plaintiff slightly "fines him in a cake, or some laurel-leaves," which were used to give a relish to the cakes.^s From this it is evident that actions were heard before the ephors, and probably in private cases, in which the plaintiff assessed the fine (*ἀγῶνις τιμητοί*). Large fines of money in early times only occur as being paid by the kings, but afterwards by generals, harmosts, &c.^t The defendant was frequently condemned to leave the country.^u It is hardly possible that a complete confiscation of property, extending to land, could have been

^q Meier de bonis damnatis, præf. p. 7.

^r Strabo VI. p. 260 A. comp. Heyne Opuscula II. p. 37.

^s Ap. Athen. IV. p. 140 E. 141 A.

^t Above, ch. 10. § 11. See Meier p. 198.

^u For example Thimbron, as appears from Xen. Hell. III. 1. 8.

permitted in Sparta,^x although it is mentioned in Argos and Phlius. Imprisonment was never employed in Sparta as a penalty for a free citizen, but only as a means of preventing the escape of an accused person. Corporal punishment preceded, as in the case of Cinadon, the infliction of death; but was not a separate penalty.^y On the other hand, infamy (*ἀτιμία*) was the more frequently used as a punishment, from the deep impression which it made on the mind of a Spartan.^z The highest degree of this infamy, as it appears, fell upon the coward, who either left the ranks and fled from battle, or returned without the rest of the army, as Aristodemus from Thermopylæ.^a A person thus excommunicated could fill no public office; had the lowest place in the choruses; in the game of ball neither party would have him on their side; he could find no competitor in the gymnasium, no companion of his tent in the field. The flame of his hearth was extinguished, as he was unable to obtain fire from any person. He was compelled to maintain his daughters at home, or, if unmarried, to live in an empty house, since no one would contract any alliance with him. In the street

^x Concerning the account in Plutarch. Amator. 5. see above, p. 123. note ^t. comp. Meier p. 199.

^y According to Polyænus II. 21. defendants were heard in chains at Sparta, a statement which is not true in a general sense.

^z Isocrat. Archidam. p. 134 B sqq.

^a Concerning the *ἀτιμία* of this person, see Herod. VII.

231. Plut. Ages. 30. Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 9. 4, 5., who by the *κακός* chiefly means the *τρέσας*. According to Tzetzes Chil. XII. 386. *ῥυψάσπιδες* were put to death. The assertion of Lycurgus in Leocrat. p. 166. 13. that in Sparta all persons *μὴ θέλοντες ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος κινδυνεύειν* might be executed, is ambiguous, since the law to which he refers is lost.

he yielded to every one the way, and gave up his seat to an inferior in age; his lost honour was at first sight evident to every one from his ragged cloak, and his half slavery, from his half-shorn head. Hence many persons have asked, what merit it was in a Spartan if he preferred death to flight, since a punishment far worse than death awaited the coward? It is indeed true, that the merit of each individual Spartan was less if he preferred dying at his post to saving himself by flight, than if public opinion had not affixed so severe a penalty to the offence of the cowardly soldier. But this argument would be equally good against *all* public laws and ordinances, and even against the expression of national feelings and opinion. For the looser the bond of social union, and the more anarchical the condition of any state, the greater is the individual merit of any citizen who nevertheless observes the rules of morality and justice, and the praise of virtue is more considered as his particular due. Whereas, when each citizen listens to the voice of public opinion, and feels himself, as it were, bound to support the national power, a large part of the merit of individual excellence is taken away from the individual, and bestowed on the public institutions.

A less severe description of infamy was the lot of prisoners taken in war, who were not subject to the imputation of cowardice, as, for instance, the captives at Sphacteria. They were not allowed to fill any public office, and were deprived of the privilege of buying and selling. The other degrading restrictions were not, however, enforced, and the time of the punishment was limited.^b

^b Thuc. V. 34.

Among this class of punishments may be included the penalty of the unmarried, who were deprived of the customary honours of old age. Young men were also punished for various offences, by being compelled to sing defamatory songs against themselves, a custom corresponding with the inclination of the Doric race to mirth and merriment, under which a very serious character was frequently concealed. In the code of Charondas, public ridicule was also assigned as the penalty of the adulterer and busybody (*πολυπράγμων*),^c and that for sycophants and cowards was of a similar character.^d

4. Banishment was probably never a regular punishment in Sparta, for the law could hardly have compelled a person to do that which, if he had done it voluntarily, would have been punished with death.^e Murderers, particularly if their crime was unpremeditated, were sometimes forced to fly the country;^f but this cannot be considered as a case in point, for the flight only took place for the purpose of avoiding the revenge of relations. On the other hand, banishment exempted a person from the most severe punishments,^g and, according to the principles of the Greeks,

^c Plut. de Curios. 8. p. 139; Heyne, Opuscula, vol. II. p. 94.

^d Diod. XII. 12.

^e Plut. Ag. 11. The meaning of *Ælian* V. H. III. 12. probably is, that a person convicted of the offence in question would be punished with death, if he did not voluntarily quit the country. (See B. IV. ch. 4. § 8.) Aristotle, Pol. IV. 8., indeed says, that the Spartan constitution was oligarchical, because a few persons had, as judges, the power of inflicting death or banish-

ment; yet in this passage also banishment may be considered as a means of escaping from the penalty of death before the final passing of the sentence; for Aristotle's only purpose is to show that the decision of a few persons could deprive a citizen of life, or force him to quit the country. Concerning the power of the ephors to banish, see above, ch. 7. § 4.

^f For example, the boy in Xen. Anab. IV. 8. 25.

^g The polemarchs, who, ac-

preserved him from every persecution; so that even a person who was declared an outlaw by the Amphictyons was thought secure when out of the country.^h There is no instance in the history of Sparta of any individual being banished for political reasons, so long as the ancient constitution continued.

The punishment of death was inflicted either by strangulation in a room of the public prison called *Δεκάς*,ⁱ or by throwing the criminal into the *Cœadas*, a ceremony which was always performed by night.^k It was also in ancient times the law of Athens, that no execution should take place in the day-time.^l So also the senate of the *Æolic Cume* (whose antiquated institutions have been already mentioned) decided criminal cases during the night, and voted with covered balls,^m nearly in the same manner as the kings of the people of Atlantis, in the *Critias* of Plato.ⁿ These must not be considered as oligarchical contrivances for the undisturbed execution of severe sentences, but are to be attributed to the dread of pronouncing and putting into execution the sentence of death, and to an unwillingness to bring the terrors of that penalty before the eye of day. A similar

cording to Thucyd. V. 72, fled on account of disobedience in battle, and cowardice (*δόξαντες μαλακισθῆναι*), probably saved themselves from death: comp. Plut. Pericl. 22. Moreover, Clearchus, the leader of the mercenaries under Cyrus the Younger, was only an exile in this manner. He had been disobedient to the ephors at a military post, and on that account condemned to death. See Xenoph. Anab. I. 1. 9. II. 6. 4.

^h Herod. VII. 213.

ⁱ Plut. Ag. 19. At Corinth the name of the public prison was *Κῶς*, Steph. Byz.

^k Herod. IV. 146. Valer. Max. VI. 6.

^l Plut. Phæd. 116. Olympiodorus ad loc.

^m Plut. Qu. Gr. 2. The prohibition at Rhodes, that the *δημόσιος* should not enter the city, rests on a similar principle, Dio Chrysost. Or. 31. p. 632 Reisk. See Wessel. ad. Diod. I. p. 624. Aristid. II. 44. 5.

ⁿ P. 120 (171 Bekker.).

repugnance is expressed in the practice of the Spartan Gerusia, which never passed sentence of death without several days' deliberation, nor ever without the most conclusive testimony; the person who was acquitted could however be always subjected to a fresh examination.^o Notwithstanding this horror of shedding blood, the punishments in the early Greek states were more severe than under the Athenian republic. The orator Lycurgus^p ascribes to the ancient legislators in general the principle of the laws of Draco, to punish *all* actions with the same severity, whether the evil which they caused was great or small. This severity partly owed its origin to a supposition that the public rights were injured, and not the property or the peace of an individual. Thus the ancient law of Tenedos (which, together with the worship of Apollo there established, appears to have been derived from Crete) punished adulterers by decapitation with an axe;^q the same offence was punished, according to the code of Zaleucus, by the loss of an eye,^r and in Sparta it was guarded against by laws of extreme severity.^s

^o Plut. Lac. Apophth. p. 197. See Thuc. I. 132.

^p In Leocrat. p. 156. (§ 65. ed. Bekker.)

^q Heracl. Pont. 7. Miscell. Lips. Nova. T. X. 3. p. 392. *de Tenedia securi*. Compare Meineke ad Menand. p. 70. See also the story in Nicolaus Damascenus, p. 442. ed. Vales. (Comp. book II. ch. 2. § 3.) and the account of the punishment of the *μοιχὸς* at Gortyna in Ælian. V. H. XII. 12. Also the strange account of a Cretan festival in Plutarch de Defect. Orac. 13. proves that rape was in that island once punished by

decapitation. The very strict sumptuary and disciplinarian laws of *Ceos* were, in my opinion, of Cretan origin, and certainly not of Ionic. See Æginetica, p. 132., and Jacobs ad Meleag. Anthol. Palat. I. p. 449. Meineke ad Menand. Fragm. 135. p. 237. The existence of Cretan institutions in the islands of the Ægean is made probable by the report that Rhadamanthus was legislator of the islanders, Apollod. III. 1, 2.

^r Ælian. V. H. XIII. 24. Valer. Max. V. 5. 3.

^s See Book IV. ch. 4. § 3.

5. The laws respecting the penalty of death, which prevailed in the Grecian, and especially in the Doric states, were derived from Delphi. They were entirely founded upon the ancient rite of expiation, by which a limit was first set to the fury of revenge, and a fixed mode of procedure in such cases established.^t Any person killing another without premeditation in the gymnastic contests and public battles was, according to the law which (as Plato states)^u came from Delphi, immediately released from all guilt, when he had been purified: it is however probable, that much of what the philosopher recommends in other cases was derived from the institutions of Draco, as well as from the Delphian laws, which were actually administered in the latter state by the Pythian court of justice.^x To what extent reconciliation with kinsmen by the payment of a fine was permitted, and in what cases the punishment of death was made compulsory, cannot be ascertained. The Delphian court having unjustly condemned Æsop to death, sentenced itself to the payment of a fine, and discovered some descendants or kinsmen of their victim, to whom the money was paid.^y The Delphian institutions were doubtless connected with those of Crete, where Rhadamanthus was reported

and compare the degrading punishments for adultery at Cume, Plut. Qu. Gr. 2. p. 378. and at Lepreum, Heracl. Pont. 14. The account of the punishment for adultery at Tenedos may indeed be a mere fiction, in order to explain the symbol on the Tenedian coins (see Thirlwall in the Philological Museum, vol. I. p. 118); yet the parallel cases in the text give it a certain degree of credibility. The axe in the hands of the Apollo

of Tenedos (B. II. ch. 8. § 17) appears likewise to be not so much a weapon as an instrument of punishment.

^t See book II. ch. 8. § 5.

^u Leg. IX. p. 865. The Scholiast also quotes an oracle (p. 235 Ruhnke. p. 454 Bekk.), which however Plato cannot allude to in particular.

^x Book II. ch. 1. § 8.

^y Herod. II. 134. Plut. de sera Num. Vind. 12. p. 244.

by ancient tradition to have first established courts of justice, and a system of law,^a the larger and more important part of which, in early times, is always the criminal law. Now as Rhadamanthus is said to have made exact retaliation the fundamental principle of his code,^a it cannot be doubted, after what has been said in the second book on the connexion of the worship of Apollo and its expiatory rites with Crete, that in this island the harshness of that principle was early softened by religious ceremonies, in which victims and libations took the place of the punishment which should have fallen on the head of the offender himself.

6. In the present chapter we have frequently had occasion to mention the laws of Zaleucus (the earliest written code which existed in Greece),^b actuated by a belief that they were of Doric origin. The Epizephyrian Locrians, amongst whom these laws were in force, were indeed for the most part descendants of the Ozolian and Opuntian Locrians.^c Aristotle describes them as a collected rabble, in the true spirit of a mythologist, carrying to the extreme the opposition between recent regularity and early anarchy. These Locrians, however, at the very first establishment of their city, received the Doric customs, Syracusans from Corinth having contributed largely to its foundation,^d besides

^a τὰ περὶ τὰς δίκας, Plato de Leg. I. p. 625.

^b See Aristot. Eth. Nic. V. 5. 3.

^c Strabo VI. p. 397 D. Scymnus v. 313. Both follow Ephorus.

^d Heyne Opusc. Acad. vol. II. p. 46. The descent from the latter is also confirmed by the tradition concerning the expiatory virgins for the crime of Ajax the son of Oileus. See

Heyne, p. 53. Orchomenos, p. 167.

^d From these was derived the Minerva, together with Pegasus (this goddess is also said to have given the laws to Zaleucus, see particularly Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 352 A.), and the Proserpine upon their coins; see Liv. XXIX. 18. The Corycæan colony is very doubtful; see Heyne, p. 52.

which the Spartans are said to have colonized Locri during the first Messenian war. Although the time may be doubtful, it is an additional confirmation of the fact, that in an ancient war with the inhabitants of Croton, the Locrians applied for assistance to the Spartans, who promised them the assistance of their gods of war, the Tyndaridæ. Locri was therefore considered a Doric state, a character which was likewise preserved in its dialect. The constitution was also an oligarchy,^e in the hands apparently of a number of Doric and Locrian families. We find in this state, as well as in its mother-city Opus, the hundred families who, by virtue of their nobility, enjoyed a large share in the government.^f But that the aristocracy was united with a timocracy appears to me to be proved by the senate of a thousand; which, under the presidency of the cosmopolis, constituted a supreme court of justice,^g and appears to have been formed in the manner stated, if we may judge from the analogy of the senates of Rhegium and Agrigentum: which argument seems to have the greater weight, as such numerous councils of an aristocratic character do not appear to have existed in Greece, and they were evidently not democratic.

7. Now with regard to the laws themselves which Zaleucus gave to this state about the 29th Olympiad,^h the testimony of Ephorus deserves particular attention, that they were founded upon the institutions of Crete,

^e Aristot. Pol. V. 6, 7.

^f See Polyb. XII. 5. 7. et sup. Heyne p. 53. Boeckh. ad Pind. Olymp. IX. 15. That the family of Ajax was one of them may be seen by comparing Servius ad Æn. I. 41. with Polybius.

^g Polyb. XII. 16. Concerning the courts of justice, see Diod. XII. 20. Stobæus Serm. 42. p. 240.

^h According to Eusebius. Comp. Bentley's Phalaris, p. 340.

Sparta, and the Areopagus, and upon those of the latter in criminal law.¹ For this reason Zaleucus is brought into connexion with Thaletas, the expiatory priest of Crete, and the spirit of his laws suited the Pythagoreans (who proceeded upon the same Doric usages and maxims), and in later days Pindar^k and Plato.¹ The prohibition to all citizens to leave their country, and to dwell in foreign states,^m is of genuine Doric, and therefore Spartan character;ⁿ an institution which forms the other side of the Xenelasia. Of the same nature also is the firmness with which the legislation was maintained, and every change guarded against;^o they laboured to resist in every manner the Ionic spirit of innovation; and if understood with a slight allowance, it may be true that every person arriving at Locri was punished, who inquired after novelties.^p In the same spirit are the measures adopted for securing as far as possible the inalienability of landed property.^q The same character is shown in the strict sumptuary laws,^r and the superintendence of public morals exercised by the nomophylaces, who were, for example, empowered to admonish and to punish slanderers.^s A certain progress is, however,

¹ Ap. Strab. VI. p. 260. Ephor. frag. n. 47. p. 150. ed Marx.

^k Olymp. X. 17.

¹ Timæus, p. 20.

^m Ap. Stob. Serm. 47. p. 280.

ⁿ See above, §. 4. The same law (*pænaque mors posita est patriam mutare volenti*) is mentioned by Ovid Metam. XV. 29. in the story of the founding of Croton; the place appears from v. 19. to be Argos, but perhaps only by a misunderstanding; originally I believe it was Sparta.

^o Heyne p. 30.

^p Plut. de Curios. 8. p. 138. Diod. excerpt. Vat. VII.—X. 14. 2.

^q Above, ch. 10. § 5.

^r For example, the prohibition to drink pure wine, Ælian. V. H. II. 37. See book II. ch. 12. § 5.

^s Stobæus *ubi sup.* See above, ch. 7. § 8. 11. Cic. de Leg. III. 20. *Græci hoc diligentius (quam Romani), apud quos Nomophylaces creantur, neque hi solum litteras—sed*

shown in the rude attempts at a law of property, and a more accurate assignment of punishments.^t It is remarkable that both Zaleucus and Charondas annexed a sort of recommendation to particular laws:^u whereas nothing can be a greater proof of the total failure of a system of laws, than when an endeavour is made to demonstrate the expediency of arrangements, the truth and necessity of which should be self-evident. This statement must not, however, be thus understood: the meaning is, that all the laws were by a short introduction referred to some general principle; such, for example, as "In order not to offend the gods of the families." "In order that the state may be well administered, and according to the laws of our fathers." "Trusting that it will be salutary to the people," (*λαίον και ἀμεινον*, as the Delphic oracle says on some occasion^x), &c.; which seem to me to be rather ancient formulas, suited to the simplicity of the time, and inserted from a vague religious feeling, than intended logically to establish, to the satisfaction of the people, the wisdom and expediency of the new laws.

etiam facta hominum observant ad legesque revocabant. The same is stated by Columella de Re Rust. XII. 3.

^t See above, § 1, 3.

^u This is the only way in which Cic. de Leg. II. 6. can be understood.

^x See above, p. 15. note ^o.

CHAP. XII.

- § 1. Study of the military profession at Sparta. Period of service.
 § 2. Arrangement of the army. Numbers of the military divisions. § 3. Arrangement of the enomoty and military evolutions. § 4. Arrangement of the Mora. § 5. Organization of the Spartan army. Its officers. § 6. Cavalry in the other Doric states. The Sciritæ in the Lacedæmonian army. Light-armed soldiers. § 7. Arms of the heavy infantry of Sparta. § 8. Spartan tactics. § 9. Steady courage of the Spartans. § 10. War considered as an art by the Spartans. Life of the Spartans in camp.

1. THE military system of the Dorians, which we are now about to consider, was evidently brought to the greatest perfection in Sparta. In this state the military profession, as was hardly the case in any other part of Greece, was followed as an art, as the study of a life;^a so that when Agesilaus (as is related) separated the shoemakers, carpenters, potters, &c., from the assembled allied army, the Spartans alone remained, as being the warriors by profession (as *τεχνῶνται τῶν πολεμικῶν*^b). But the principles of their military tactics were evidently common to the whole race; and, according to a conjecture advanced in a former part of this work,^c it was chiefly the method of attack, in closed lines, with extended lances, by which the Dorians conquered the Achæans of Peloponnesus, and which was adopted from them by many other states of Greece.

Every Spartan was, if he had sufficient strength,

^a Xen. Rep. Lac. 13. 5. Plut. Lyæn. II. 1. 7. Pelop. 23.

^b See, besides, Plutarch, Po-

^c B. I. ch. 4. § 9.

bound to defend his country in expeditions without the boundaries during the years that were designated by the name *ἡλικία*.^d This period lasted to the fortieth year from manhood (*ἀφ' ἡβης*), that is to say, to the sixtieth year from birth:^e until that time a man was called *ἔμφρουρος* (from *φρουρά*), and could not go out of the country without permission from the authorities.^f Of these, the younger men were sometimes sent abroad; but those of fifty-five and upwards, not till the state was in difficulty.^g The ephors stated in the name of the public assembly the years, until which the obligation to service in an individual case extended.^h Upon the whole, the armies of Sparta must have contained many aged triarii: while in Athens the liability to foreign service generally terminated with the twenty-third year of manhood; which was computed from the eighteenth year.ⁱ But Sparta reckoned upon a healthy and strong old age; the time for deliberative sagacity does not begin till the age for fighting has ended. The allied army of the Argives, Arcadians, and Athenians was, in 418 B. C., met by an army composed of all the Spartans^k (that is, all the *ἔμφρουροι*^l); but they dismissed from the boundaries a sixth part of the

^d *Οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις*, Polyb. IV. 22. 8.

^e Agesilaus, when sixty-two years old, according to Xenophon's computation, was no longer *ἔμφρουρος*, Hell. V. 4. 13. Plut. Ages. 24.

^f Isocrat. Busir. p. 225 A. (quoted by Harpocration in v. *καὶ γὰρ τὸ*), where *μάχιμος* is evidently put for *ἔμφρουρος*. Comp. Xen. Rep. Lac. 5. 7.

^g Xen. Hell. VI. 4. 17.

^h Xen. Rep. Lac. 11. 2. See

above, p. 126. note ¹.

ⁱ On this point see Petit. Leg. Att. VIII. 1. p. 548; but the subject has been treated far better by Boeckh in a programm of the Berlin university for 1819.

^k It was probably impossible to assemble the Pericæci on a sudden summons of the army.

^l *βοηθία τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων γίγνεται αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν εἰλώτων πανδημεῖ*, Thuc. V. 64.

army, consisting of the younger and the older, in order to protect the capital.^m

2. In marching and in battle the Spartans endeavoured to conceal their strength from the enemy; for this reason the levies were hastily made by the ephors, and the army sometimes marched during the night;ⁿ the depth of the ranks in the army was also very various, and the enemy could not be certain of its strength. In the battle of Mantinea there were seven lochi, each containing four pentecostyes, the pentecostys four enomoties, and the front row of the enomoty containing four men: the pentecostys had therefore 16 in front, the lochus 64, the whole army 448. According to Thucydides the Spartans generally stood eight men deep; therefore the whole number of the hoplitæ was 3584. To these however were added the 300 picked men about the king, about 400 cavalry in both wings,^o and also the old men, posted as a body of reserve with the baggage, together with the Lacedæmonians, appointed to cover the right wing of the allies, in number perhaps about 500.^p The whole number of men was 4784. A sixth part of the army had been sent back; which gives for the entire army 5740 men. This was at that time the number of heavy-armed soldiers, which, after severe losses in the field, the city of Sparta was able of itself to furnish:^q nor indeed is it so considerable as the report of its strength would lead one to suppose; but it increased, in the manner of

^m Thuc. V. 68.

ⁿ Herod. IX. 10.

^o Thuc. IV. 55.

^p The Brasideans (emancipated Helots) and Neodamodes (see c. 67.) appear to have not been included in the seven λό-

χοι; and in c. 68 they are understood together with the Sciritæ. In Schol. Aristoph. Lys. 454. write, ὁ δὲ Θουκυδίδης ζῆ φησὶ χωρὶς τῶν ΣΚΙΡΙΤΩΝ.

^q Τὸ πολὺτικόν, Xen. Hell. V. 3. 25.

an avalanche, into a numerous and powerful army,^r when there was time to collect troops from the allies.

Although we have given the account of this battle in the first instance, we cannot derive from it any information with regard to the original regulation of the army, since Agis had increased the lochi to four times their usual strength, as we shall presently see, in order to deceive the enemy by false accounts. For, if we compare the statements of the well informed Xenophon^s, we obtain the following explanation of the names: two enomoties compose a pentecostys, two pentecostyes a lochus^t, four lochi a mora; now if an enomoty, as must have been originally the case, contained twenty-four^u, or, with the enomotarch, twenty-five men^v, the mora would have contained 400; and, including the superior officers, pentecosters, and lochagi, 412. In the time of Xenophon, however, the enomoty consisted of thirty-six men^w; and accordingly, the mora of 600, as was the case on an occasion mentioned by the same historian^x; the other numbers, which vary between 500^a and 900^b, must also have resulted from the greater or less increase in the strength of the enomoty.

3. Now the enomoty, the most simple body of this military arrangement, was, as the word shows, a file of

^r Ibid. IV. 2. 12.

^s Rep. Lac. 11. 4.

^t *Enomotia quarta decuriæ* (λόχου) pars, Ælian. Tact. 5.

^u Suidas, Timæus, Etym. Magn.

^v This was also the case with the rearguard of the 10,000.

^w Three times twelve, according to Xen. Hell. VI. 4. 12.

^x Hell. IV. 5. 11, 12.

^a See Plutarch. Pelop. 16. from Ephorus, Diod. XV. 32.

^b See the passages quoted by Cragius IV. 4. and add Etym. M. p. 590. 33. (where Martini Prol. de Spartiat. Mora. Ratisbonæ 1771. corrects 900 for 30), Biblioth. Coisl. p. 505. and Bekk Anecd. I. p. 209. Comp. Sturz Lex. Xen. in v. μόρα.

men closely united, and bound by a common oath^c, which stood in the deep phalanx each one behind the other^d, the enomotarch being in front (*πρωτοστάτης*) of the whole file. Thus also the Thebans stood in files twenty-five men deep^e, which they sometimes strengthened to double that number^f; in the Lacedæmonian army, however, the file was generally broken, and the enomoty, according to the order given before the battle, stood three and sometimes six men broad^g; in the former case, if its number was not increased, eight; in the latter, four deep: the Lacedæmonians are also reported to have once beaten the Arcadians with a line only one shield deep^h. If, however, the whole enomoty stood in one file, it was called *λόχος ὀρθίος*; and in this disposition they attacked high places, when the files were placed at some distance from each otherⁱ. The deployments (*παραγωγαι*), by which the phalanx was made more or less deep, were ordered by the enomotarch. This person was

^c τάξεις διὰ σφαγίων ἐνώμοτος, Hesychius.

^d Like one *στίχος* or *versus*, Ælian. Tact. 5.

^e Thuc. IV. 93.

^f Xen. Hell. VI. 4. 12.

^g Xen. Rep. Lac. 11. 4. διὰ παραγγυήσεως καθίστανται τότε μὲν εἰς ἐνωμοτίας, τότε δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, τότε δὲ εἰς ἕξ, i. e. the enomoty was sometimes one, sometimes three, sometimes six men in width, as is evident from Hell. VI. 4. 12. In Hell. III. 2. 16. the enomoty is eight men wide, contrary to the usual custom. The single division of a lochus, in the common acceptance of the word, was also called *λόχος*, which, according to Schol.

Arist. Acharn. 1073. Ælian. Tact. 4. Suidas, Tzetz. Chil. XII. 523, contained eight, or twelve, or sixteen men, that is, if the enomoty formed two, three, or four *στίχοι*. The *τάξις*, according to Ælian 9, contained eight lochi, or 128 men; in that case the enomoty had four *στίχοι*. Compare Sturz Lex. Xen. in *λόχος*, Perizon. ad Ælian. V. H. II. 44. D'Orville ad Chariton. p. 455.

^h Isocrat. Archid. p. 136. C. Comp. B. 1. ch. 9. § 9.

ⁱ Xen. Anab. IV. 2. 11. IV. 3. 17. IV. 8. 10. Comp. Ælian, Suidas in *ὀρθία*, Sturz in *ὀρθίος*, in whose opinion the whole lochus formed one file.

the strongest man or the best soldier of the whole enomoty; hence it was his continual care that on whatever point the attack was made he should always stand at the head of his file: the *uragi*, however, the last men of the file, were experienced soldiers, especially when the army was expected to be threatened in the rear. If then the lochi moved one behind the other (*ἐπὶ κέρως*), the enomotarchs advanced before the long files. If the enemy approached in front, the files, either whole or broken, moved forward, each placing itself on the left side of the preceding file (*παρ' ἀσπίδα*^k). If the enomoty was broken, the enomotarch then occupied in the square formed by his enomoty the front angle to the right hand, and the first enomotarch of the army was always the last man of the right wing; this movement was called *παραγωγή εἰς μέτωπον*, or *ἐπὶ φάλαγγος*^l. But if the enemy came on in the rear, each file wheeled round, so that the leaders again came in front^m. If the enemy appeared on the right, the whole number of lochi, moving one behind the other, turned, like triremes, towards the enemy, and the man who was last upon the march was last in the line of battle to the right (*παρὰ δόρυ*). And, lastly, if they advanced from the left, the same movement took place, only the last lochus then occupied the left wing (*παρ' ἀσπίδα*ⁿ).

4. Lochi also occur among the Argives and Thebans, and in the Asiatic armies; under the command of Sparta there were lochi of mercenaries and bowmen^o, &c.; whereas the *mora* was a division peculiar to the Spartans. The formation of this body was as

^k Xen. de Rep. Lac. 11. 8. cf. Anab. IV. 3. 26.

^l See Hell. VII. 5. 22.

^m Rep. Lac. ubi sup.

ⁿ Rep. Lac. 11. 10.

^o Hell. IV. 2. 5.

follows. The whole number of citizens (τὸ πολιτικὸν) was divided into six moras^p; so that every person of military age (ἐμφρουρος), even while he lived at Sparta, belonged to one of them. The strength of the mora in the field depended on the maximum fixed by the ephors for the age of those employed; thus, for example, they were able to send out a mora composed of persons less than thirty-five years from manhood (ἀφ' ἡβης), and keep back those of greater age^q, &c. So that in this sense the numbers of the division depended upon circumstances. To each mora of heavy-armed infantry there belonged, without being in close connexion with it, a body of cavalry bearing the same name^r, consisting at the most of 100 men, and commanded by the hipparmost^s. In the mora of the infantry, however, the men of different ages must have been in some manner separated, so that, for example, those between thirty and thirty-five years of age could be easily detached for pursuit^t. In this division no respect was had to kindred; soldiers of one mora had brothers, sons, fathers, in another^u, although in early times it appears to have been an object of the greatest care to bring relations and friends together. According to Herodotus^v Lycurgus instituted the enomoties, triacades, and syssitia for war; evidently as military

^p Rep. Lac. 11. 4. cf. Hieron. 9. 5. διήρηνται γὰρ ἅπασαι αἱ πόλεις αἱ μὲν κατὰ φυλάς, αἱ δὲ κατὰ μόρας, αἱ δὲ κατὰ λόχους. That the number was six appears also from Xen. Hell. VI. 1. 1. VI. 4. 17. and from Aristotle ap. Harpocrat. in μόρα (where Bekker's edition has the correct reading *six* instead of *five*). Diodorus XV. 32. proves nothing against the number *six*.

The νεοδαμῶνεις belonged to no mora, Hell. IV. 3. 15.

^q Xen. Hell. VI. 4. 17.

^r Xen. de Rep. Lac. 11. 4.

^s Hell. IV. 4. 10. IV. 5. 12. A square of fifty was called οὐλαμὸς, Plut. Lyc. 23.

^t Xen. Hell. IV. 5. 15, 16. cf. IV. 4. 16.

^u Ib. IV. 5. 10.

^v See above, ch. 5. §. 6.

divisions; and the Lacedæmonians ate and fought in the same company; from which we may explain why the polemarchs had also a superintendence over the public tables^y. By these the larger divisions, and not the single banqueting companies, are intended; when Sparta, in the reign of king Agis, again contained 4500 families, there were fifteen of these divisions^z; and in earlier times, when the number of families was 9000, there were probably thirty; it is therefore doubtless another name for oba, which rarely occurs; and the army was arranged according to tribes, phratrias, and houses. In early times also the single hamlets of Sparta furnished lochi of their own; as were the Pitanaetæ^a in the Persian war, and the Mesoataetæ^b.

5. Of the two principles upon which the regulation of the Lacedæmonian army was founded, one (as has been already pointed out) belonged more peculiarly to early times, and at a late period nearly disappeared: I mean the complete union and amalgamation of the army in all its parts. This is expressed by the name *enomoty*; and we are led to the same

^y Plut. Lyc. 12. Lac. Apophth. p. 221.

^z Plut. Ag. 8.

^a See above, ch. 3. § 7.

^b According to Schol. Aristoph. Lysist. 454. there were six lochi at Sparta, five are named, ἔδωλος, σίνις, ἀρίμας, πλοῦς, μεσοάγης. The last is evidently ΜΕΣΟΑΘΗΣ; of the others I have nothing to say, except that the ἔδωλος λόχος is also mentioned by Hesychius. Neither can the four lochi of the king be easily explained (cf.

Schol. Acharn. 1087); perhaps it is only another expression for the mora of the king (Xen. Rep. Lac. 13. 6.). There were five (or six) lochi in Sparta, according to Aristotle, Photius in λόχοι, Hesychius, and his commentators. Xenophon Hell. VII. 5. 10. speaks of ten lochi; of twelve in VII. 4. 20. Dindorf, however, writes *twelve* in VII. 5. 10. with two manuscripts; by which the two passages are reconciled.

result by many other remarkable vestiges, such as the proximity of the lovers to the loved (which in certain situations must have produced a strong effect upon the feelings), and the sacrifices to Love, which, according both to the Spartan and Cretan usage, the most beautiful men performed before the battle. The second principle was of longer duration; the duty of implicit obedience to every person in authority (*πειθαρχία*). Now in the artificial organization of the army almost all Spartans were in a certain respect commanders^c; for not only the front men of the files, even when the enomoties were broken (*πρωτοστάται*), but the first men of every line (*ζευγῖται*) were officers^d; nay, every two persons throughout the whole enomoty were connected with each other as foreman and rear-man (*πρωτοστάτης* and *ἐπιστάτης*^e.) The commands (*παραγγέλσεις*) passed rapidly through the polemarchs, lochagi, &c., to the enomotarchs, who gave them out, like heralds, in a loud voice^f; but that the command alone of the immediate superior held good, is proved by the circumstance that the disobedience of a polemarch or lochagus entailed the disobedience of the whole lochus^g. The polemarchs, lochagi, pentecosters, and also the xenagi (leaders of mercenaries^h), took part in the council of war, which was preceded by solemn sacrificesⁱ; the first mentioned officers commanded independently

^c Thuc. V. 66.^d Plut. Pelop. 23.^e Ælian. Tact. 5.^f Xen. Rep. Lac. 11. 6.^g See the instances of Amompharetus, Herod. IX. 53, and of Hipponoidas and Aristotle, Thuc. V. 71.^h This was probably the realcharacter of the *ξενάγοι* (Anecd. Bekk. vol. I. p. 284. cf. Xen. Ages. 2. 10.); and there having the command of *σύμμαχοι* in sieges, as in Thuc. II. 75. appears to be an exception.ⁱ Xen. Rep. Lac. 13. 4. Hell. III. 5. 22. IV. 5. 7. See Sturz in v. *λοχαγός*.

single moras and whole armies^k, or composed the immediate council of the kings; they were supported or represented, as it appears, by the *συμφορεῖς*^l. The king, in an instance mentioned by Herodotus, himself appointed an inferior general^m, which seems to be a consequence of his extensive power in military affairs. The escort of the king was called by the name of *damosia*ⁿ, and consisted of his tent comrades, to which the polemarchs^o, the Pythians^p, and three Equals also belonged^q; of the diviners, surgeons, flute-players, and volunteers in the army^r, to which must be added the two ephors, who attended the kings on expeditions^s; the laphyropolæ, who together with the ephors, took possession of the booty; the hellanodicæ, who decided disputes in the army (in this case, as well as at Olympia, the Peloponnesians were called Hellenes by pre-eminence^t); the symbuli, sent out, after the time of Agis, as assistants to the king^u; the pyrophorus, a priest of Ares, who took fire from the sacrifice, which the king performed at home to Zeus Agetor^x, and on the boundary to Zeus and Athene,

^k Herod. VII. 173.^l Xen. Hell. VI. 4. 14.^m Herod. IX. 10. In this instance Pausanias fixed upon Euryanax, the son of Dorieus, of the same family; yet Dorieus cannot have been the son of Anaxandridas (Manso, vol. III. 2. p. 315.), as in that case he would have been king before Leonidas.ⁿ That is, *δαμοσία σκηνή* or *τράπεζα*.^o Xen. Hell. VI. 4. 14. Rep. Lac. 13. 1, 7.^p See above, ch. 1. § 9.^q See above, p. 111, note ^f.^r Xen. Rep. Lac. 13. 7. Nicol. Dam. The *κρεωδαίτης* also probably belonged to the same suite, Plut. Ages. 8.^s Manso, vol. II. p. 377. III. 1. p. 214.^t Xen. Rep. Lac. 13. 11.^u See above, p. 108, note ^m. Comp. Thuc. VIII. 39. *Βουλευταῖοι* occur in inscriptions of Fourmont's which Raoul-Rochette considers the same as the *σύμβουλοι*.^x See above, p. 103, note ^o. See also Theopompus ap. Schol. Theocrit. V. 83. Eudocia, p. 251. concerning Ζεὺς Ἡγήτωρ;

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^v See above, p. 103, note ^o. See also Theopompus ap. Schol. Theocrit. V. 83. Eudocia, p. 251. concerning Ζεὺς Ἡγήτωρ;

and preserved it during the whole campaign (in battle the unarmed were protected by a religious awe^y) ; and, lastly, those who had conquered in crowned contests were in the king's train^z ; a train indeed of sufficient importance, and fit in so simple a state of society to surround the descendant of Hercules with an appearance of dignity. The Thirty about the king's person are not identical with the damosia ; for these were always Spartans, which we cannot say of flute-players, &c. ; they were assigned to the king, even when the rest of the army (as was frequently the case in expeditions in Asia) consisted exclusively of neodamodes^a, and were probably at the same time the body-guard and council of the king. They may therefore be considered as the 300 contracted into a small body, which accompanied the king only on expeditions to a small distance from home. These 300 were the picked regiment of Sparta, the flower of the youth, as the gerontes were of the old men, and also chosen on aristocratic principles. For the ephors appointed three hippagretæ, each of whom chose one hundred young men, with a statement of the grounds of his selection ; from the number of those discharged from this body the five agathoergi were taken, who for the space of a year served the state in missions^b.

who was also worshipped at Argos as the god who had led the Heraclidæ into the country, a belief referred to by Tyrtæus in the verses quoted in vol. I. p. 52. note ^d.

^y Xen. Rep. Lac. 13. 2. Comp. Zenob. Prov. V. 34. Schol. Eurip. Phœn. 1415.

^z Plut. Lyc. 22. Qu. Symp. II. 5. p. 88.

^a Xen. Hell. III. 4. 2. IV.

1. 5, 30, 34. V. 3. 8. Plut. Ages. 6. 7. Lysand. 23.

^b Manso, vol. I. 1. p. 153.

See also Herod. VIII. 124. Xen. Hell. 5. 3. 9. Plut. Reg. Apophth. p. 130. Lac. Apophth. p. 232. Dionys. Hal. Arch. II.

13. according to whom they were both horsemen and hoplitæ. The three hundred with Leonidas, although Herodotus

VII. 205. calls them οἱ ΚΑΤ-

6. A similar body in the Cretan states really consisted of horsemen ; the Spartans were called horsemen, and were in fact heavy-armed infantry^c ; the cause of which was, the low estimation of the cavalry-service among the Lacedæmonians. The country was fitted rather for the production of men than of horses ; and although the citizens furnished both the horse and accoutrements, they were ridden only by weak and inferior persons^d. Thus the horsemen of Sparta, the number of whom in the Peloponnesian war was at first 400, and afterwards rose to 600^e, effected nothing against the better mounted and practised cavalry of Bœotia, which as the light-armed riders sometimes mounted behind, sometimes vaulted off rapidly, was doubly formidable to the enemy^f. Among the other Doric states, Tarentum in particular had a numerous^g and very excellent light cavalry^h. The preference for a force of this description is a proof, according to the principles of antiquity, of an unstable and effeminate character, exactly the reverse of that exhibited by the heavy-armed soldiery of the Lacedæmonians.

In the Lacedæmonian army the Sciritæ formed a separate bodyⁱ, of whom there were 600 in the Pe-

ΕΣΤΕΩΤΕΣ τριηκόσιοι, were not however ἱππεῖς ; most of them were doubtless men of an advanced age ; whereas the horsemen, as the false Archytas in Stob. Serm. 41. calls them, were κόροι.

^c Strab. X. p. 481.

^d Xen. Hell. VI. 4. 11.

^e Thuc. IV. 55. Xen. Hell. IV. 2. 16.

^f The ἀμιπποι (πρόδρομοι in

Philochorus), Thuc. V. 57. Xen. Hell. VII. 5. 24. Harpocration and Hesychius in v.

^g 30,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry, Strab. VI. p. 280.

^h Ælian. Tact. 2. Steph. Byzant. in Τάρας, &c.

ⁱ Also called λόχος, Diod. XV. 32. Hesychius and Etymol. M. in σκιρτήης λόχος, Bekk. Anecd. I. p. 305. Schol. Thucyd. V. 67.

loponnesian war^k. In marches they went in front, in the camp they occupied the extreme place^l, and in the battle they formed the left wing^m. Although we have no express statement of their mode of arms, we can hardly suppose that they were heavy-armed troops, since they were particularly employed when a rapid change of position, or a vigorous attack, such as storming of heights, &c., was requiredⁿ; they were often at the post of greatest danger^o. Originally, doubtless, they were, as they were called, inhabitants of the district Sciritis, on the confines of Laconia, towards Parrhasia^p; their rights and duties appear to have been defined by agreement; their mode of fighting was also perhaps Arcadian. The other Periœci appear only to have taken part in large expeditions, and such as were prepared for a considerable time beforehand; and they probably served for the most part as hoplitæ^q; the ratio of their number, as well as that of the neodamodes and others, to the citizens of Sparta, was not governed by any fixed rule^r.

It is not by any means clear in what manner the

^k Thucyd. V. 67.

^l Xen. Rep. Lac. 12. 3. 13.

^m Thuc. ubi sup. Diodorus represents them as standing round the king's person; he evidently confounds them with the knights.

ⁿ Xen. Hell. V. 4. 52, 53. Diod. ubi sup.

^o This is also what Xenophon Cyrop. IV. 2. 1. says. Comp. Hesychius and other grammarians, Manso, vol. I. 2. p. 228.

^p *Ἡν δὲ Ἀρκάδιος*, Hesychius.

^q *Λογάδες τῶν περιόικων*, Herod. IX. 11.

^r At the battle of Leuctra there were only 700 Spartans present, according to Xenoph. Hell. VI. 4. 15; but he must use the word in a very limited sense; for there were four *moras* (*μόραι πολιτικαὶ*) of men less than thirty-five years (*ἀφ' ἡβῆς*), which could not have contained less than 2000 men. The whole army was however much more numerous; at Corinth it had contained 6000 hoplitæ, IV. 2. 16. See also above, ch. 2. § 3.

Peloponnesian armies were accompanied by such numerous bodies of light-armed soldiers, more particularly of Helots^a. It must at the same time be borne in mind that the Persian war was the only time, that is, on a general summons of the nation, when so many as seven attended upon every Spartan^b; on this occasion, when the numbers of the enemy were so excessive, they might have served to protect the rear of the long line of battle, and to resist the pressure; in addition to which they also annoyed the enemy from behind with slings, javelins, and stones. A large part of them, in the capacity of attendants (*θεράποντες, ἐρυκτῆρες, ὑπασπισταί*), were also destined exclusively for the service of the hoplitæ, and to rescue them in danger^c; another portion was probably detached to convoy and cover the baggage (*στρατὸς σκευοφορικός*). The Peloponnesians in early times never attempted to form separate divisions of light-armed soldiers, such as the peltasts were, who, in addition to the javelin, bore the small shield of the Thracians and Illyrians^d. The perfection of this species of troops, especially after the improvement of Chabrias and Iphicrates, was the cause of severe injury to the heavy-armed tactics of the Spartans; and the Peloponnesians dreaded them for a long time,

^a That at a latter time there were still many *ψελοὶ* in the Peloponnesian army may be seen from Polyænus IV. 14.

^b See above, ch. 3. § 2. and p. 45. note^t, where however it should be observed, that the epitaph must *not* be taken with the passage in VIII. 25; it refers to the battle *before* the surrounding of the army. The

statement of some writers (Hegemon in the Palatine Anthology VII. 436. Isocrat. Archid. p. 136 D.) that 1000 Spartans were present at Thermopylæ is evidently erroneous.

^c Above, ch. 3. § 2. cf. Xen. Hell. IV. 8. 39.

^d Aristoph. Lysist. 563. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 307.

according to the Laconian expression, as children fear a bugbear^γ.

7. The attention of Sparta was almost exclusively directed to the heavy infantry; and it can scarcely be denied that this was carried by them to the highest pitch of perfection. The arms^α consisted of a long spear^α, a short sword only used in the closest single combat^β, a brazen shield^α, which covered the body from the shoulders to the knees^δ, and was in other respects also more similar to the shield of the heroic age than that of the other Greeks. For while the Greeks in general had adopted the Carian handle (ὀχάνη) in order to direct the motion of the shield, of which the size had been considerably reduced, the Spartan buckler was probably suspended upon a thong (τελαμών) laid round the neck, and was only managed by a ring (πόρπαξ) fastened in the concave side, which in time of peace could be taken out^ε. Cleomenes the Third first introduced the handles of

^γ Xen. Hell. IV. 4. 17. see however IV. 15. 11. sqq. V. 4. 14.

^α Probably the Δωρική ὀπλισίς of Hesychius.

^β Herod. VII. 211.

^δ Plut. Lyc. 19. Reg. Apophth. p. 130. Lac. Apophth. p. 194, 261. Dion. 18. The Δωρική μάχαιρα only occurs as a sacrificing-knife, Eurip. Electr. 819, 836.

^ε Xen. Rep. Lac. 11. 3. The ancient circular shields of Argos (see Spanheim ad Calim. Pall. Lav. 35.) are probably nearly the same which were really manufactured in that city, Pind. Hyporch. 3. p. 599.

Boeckh; and see vol. I. p. 83. note^γ.

^δ Tyrtaeus Fragm. 2. v. 23. Gaisford.

^ε See Critias (son of Callæschrus) ap. Liban. Or. XXIV. p. 86. Reisk. Plut. Cleom. 11. Hence Aristophanes Lysist. 107. uses the word πορπακισάμενος of a Spartan. See also Aristoph. Eq. 848. from which passage it is evident that the πόρπαξ was all that was most essential for managing the shield, and that the τελαμών or thong could be easily procured, so that it was considered as an appendage of the πόρπαξ. Compare Schneider's Lexicon in ὀχάνη.

shields in Lacedæmon, and in general a less heavy armour.[†]

8. The principles of the Lacedæmonian tactics may be deduced from what has been already said on the subject of the enomoty, and of its movements; the deployment of the enomoty (the ἐξελιγμός) was the chief means of opposing the best soldiers to the enemy,[§] and it was from this movement in particular that victory was expected. A particular kind of this manœuvre was called the Laconian; it began from the enomotarchs, who faced about to the right, and passed in an oblique direction between their own and the next file; the whole file, following its leader, placed itself in front of the uragus, who merely faced to the right about. So that the whole phalanx, by this means, turning their faces towards the enemy who appeared in the rear, advanced at the same time in that direction by the depth of the order of battle. The Macedonian mode was different from this; for in that the movement began from the uragus, and therefore the phalanx lost, instead of gained, the same space of ground as it covered; and the Cretan (called also *Choreus*) differed from both, as the enomotarch and uragus both moved, until they changed places, and consequently, according to this method, the phalanx remained on the same ground.^h In a charge it was

[†] Concerning the emblems on the Lacedæmonian shields, see Pausan. IV. 28. 3; besides which there were distinct ἐπίσημα, Plut. Lac. Apophth. p. 240. The Cretans, according to the Scolion of Hybrias, also had λαισήμια; the λαισήμια περὶ ἐντα of Homer were probably

similar to the shields furnished with leathern fringes, or wings, represented on vases, e. g., Tischbein IV. 51.

[§] See Xen. Hell. III. 4. 18.

^h Ælian. Tact. 26, 27. Comp. Hesychius, Λάκων εἶδος παρὰ Τακτικοῖς.

the duty of the general to take care that the army constantly inclined somewhat further to the right than the exact line of its intended direction, since each man naturally endeavoured to bring his unprotected side under the shield of his neighbour, and the last man on the right wing to turn away that side from the danger, and therefore to outflank the left of the enemy:ⁱ this was also the cause of the weakness of the right wing, which they endeavoured to remedy by putting in it the best troops, and by protecting it with cavalry. Before Epaminondas discovered the art of concentrating the battle in the spot in which he was strongest, and of keeping the rest of the enemy's troops unengaged, the general had to attend to two points. In the first place, that the chief charge of his own men should be made upon that part where it appeared most easy and advantageous to break the line; and that at the same time his own line should withstand the charge of the enemy: and, secondly, he might endeavour to obtain the victory by extending his front so as to outflank the enemy; a manœuvre which the Spartans seldom indeed attempted, being content to hinder the enemy from effecting it. The chief point was to keep the whole body of men in compact order, both in rapid advance and in pretended flight:^k no bravery could excuse a man for quitting his post.

9. The chief characteristic of the warriors of Sparta was great composure and a subdued strength; the violence (λύσσα) of Aristodemus^l and Isadas^m being considered as deserving rather of blame than praise;

ⁱ Thuc. V. 71.

^k The latter was done by the Spartans at Thermopylæ, Herod. VII. 211; and according

to Plato Lach. p. 191. at Platææ.

^l Herod. IX. 71.

^m Plut. Ages. 34. where how

and these qualities in general distinguished the Greeks from the northern Barbarians, whose boldness always consisted in noise and tumult.ⁿ The conduct of the Spartans in battle denotes a high and noble disposition, which rejected all the extremes of brutal rage; the pursuit of the enemy ceased when the victory was completed;^o and, after the signal for retreat had been given, all hostilities ceased.^p The spoiling of arms, at least during the battle, was also interdicted;^q and the consecration of the spoils of slain enemies to the gods,^r as in general all rejoicings for victory were considered as ill-omened;^s ancient principles of Greek humanity which we cannot but admire. War was as much as possible confined to a measure of strength; and battle, as Mardonius in Herodotus describes that of the Greeks in general,^t was a kind of duel upon the principles of honour. In Peloponnesus, as well as in Eubœa,^u the use of the different species of arms had perhaps been regulated by the appointment of general councils; Sparta also retained with a religious veneration the ancient institutions of sacred truces; as, for instance, the Olympic armistice: it wished not only to celebrate its native festivals in quiet,^v but even respected

ever the fine of 1000 drachmas is very questionable.

ⁿ Thuc. IV. 126.

^o See Herod. IX. 77. Thuc. V. 73. Plut. Lyc. 22. de cohibend. Ira. 10. p. 438. Lac. Apophth. p. 226. Polyæn. I. 16. 3.

^p Plut. Lac. Apophth. p. 246.

^q Ibid. Ælian. V. H. VI. 6.

^r Plut. ibid. p. 214. with the note of Manso, vol. I. 2. p. 236.

^s Plut. Ages. 33.

^t VII. 9. 6.

^u See Strabo X. p. 448. with which comp. II. II. 544. Archilochus, p. 144. ed. Liebel.

^v As, e. g., at the Hyacinthia and Carneia. That the passage in Herodotus VI. 106. refers only to the latter, and that in the Carneia alone the Spartans did not set out before the full moon, is shown by Böckh Index Lect. Æstiv. Berol. 1816. Yet Plutarch is not the only writer who has misunderstood this passage (see Diogen. Prov.

foreign solemnities; thus, at so late a period as 391 B. C., that state allowed itself to be delayed and deceived by an appeal of the Argives to "the sacred months."^y If then the state, so long as it remained true to these principles, did not slaughter its enemies without aim or object, so much the more sparing was it of its own soldiers, every moderate loss being severely felt; but even in the engagements of the hoplitæ few of the victorious party were lost. Every one knows of the tearless battle between the Spartans and Arcadians, in which the state had no dead to mourn.^z Nothing therefore can be less laid to the charge of Sparta than a violent passion for war, a foolhardy and reckless desire of conquest. The latter was also guarded against by the maxim of Lycurgus,^a "not to go often against the same enemy," the non-observance of which was a charge brought against Agesilaus. With what unwillingness the Lacedæmonians engaged in great wars is generally known. And yet in every action in the open field, up to the battle of Leuctra, Sparta had nearly a certainty of success,^b since the consciousness of skill in the use of arms was added to the national feeling of the Doric race, that victory over the Ionians was not a matter of doubt.^c With what timidity did the Athenians attack

VI. 20. Jo. Tzet. Jamb. 161.); and Herodotus himself is not quite correct.

^y Xen. Hell. IV. 7. 2.

^z Thus also Brasidas only lost *seven* men in the action with Cleon, Thuc. V. 11.; and the Lacedæmonians, in the great battle of Corinth, only *eight*, Xen. Hell. IV. 3. 1.

^a Plut. Lyc. 13. Ages. 26.

Lac. Apophth. p. 188. 222. Polyæn. I. 16. 2.

^b Compare what Archidamus in Isocrates says of the campaigns of the kings of his family: also Panathen. p. 286 E.

^c Thuc. I. 121. Herod. VII. 102. Comp. Hegemon in the Palatine Anthology VII. 436. Δώριος ἂ μέλετα.

the hard-pressed and exhausted Spartans in Sphacteria! Their feeling towards the captives was nearly the same as that of the Achæans in Homer to the corpse of Hector.

These opinions necessarily experienced innumerable modifications when Sparta engaged in foreign warfare, and moved out of her own orbit into an unknown region; this was particularly the case in maritime war, which, although followed in early times by Corinth, Ægina, and Corcyra, never agreed with the nature of the Doric tribe. For this reason Sparta, although after many unsuccessful attempts she gave birth to men who had considerable talents for this service, as Callicratidas and Lysander, and for a time her fleet was very numerous, and the commander of it a second king,^d never showed any particular inclination for it. A disinclination equally strong, and formed upon the same grounds, was shown by the Spartans to the storming of walled places (πυργομαχεῖν^e) for which reason they never in early times constructed any defences of this kind; and despised the use of machines, by which Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, thought that "man's strength was annihilated."

10. We conclude with the assertion with which we prefaced this chapter, though in a different point of view, that no nation ever considered war as an art in the same sense and to the same degree as the Doric Spartans. Indeed every nation, of a military disposition, and addicted to warlike pursuits, considers war not merely as a means of repelling the attacks of

^d Aristot. Pol. II. 6. 22. Ages. 10.

When the fleet was commanded by a king, as, e. g., Leotychidas, it was an exception; see Plut.

^e In several apophthegms they are called *women's apartments*.

enemies, or of gaining plunder or territory by being itself the invader. The mere act of fighting, the common and disciplined movement of thousands directed to the same end, the "pomp, pride, and circumstance "of glorious war," arouse the feelings, and inspire the mind with the noblest and most elevated thoughts; and there is a certain affinity between the art of war and the more regular and peaceful arts; thus a military body resembled, in its movements and array, a large choral dance. These feelings and views were among all nations most natural to the Greeks, and, of the Greek races, familiar to the Dorians in particular.

The agreement which some moderns^f have found between the Greek chorus and the lochus is not a mere creation of the fancy; the large chorus was a pentecostys in number, which was divided into enomoties (hemichoria); it advanced in certain divisions, like an army, and had corresponding evolutions.^g Both the dance and the battle were the object of the Pyrrhic, which was particularly practised in Sparta and Crete.^h In early times it was a preparation for battle, an use of it which was neglected in a later age; in the soldier heavy-armed for the battle was also seen the practised dancer of the Pyrrhic. The same connexion is alluded to by Homer, where Æneas hopes to overthrow Meriones of Crete, however good a dancer he may be:ⁱ thus also the Thessalians called the soldiers

^f See Thiersch's Preface to Pindar.

^g For this reason the Cretan ἐξελιγμός was also called χορείος; above, § 8. In Sparta the last in the chorus were called ψιλεῖς, Alcman Fragm. 108. Welcker. from Suidas

and Hesychius.

^h See book IV. ch. 6. § 7.

ⁱ Il. XVI. 617. quoted by Athen. V. p. 181. XIV. p. 630 B. Lucian de Salt. 7. Dio Chrysost. Orat. II. 31. 28. Heyne's interpretation, *de motu declinantis et a telosibi caventis*,

of the front ranks "principal dancers;" and said of a good fighter, that "he had danced well."^k For the same reason Homer calls hoplitæ by the name *πρυλῆες*,^l the war-dance having been called *πρύλις* by the Cretans.^m Now this latter expression is used by Homer in the passages in which both Greeks and Trojans give up the usual method of fighting, and the heroes descend from their chariots and form themselves into a body on foot; and therefore of that very mode of battle which became prevalent in Greece through the influence of the Dorians. For the same reason the Spartans sacrificed to the Muses before an action,ⁿ these goddesses being expected to produce regularity and order in battle; as they sacrificed on the same occasion in Crete to the god of love, as the confirmer of mutual esteem and shame.^o

The whole existence of the Spartans in the camp appears to have been easy and tranquil; and therefore resembled the mode of living in Sparta, as that city was to a certain degree always a camp.^p The bodily

is unquestionably not to be preferred to that of the ancients.

^k Lucian ubi sup.

^l Il. XI. 49. XII. 77. with the Scholia, and Eustathius. That the expression for it was also Laconian follows from Hesychius in *πρυλέσι*, according to Salmasius.

^m Among the Gortynians, according to Schol. Hom. Il. XI. 49: with whom *πρύλις* also signified a heavy-armed foot-soldier, Eustath. ad Il. κ' p. 893. 35. Phavorinus, p. 390. ed. Dindorf. Likewise among the Cyprians (i. e., among the Greeks in Cyprus). Aristot.

ap. Schol. Pind. II. 125. Calimachus Hymn. Jov. 52. also calls the dance of the Guretes by this name, this having been at a very early period identified with the Cretan war-dance.

ⁿ Plut. Lyc. 21. Lac. Apophth. p. 207. de cohibend. Ira, ubi sup. The *χίμαιρα* was not however sacrificed to the Muses (Manso, vol. I. 2. p. 234.), but, as after the battle of Marathon, to Artemis Agrotera. See Xen. Rep. Lac. 13. 8. Plut. Lyc. 23. Xen. Hell. IV. 2. 20.

^o Sosistrates ap. Athen. XIII. p. 561 E. Ælian. V. H. III. 9.

^p As Dionysius of Halicarnassus says.

exercises were regularly continued, and repeated twice in each day;^a but with less severity than at home;^r and the discipline in general was less strict. The Persian spy found the Spartans in the evening before the battle of Thermopylæ employed, some in gymnastic exercises, and some in arranging their hair,^s which they always wore long after their entrance into manhood. Every man put on a crown^t when the band of flute-players gave the signal for attack; all the shields of the line glittered with their high polish,^u and mingled their splendour with the dark red of the purple mantles,^x which were meant both to adorn the combatant, and to conceal the blood of the wounded; to fall well and decorously being an incentive the more to the most heroic valour.

^a Xen. de Rep. Lac. 12. 6. 7.

^r Plut. Lyc. 22.

^s Herod. VII. 208. Xen. de Rep. Lac. 13. 9. Plut. Lyc. 22.

^t The appropriate expression for this was *ξανθίζεσθαι*, Bekker. Anecd. I. p. 284.

^u Xen. de Rep. Lac. 11. 3. 13. 8. Plut. ubi sup.

^x Concerning these, see, besides Xenophon and Plutarch, Ælian. VI. 6. Etymol. M. p. 385. 25. Suidas in *καταξάινειν*, Aristot. Rep. Lac. ap. Moerin

in *φοινικίς*, also Hesychius in *πυρά*. Comp. Meursius Miscell. Lac. I. 15. The ambassadors also wore a dress of this kind, Aristoph. Lysist. 1139. Plutarch. Cimon. 16. Lesbonax Protr. p. 24, 27. Reisk. The Cretan mantles were similar, only they were coloured with *fucus*, Meursius Creta III. 12. —As arms were considered the greatest ornament, the youths prayed in arms to the gods also armed. Plut. Lac. Apophth. p. 235. cf. Inst. Lac. p. 253.

BOOK IV.

DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS, ARTS, AND LITERATURE OF THE DORIANS.

CHAP. I.

§ 1. Subjects of the present book. § 2. Simplicity of the dwellings of the Dorians. § 3. Achæan style of buildings. § 4. Character of the Doric architecture.

1. HAVING examined the political institutions of the Doric states, we next proceed to consider their private life and domestic economy; which two subjects were so intimately connected in the habits of this race, that we shall not attempt to separate them by any exact line of distinction. Our observations will be confined to those matters which appear most to exhibit the peculiar character of the Dorians. For which purpose, having first considered their domestic conveniences, such as dwellings, &c., we will proceed to their domestic relations, their arts, and literature.

2. The dwellings of the Dorians were plain and simple. By a law of Lycurgus the doors of every house were to be fashioned only with the saw, and the cieling with the axe;^a not that the legislator intended

^a Plutarch Lycurg. 13. de Quæst. Rom. 87. p. 363. Pro-
Esu Carn. II. 2. Reg. Apophth. clus ad Hesiod. Op. et Di. 421.
p. 125. Lac. Apophth. p. 222.

to abolish altogether the science of architecture, but merely to restrain it to its proper objects, viz., temples and public buildings, and to prevent it from purveying to private luxury. The kings of Greece in Homer's time lived not only in spacious, but also richly ornamented houses, the walls of which glittered with brass, silver, gold, amber, and ivory; but no such splendour was seen in the dwellings of the Heraclide princes. The palace of the two kings of Sparta was said to have been built by Aristodemus at the taking of the town; here Agesilaus lived after the manner of his ancestors; the doors even in his time being, according to Xenophon's somewhat exaggerated expression, those of the original building.^b Hence Leotychidas the elder (490 B. C.) asked his host at Corinth (which city had early risen to riches and luxury), on seeing the cieling ornamented with sunken panels (φατνώματα), "whether the trees in Corinth were naturally four-cornered."^c The houses at Sparta, however, notwithstanding their rude structure, were probably spacious and commodious; in front there was generally a court-yard, separated by a wall from the street,^d and containing a large portico. The towns of Peloponnesus were for the most part irregularly built, whereas the Ionians had early learnt to lay out their streets in straight lines,^e a custom which Hippo-

^b Above, p. 110. note ^d.

^c Plutarch Lycurg. 13. Compare Lac. Apophth. pp. 179, 222.

^d Towards the street were the θύραι αὐλαιοι (Herod. VI. 69.); in the house the ἐγγύτερω πύλη, Plutarch Lac. Apophthegm of Leotychides (ὁ Ἀρίστωνος is an error), p. 215. It

was the custom at Sparta not to knock, but to call, at the outer gate, Plutarch Instit. Lac. p. 253. The same was also the custom among the Æolians, according to Alcæus, among the poems of Theocritus, XXIX. 39.

^e As it appears from Pausan. VI. 24. 2. Compare Strabo

damus of Miletus succeeded in spreading over the rest of Greece. It was probably this architect who in the year 445 B. C. laid out the plan of Thurii^f in exact squares, with streets at right angles;^g and the same who in his old age built the city of Rhodes (407 B. C.), the plan of which was designed with such perfect symmetry, that, according to the expression of the astonished ancients, it seemed *like one house*.^h

3. The principles of Lycurgus, however, we repeat did not in the least degree retard the progress of real architecture. Indeed we know that in the embellishment of their sacred edifices the Dorians employed a style of building which they themselves invented, from the strict principles of which they never deviated, and which at the same time they took the utmost care to bring to perfection. That they were in strictness the *original inventors* of this style of architecture has been first satisfactorily proved by the remarkable discoveries of modern times, which have laid open to us the monuments of the unknown ages of Greece in all their strange peculiarities. The treasury of Atreus is indeed the only example now extant of a class of buildings doubtless once very numerous;ⁱ but its paraboloidal construction distinguishes

XIV. p. 646. concerning the ῥυμοτομία ἐπ' εὐθειῶν in Smyrna.

^f Photius and Hesychius in Ἰπποδάμου νέμῃσις—οὗτος ἦν καὶ ὁ μετοικήσας εἰς Θουρίους Μιλήσιος ὢν. It was probably not long before this time that he built the Piræus.

^g As Diodorus XII. 10. states.

^h Meursius Rhod. I. 10.

ⁱ The following buildings of

this archaic style are known to us from ancient writers and modern travellers. 1. The remains of three other treasuries near that described in the text. 2. One discovered by Gropius, on the Eurotas, not far from Amyclæ. 3. A ruin discovered by Dodwell near Pharsalus. 4. The treasuries of Minyas. 5. Of Hyrieus and Augeas.

it as well from the later Grecian as the oriental style of architecture. Near this structure some fragments of columns have been discovered by modern travellers,^k remarkable both for the variety of their forms and the richness of their ornaments; still the spot on which they were found, as well as their singular shape, leave no doubt that they belong to the same unknown period. They consist, first, of the base of a fluted column, with a plinth, and also a torus of elliptical outline, decorated with an alternation of projecting and receding compartments, the former of which have in some cases an ornament of spiral lines; secondly, a fragment of the shaft of a column of bronze-coloured marble, similarly ornamented with compartments; thirdly, a very small fragment of a capital; and, lastly, a tablet of white marble, with a species of ornament in imitation of shells. There are in the British Museum two tablets of light green and dark red marble, both taken from the treasury of Atreus, which have the spiral lines above mentioned, and are worked very elaborately, though without mathematical precision.^l We have given this description of a style of architecture, not strictly belonging to our subject, in order to direct the reader's attention to these most remarkable remains of Grecian sculpture, which

6. The brazen vessels of the Aloidæ and of Eurystheus (Il. V. 387. Apollod. II. 5. 1.)
7. The brazen θαλαμὸς or chamber of Danaë, Alcmena, &c.
8. The subterraneous Cyclo-
pian temple at Delphi, and several others.

^k Sir William Gell's Argolis, plate 7. Dodwell's Classical

Tour, vol. II. pp. 229, 240. I have also made great use of some drawings of Lusieri (in the print-room of the British Museum), who has also ingeniously endeavoured to restore the whole.

^l Synopsis of the British Museum (19th edit.), Room 13. Nos. 220, 221.

are quite sufficient to convince us that the building to which they belong, thus adorned with party-coloured stones, and probably covered in the interior with plates of bronze, may be reckoned as the monument of a time when a semi-barbarous style of architecture prevailed throughout Greece.

4. In direct contrast with the above is the simple unornamented character and unobtrusive grandeur of the style unanimously called by the ancients *the Doric*.^m It appears certain that the first hints of this order were borrowed from buildings constructed of wood, a fact which I cannot reconcile with the supposition of a foreign origin. For we should thus lose sight altogether of the gradual and regular progress by which it advanced to maturity, and suppose that the improvements of foreign artificers, with their peculiar principles, and those of native architects, looking only to the original structure of wood, were blended, or rather violently confused together. Could anything be more natural than that the long surface of the principal beams should be imitated in stone, that the cross-beams with the Doric triglyph should be laid over these, the intervals or metopes being by degrees covered with marble, whilst the cornice, in imitation

^m See particularly Vitruvius IV. 1. whose account is not indeed historically accurate. At Athens the triglyphs were always called Δωρικὰ τρίγλυφοι, Eurip. Orest. 1378; in which passage the original ones of wood are clearly marked by the apposition of κεδρωτὰ τέρεμνα. Also the Δωρικὸν κυμάτιον, i. e. the "hollow," received its name from its use in

this style of building, e. g. under the cornice; and the Λέσβιον κυμάτιον, the "ogee," was borrowed from it by the Æolians, among whom the Lesbian style of architecture (Λεσβία οἰκοδομή) was native, which required a very moveable plumbline or κανὼν, Aristot. Eth. Nic. V. 10. 7. and Michael Ephesius ad loc.

of carpenters' work, was allowed to project in bold relief? The roof perhaps was for some time allowed to end in a slope on each side; Corinth was the first place where the front and hind part were finished off with a pediment; the tympanum being adorned with statues of ancient clay-work.ⁿ Such was the origin of the Doric temple, of which early models have been preserved in the Doric towns of Corinth and Pæstum, in Ægina, and the Doric colonies of Sicily.

We cannot however suppose it to have been the opinion of the historian of ancient architecture,^o that the *artistical* character of the Doric architecture may be satisfactorily derived from wooden buildings. It is the essence of this art to connect, by the varieties of form and proportion, a peculiar association of ideas with works intended merely for purposes of necessity. The Doric character, in short, created the Doric architecture. In the temples of this order the weight to be supported is intentionally increased, and the architrave, frieze, and cornice, of unusual depth; but the columns are proportionably strong, and placed very close to each other; so that, in contemplating the structure, our astonishment at the weight supported is mingled with pleasure at the security imparted by the strength of the columns underneath. This impression of firmness and solidity is increased by the rapid tapering of the column, its conical shape giving it an appearance of strength; while the diminution beginning immediately at the base, and the straight line not being, as in other orders, softened by the interposition of the swelling, gives a severity of character to the order.

ⁿ Boeckh Explic. ad Pindar. Grundsätzen der Alten, 1809; Olymp. XIII. pp. 213. sq. and Geschichte der Baukunst
^o Hirt, Baukunst nach den bei den Alten, 1821.

With this rapid diminution is also connected the bold projection of the echinus (or *quarter-round*) of the capital; which likewise creates a striking impression, particularly if its outline is nearly rectilineal. The alternation of long unornamented surfaces with smaller rows of decorated work awakens a feeling of simple grandeur, without appearing either monotonous or fatiguing. The harmony spread over the whole becomes more conspicuous when contrasted with the dark shadows occasioned by the projecting drip of the cornice; above, the magnificent pediment crowns the whole. Thus in this creation of art we find expressed the peculiar bias of the Doric race to strict rule, simple proportion, and pure harmony.

CHAP. II.

§ 1. General character of the Doric dress. § 2. Different dresses of married and unmarried women among the Dorians. § 3. Dress of the Spartan women. § 4. Dress of the Spartan men. § 5. Simplicity of the Doric dress. § 6. Doric and Ionic fashions of wearing the hair. Change of costume in many Doric states. Baths.

1. THE next point which we have to consider is the mode of clothing in use among the Dorians; in which a peculiar taste was displayed; an ancient decorum and simplicity, equally removed from the splendour of Asiatics and the uncleanness of barbarians. At the same time, however, they paid considerable attention to their personal appearance, although their manners did not require the body to be studiously and completely covered. A Dorian was the first who

in the lists of Olympia threw off the heavy girdle, which the wrestlers of Homer had worn in common with those of barbarous countries, and ran naked to the goal;^a in fact a display of the naked form, when all covering was useless, and indeed inconvenient, was altogether in harmony with the Doric character. This reminds us of the nakedness of the Spartan young women, even in the time of Athenian civilization,

^a According to Plato de Rep. V. p. 452 C. the *Cretans* were the first who wrestled naked (but their isolated situation prevented the extension of the custom), and the *Lacedæmonians*, who were the first, according to Thucydides I. 6. See also Hip-pasus ap. Athen. p. 14 D. The abandonment of all covering in the Olympic games is said to have originated with Acanthus the Lacedæmonian, and Orsippus the Megarian. The former, according to Dionys. Hal. VII. 72; and he, as we learn from Pausan. V. 8. 3, and Africanus, was victorious in the Diaulus, or Dolichus, in the 15th Olympiad (720 B. C.). The latter, according to Pausan. I. 44. 1. Eustath. ad Il. p. 1324. ed. Rom. Cf. Hesych. in ζώσατο, with the confused statements in the Venetian Scholia to Il. ψ. 683. and Isidorus Orig. XVIII. 17. Pausanias' authority is a Megarian inscription, of which a restoration has been preserved to our days, and is now in the *Cabinet des Médailles* of the *Bibliothèque du Roi* at Paris, see Boeckh Corp. Inscript. N°. 1050; where Orsippus is stated to have regained a part of the Megarian terri-

tory which had been lost in war, and to have first run in the stadium at Olympia without a girdle. Now Orsippus, according to the certain testimony of Julius Africanus, was victorious in the stadium at Olympia in the 15th Olympiad; and this statement is confirmed by Eustathius and Hesychius ubi sup.; whereas the Etymologicum M. and the Scholia vulg. ad Il. ψ. 683. place the victory of Orsippus at Olymp. 32. (652 B. C.); in which, according to Africanus, Cratinus of Megara was the conqueror. All these apparently contradictory statements have been reconciled by Boeckh ib. p. 554 sq. as follows. Orsippus, either accidentally, or at least to appearance accidentally, lost his girdle when running in the stadium; in training afterwards, Acanthus the Lacedæmonian laid aside his girdle altogether; and thenceforth it became the established practice at the games. In other contests, e. g., wrestling and boxing, the use of the διάζωμα was kept up till a later period; and was not altogether given up till a short time before Thucydides wrote (καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπνυται, I. 6.).

which custom gave rise to the joke, that "the Spartans "showed foreigners their virgins naked."^b On this subject, however, it is necessary that we should enter into greater detail.

2. In the first place these words direct our attention to the different modes of life of the married and unmarried women among the Dorians. Modern manners, derived from the age of chivalry, carefully withdraw young women from all impressions calculated to inflame the passions; while married women are more exposed to intercourse with men. But, according to the colder notions of the Greeks, which are seen most clearly among the Dorians, the unmarried lived more in public than the married women; who attended more to the care of their family; and hence the former alone practised music and athletic exercises; the latter being occupied only with their household affairs.^c This explains why at Sparta unmarried women appeared with their faces uncovered, while the married only went out in veils;^d and it was common to see the former walking in the streets with young men,^e which was certainly not permitted to the others; and so also at Sparta,^f in Crete,^g and at Olympia, virgins were permitted to be spectators of the gymnastic contests, and married women only were excluded;^h the reverse

^b See particularly Athenæus XIII. p. 566 E. Eustathius ad Il. p. 975. 41. ed. Rom.

^c Plato de Leg. VII. p. 805.

^d Plutarch. Lac. Apophth. p. 235. Apostolius XVIII. 19.

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12. 21. *Lex igitur Spartana vetat secedere amantes; Et licet in triviis ad latus esse suæ.*

^f To be inferred from Plutarch Lycurg. 14.

^g Plutarch Thes. 19.

^h Pausan. V. 6. 5. (concerning the history of Pherenice, see Boeckh Explic. Pindar. p. 166.) VI. 20. 6. Hence at

in the lists of Olympia threw off the heavy girdle, which the wrestlers of Homer had worn in common with those of barbarous countries, and ran naked to the goal;^a in fact a display of the naked form, when all covering was useless, and indeed inconvenient, was altogether in harmony with the Doric character. This reminds us of the nakedness of the Spartan young women, even in the time of Athenian civilization,

^a According to Plato de Rep. V. p. 452 C. the *Cretans* were the first who wrestled naked (but their isolated situation prevented the extension of the custom), and the *Lacedæmonians*, who were the first, according to Thucydides I. 6. See also Hip-pasus ap. Athen. p. 14 D. The abandonment of all covering in the Olympic games is said to have originated with Acanthus the Lacedæmonian, and Orsippus the Megarian. The former, according to Dionys. Hal. VII. 72; and he, as we learn from Pausan. V. 8. 3, and Africanus, was victorious in the Diaulus, or Dolichus, in the 15th Olympiad (720 B. C.). The latter, according to Pausan. I. 44. 1. Eustath. ad Il. p. 1324. ed. Rom. Cf. Hesych. in ζώσαιο, with the confused statements in the Venetian Scholia to Il. ψ. 683. and Isidorus Orig. XVIII. 17. Pausanias' authority is a Megarian inscription, of which a restoration has been preserved to our days, and is now in the *Cabinet des Médailles* of the *Bibliothèque du Roi* at Paris, see Boeckh Corp. Inscript. N°. 1050; where Orsippus is stated to have regained a part of the Megarian terri-

tory which had been lost in war, and to have first run in the stadium at Olympia without a girdle. Now Orsippus, according to the certain testimony of Julius Africanus, was victorious in the stadium at Olympia in the 15th Olympiad; and this statement is confirmed by Eustathius and Hesychius ubi sup.; whereas the Etymologicum M. and the Scholia vulg. ad Il. ψ. 683. place the victory of Orsippus at Olymp. 32. (652 B. C.); in which, according to Africanus, Cratinus of Megara was the conqueror. All these apparently contradictory statements have been reconciled by Boeckh ib. p. 554 sq. as follows. Orsippus, either accidentally, or at least to appearance accidentally, lost his girdle when running in the stadium; in training afterwards, Acanthus the Lacedæmonian laid aside his girdle altogether; and thenceforth it became the established practice at the games. In other contests, e. g., wrestling and boxing, the use of the διάζωμα was kept up till a later period; and was not altogether given up till a short time before Thucydides wrote (καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπνυνται, I. 6.).

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of which was the case in Ionia, where the unmarried women were usually shut up in the interior of the houses.¹

This different position in society was also marked by the dress, which was lighter and less strict among the unmarried women; for it is these alone who are charged with exposure of their persons. This charge of the Athenians was, however, caused by a strange forgetfulness of ancient custom; for after the mode of treatment of their women had become precisely similar to that of the eastern nations, the ancient Greek usage appeared to them unnatural;² and the dress of the Doric women caused in their minds the same notions as the German dress in those of the Romans; of which Tacitus says, "the German women wear the arms naked up to the shoulders, and even the next part of the breast is uncovered; notwithstanding which they never break the marriage vow."

3. On the dress of the Spartans I need only, after the labours of former writers,¹ make the following remarks. The chief, or indeed the only garment of the Doric virgin is by ancient writers sometimes called *himation*,^m sometimes *chiton*: the former more cor-

Olympia unmarried women could contend for the prize, though only in the chariot-race; as, e. g., Cynisca, Pausan. III. 81. V. 12. 3. V. 6. 1. Xenoph. Ages. 9. 6. Plutarch Ages. 20. Lac. Apophth. p. 184; and Euryleonis, Pausan. III. 17. 6. In *Cyrene*, according to Pindar Pyth. IX. 102. (*ἡ νύκτωρ*) married women were also admitted, see Boeckh Explic. p. 328; and they also, as we learn from an inscription in Della Cella, presided over gymnastic contests

in that town.

¹ κατάκλειστοι, Sappho Fragm. 15. ed. Wolf. Pseudo-Phocylid. v. 203.

² Ἐπεὶ ἡ γὰρ Ἑλληνικὴ ἐσθὴς πᾶσα ἢ ἀρχαίῃ τῶν γυναικῶν ἢ αὐτῇ ἦν, τὴν νῦν Δωρίδα καλέομεν, Herod. V. 88. Compare Eustath. ad Il. V. 567. Æginetica, p. 72.

¹ Manso, Sparta, vol. I. part II. p. 162. Boettiger, Raub der Cassandra, p. 60.

^m Thus Herodotus V. 87. mentions the *ἱμάτια* of Doric

rectly, as appears from works of art; and the latter word was used metaphorically, from the resemblance of the himation to the linen chiton of the Ionians. This garment of woollen stuff was without sleeves, and fastened over both shoulders by clasps (*πόρπαι*, *περόναι*), which were often of considerable size;ⁿ while the Ionic women wore sleeves of greater or less length.^o This chiton was only joined together on one side, while on the other it was left partly open or slit up (*σχιστὸς χίτων*^p); probably it could be fastened with clasps, or opened wider, so as to admit a freer motion of the limbs, so that the two skirts (*πτέρυγες*) flew open; whence Ibycus called the Spartan women *φαινομηρίδες*.^q This garment was also worn without a girdle; when it hung down to the calves of the legs.^r

women as corresponding to the Ionic *χιτῶνες*; and the different Scholiasts to Eurip. Hec. 933. call the Doric virgins sometimes *μονοχιτῶνες*, sometimes *ἀχιτῶνες* (the Fragment of Anacreon, p. 404. ed. Fischer. *ἐκδύσα χιτῶνα δωριάζειν* is too mutilated to prove any thing). See also Horus ap. Etymol. Mag. p. 293. 44. who, besides Ælius Dionysius (who likewise states that the use of the *χιτῶν* was peculiar to the Dorians), follows Eustathius ad Il. XIV. 975. Compare also Hesychius in *δωριάζειν*, and the *Sophista Anonymus* in Orelli's Op. Mor. II. p. 214. Euripides (Androm. 599. and Hec. ubi sup.) calls the Doric dress inaccurately *πέπλος*, compare Hedyllus in the Palatine Anthology VI. 292. Plutarch Cleomen. 38. ⁿ Herod. and Schol. Eurip. ubi sup. where *ἐπιπορπίς* appears

to be the tongue of the clasp.

^o *Περόναι*, or clasps, were also used in the Ionic female dress, in order to close the slit-up sleeve. Ælian V. H. I. 18.

^p Wolf. Fragm. mul. pros. pp. 241, 242.

^q Pollux, Plutarch. Comp. Lycurg. 3. and Sophocles there quoted: καὶ τὰν νέορτον, ἃς ἔτ' ἄστολος χιτῶν θυραῖον ἀμφὶ μηρὸν πτύσσειται, Ἑρμιόνα. Eurip. Androm. 599. γυμνοῖσι μηροῖς καὶ πέπλοις ἀναιμένους. Compare Duris in Schol. Eurip. Hec. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐβρουάζον ταῖς Δωρίαις στολαῖς. This writer also entertains the erroneous notion that the Athenian women wore short hair and the Doric dress, at the same time that the men wore long hair and the Ionic dress.

^r See Schol. Eurip. ubi sup. Callimachus (Fragm. 225. ed. Bentl.) says of a Lacedæmo-

This is generally the dress with which the goddesses Victory and Iris are represented in works of art, the latter particularly among the statues from the pediment of the Parthenon, in which rapid motion is indicated by the chiton being thrown from the feet and ancles on the left side; and in the same chiton, though with more ample folds, is the dress of Athene in many statues of the more finished and perfect style of the art: and Artenis, the huntress, in the Doric chiton, girt up for the purpose of rapid motion.

In one of these different fashions, according to her object and business, the virgin of Sparta, generally without the himation,^a wore a single garment, and appeared even in the company of men without any further covering. Thus Periander the Corinthian^t was seized with love for the beautiful Melissa at Epidaurus, when he saw her dressed, after the Peloponnesian manner, in her chiton, without any upper garment, as she was giving out wine to the labourers.^u In this

nian virgin, ἔσκειν ὅτ' ἄζωστος χάτερόπορπος ἔτι. "Ἀζωστοὶ καὶ ἀχίτωνες, according to Schol. Eurip. and Eustathius p. 975. 38; without girdles also according to Pausanias ibid. p. 975. 40. and Suidas in δωριάζειν.

^a Μονόπεπλος, Δωρὶς ὡς κόρα, Eurip. Hec. 928. *Doris nullo culta palliolo*, Juvenal III. 94. It is to this that the charge of nakedness, mentioned p. 273, in note ^b, and p. 277, in note ^z, refers. Also in Plutarch. Pyrrh. 17. the Spartan virgins are distinguished, as being μονοχίτωνες, from the married women in ἱμάτια.

^t That the Corinthian costume was at that time different from the original Doric dress, I have already remarked (*Æginetica*, p. 64, note ^b.) from this fact, and from Herod. V. 87. The Syracusan ἐμπερόναμα had perhaps originated from the clasped χίτων of the Dorians, Theocrit. Idyll. XV. 34. compare Spohn Lect. Theocrit. I. p. 36, but it was drawn over the χιτώγιον. There was also a Corinthian female dress called παράπηχυν, Athen. XIII. p. 582. ^u Pythænetus ap. Athen. XIII. p. 589. Compare Theognis v. 1002, where the Λάκαινα κόρη brings crowns for

costume the Doric virgins might be seen dancing at their places of exercise and in the chorus.^z The married women, however, never appeared without an upper garment; which probably was not essentially different from the himation of the men: thus, for example, the wife of Phocion, who lived in the Doric manner, according to the account of Plutarch, often went out in the himation of her husband.

4. This leads us to consider the costume of the men, the chief parts of which we will describe generally, before we speak of them in detail. These then are, first, the chiton, a woollen shirt without sleeves, worn by all the Greeks and Italians, the only dress of boys;^y since it was not till after the increase of luxury in Athens that they began to dress young boys in the himation.^z Secondly, the himation, called in Homer χλαῖνα,^a a square piece of cloth, sometimes rounded off at the corners, which was commonly thrown over the left, and behind under the right arm, and the end was again brought back over the left shoulder.^b Thirdly, the chlamys (Θετταλικά πτέρω), of Macedonian and Thessalian origin,^c an oblong piece of

the guests. So also the Doric Greeks of Sicily substituted a πάρθενος φιαληφόρος in the place of the παῖς, Polyb. XII. 5. 7.

^z Plutarch. Lycurg. 14. τὰς κόρας γυμνάς τε πομπεύειν καὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς τισὶν ὀρχεῖσθαι καὶ ᾄδειν. Compare Lac. Apophthegm. p. 223. and Hesychius in δωριάζειν.

^y Plutarch. Lycurg. 16; and concerning the custom of Phigaleia, see Athen. IV. p. 248. sq.

^z Aristoph. Nub. 986. The

same is in Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. 2. 1.

^a Aristoph. Av. 493. 49. where χλαῖνα and ἱμάτιον are used as synonymous. But that the χλαῖνα and τρίβων were different kinds of the ἱμάτιον is shown by the same poet, Vesp. 1132; χλαῖνα ἱμάτιον τετράγωνον, according to Didymus.

^b In Iliad X. 133. the χλαῖνα is however laid double, and fastened with a clasp (over the shoulder).

^c Pollux VII. 13. 46. X. 27. 124; and compare Hemster-

cloth, of which the two lower ends came forward, and were fastened with a clasp upon the right shoulder; so that it left that arm free. This latter dress is never mentioned in the poems of Homer. Sappho was the first among the Greek poets who spoke of it.^d It was not therefore till after her time that its use was extended over Greece Proper, first as the dress of horsemen, and young men in general, and then as a military cloak; under which character it was introduced into Sparta.^e The earliest painted vases, however, always represent the warriors in the himation, which is commonly without folds, and drawn close to the body.^f

Thucydides^g says of the Lacedæmonians, that "*they were the first to adopt a simpler mode of dress*:" a statement which is founded on a peculiar notion of this historian, that the loose linen garments, which were still worn by old-fashioned people at Athens in the time of Aristophanes, were the original Greek dress; whereas we know with tolerable certainty that this dress was brought over to Athens by the Ionians of Asia.^h The Athenians again laid this aside at the time of the Peloponnesian war, and returned to the thin clothing of the ancient Greeks; with the exception of the women, who had formerly at Athens worn the Doric costume, but now retained the Ionic dress with long sleeves, wide folds, and trailing hem, which was generally of linen. Thucydides, however, is so

hais's note, Diogenianus Prov. V. 21. Vatic. Prov. II. 14. Lexicograph.

^d According to Pollux and Ammonius. Fragm. 68, 69. pp. 82, 83. ed. Wolf.

^e See Aristoph. Lysist. 988. where it is the dress of the envoys, as the *φοινικίς* in the last

note of the third book; and Juvenal Sat. VIII. 101.

^f See Tischbein I. 29. and Vases de Coghil I. planche 36.

^g I. 6. Compare Dionys. Halic. in Thucyd. 9.

^h *Minervæ Poliadis Ædes*, p. 41.

far right, that the Lacedæmonians were distinguished among all the Greeks for their scanty and simple clothing: thus the Lacedæmonian habit,ⁱ the *τρίβων*,^k was of thick cloth and small size,^l which the youths^m of Sparta were bound by custom to wear the whole year through without any other clothes;ⁿ and to which older men (for example, those Athenians who aped the Lacedæmonian manners) sometimes voluntarily submitted.

5. As at Athens the style of dress indicated the rank and station of the wearer, so also the Doric manners were clearly expressed in the arrangement of the clothes. Thus, for example, it was generally recognised in Greece that holding the arms within the cloak was a sign of modesty;^o and hence the Spartan youths, like the Roman in the first year of their manhood, appeared always in the street with both hands under their cloak and their eyes cast down, "resembling statues," says Xenophon,^p "in their silence, and in the immoveability of their eyes,

ⁱ Also called *δαμοφανής* by the Lacedæmonians, because it was worn in public.

^k See Meursius Miscell. Lacon. I. 15. Manso, Sparta, vol. I. part II. p. 197. The *τρίβων* could (as well as the *χλαῖνα*, p. 277, note ^b), be worn double, and be fastened with a clasp, Polyæn. IV. 4. This more becoming variety of the *ἱμάτιον*, the *χλαῖνα*, was also worn at Sparta; see Theopompus the comic poet in Pollux X. 27. 124. *Ἐξωμίδες φαῦλαι* of the Lacedæmonians in Ælian V. H. IX. 34.

^l Plat. Protag. 342. Aristot. Eth. Nic. IV. 7. 15. with Aspa-

sus and the Paris Scholiast, p. 156. ed. Zell. Compare the *Κρητικὸν ἱματίδιον* in Hesychius.

^m From the 12th year upwards, Plutarch Lycurg. 16.

ⁿ Lac. Instit. p. 247. Lac. Apophth. p. 178. Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 2. 4. Justin III. 3. Likewise in Crete, Heraclid. Pont. 3. Ephorus ap. Strab. X. p. 483.

^o Hence the Attic orators, in early times at least, never showed their left hand, Taylor ad Æschin. in Timarch. p. 59.

^p De Rep. Lac. 3. 5. quoted by Longinus *περὶ ὑψους* IV. 1. p. 114.

"and more modest than virgins in the bridal chamber." In the same manner the youths of lower Italy, in which there were many Doric cities, are frequently represented on vases, with the arms folded under the cloak, which is indicated by the large fold across the breast.¹

In other respects equality² and simplicity were the prevailing rule. Manufacturers of ointment were excluded from Sparta, as being corrupters of oil: dyers, because they deprived the wool of its beautiful white colour.³ "Deceitful are ointments, and deceitful are dyes," is the Spartan expression for this idea.⁴ Even in the cities which had early departed from the Doric customs, there were frequent and strict prohibitions against expensiveness of female attire, prostitutes alone being wisely excepted.⁵ As in Sparta the beard was considered as the ornament of a man,⁶ and as a sign of freedom (to which the symbo-

¹ See Boettiger's opinions on this subject, Raub der Cassandra, pp. 74 sqq. Archäologie der Malerei I. p. 211. Vasengemälde I. 2. p. 37. and Uhden's Letter, II. p. 65.

² ἰσοδίατοι, Thucyd. I. 6. Justin. III. 3.

³ Athen. XV. pp. 686 sq. Plutarch. Lac. Apophth. p. 224. Seneca Quæst. Nat. IV. 13. This ancient notion may also be traced in the use of the words φθείρειν, μιάνειν, to corrupt, for to dye or to colour.

⁴ Δολερὰ μὲν τὰ ἔμματα, δολερὰ δὲ τὰ χρίματα, Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 294 Sylburg. Herodotus indeed (III. 22.) quotes the same saying of an Ethiopian king, comp. Plutarch. Quæst. Rom. 26. p. 327. Sym-

pos. III. 1, 2. p. 109. de Herod. Malign. 28. p. 312.; but the expression has a genuine Spartan character.

⁵ A law of Diocles, according to Phylarchus ap. Athen. XII. p. 521 B. for Zaleucus see Heyne Opusc. Acad. vol. II. p. 33. for Sparta, Heraclid. Pont. Clem. Alex. Protrept. II. 10. p. 119. Sylburg. cf. Ælian. V. H. XIV. 7.

⁶ Plato Comicus ap. Aspas ad Aristot. Eth. Nic. IV. 7. 15. (see Porson's Tracts, p. 232). χαίροις, οἶμαι, μεταπετεύσας αὐτὸν διακλιμακίσας τε, τὸν ὑπηνόβιον, σπαρτιωχαίτην, ῥυποκόνδυλον, ἐλκετρίβωνα. ἔλκοντες ὑπήνας. Aristoph. Lys. 1072. Compare the statue of Lysander in Plut. Lys. 1.

lical edict of the ephors to shave the beard refers),⁷ so also at Byzantium and Rhodes shaving was prohibited by ancient, but constantly neglected, laws.⁸ The custom of carrying sticks (in Doric σκυτάλαι) was common to the Spartans,⁹ with the Dorians of lower Italy.¹⁰

6. The Doric customs were not, however, hostile to the beauty of personal appearance; but the beauty at which they aimed was of a severe kind, and remote from all feminine tenderness. The Spartan from his youth upwards¹¹ preserved, in order to distinguish him from slaves and mechanics,¹² according to ancient usage,¹³ the hair of his head uncut,¹⁴ which indeed, if not properly arranged, might frequently give him a squalid appearance. It seems that both men and women tied the hair in a knot over the crown of the head;¹⁵

⁷ See above, p. 129, note ². Wyttenbach ad Plutarch. de Sera Num. Vind. p. 25. thinks

that the Lacedæmonians also shaved their upper lip; but his, as well as Ruhnken's emendation of Antiphanes ap. Athen. IV. p. 143 A. is very violent.

⁸ Athen. XII. p. 565 C.

⁹ Aristoph. Av. 1283. Eccles. 74. Their use was only prohibited in the public assembly, Plutarch Lycurg. II.

¹⁰ Herod. III. 137. Aristot. in Ἰθακ. πολιτ. ap. Phot. in σκυτάλη. See the paintings on vases.

¹¹ Xen. Rep. Lac. II. 3. Plutarch. Lycurg. 22. Previously they were accustomed ἐν χρῶϊ κείρεσθαι, cap. 16. which is sometimes also described as the general Spartan usage. Plutarch. Alcib. 23. de Discrim. Adul. et Am. 10. p. 170.

¹² Antiochus ap. Strab. VI. p. 278. Aristot. Ret. I. 9. 26.

¹³ The manner in which Herodotus (I. 82.) accounts for this, is rendered doubtful by Plutarch. Lysand. I. cf. Lycurg. 22. reg. Apophth. p. 124, 125. Lac. Apophth. p. 226, 230. Æginetica, p. 32, note ².

In Crete the cosmi at least wore long hair, according to ancient custom, Seneca Controv. IV. 27. On the short hair of the Argives, see Herodotus and Plato Phædon. p. 89. J. Tzetzes Jamb. 161.

¹⁴ See Σπαρτιωχαίτης in the verses cited above, p. 280, note ².

¹⁵ Compare Aristoph. Lys. 1113. παραπυκίδδεν with Horace Od. II. II. incomptam Lacænæ More comam religata nodo, i. e., as Diana is generally represented in works of

while, according to the Ionic custom, which in this respect resembled that of the barbarians, it was divided into locks, and connected over the forehead with golden clasps in the shape of grasshoppers.^h On their heads the Lacedæmonians wore hats with broad brims, which were sometimes also used in war, though probably only by the light-armed soldiers.ⁱ The manner in which they arranged and adorned their hair for battle was remarked above.^k

That most of the Doric states, and particularly the colonies, degenerated from this noble and beautiful simplicity, does not require to be proved. The splendour of Rhodes was proverbial, nor was any dress more effeminate than the transparent and loose robe of Tarentum;^l and the Sicilian garments, which Lysander or Archidamus received as a present from Dionysius, he rejected as unfit for his daughters.^m

art. That the women were not allowed to wear long hair (κοῦαν, Heraclid. Pont. 2.), is a statement which must not be construed strictly. A lock of hair dedicated to the gods was called *ἱέρωμα*, according to the correction of Hemsterhuis in Hesychius: but Toup is probably correct in defending the common reading *ἱερόβατον*, E-mend. in Suid. vol. II. p. 607. Spartans were distinguished not merely by their mode of wearing the hair, but also by the shoes, Paus. VII. 14. 2. Shoes for state occasion were the *ἀμυκλαῖδες*, and for common wear the *ἀπλαῖ Λακωνικαί*, above, p. 25, note ⁿ. Argive, Rhodian (Pollux VII. 22. 88.) and Sicyonian *ἑμβαδες* likewise occur (Lucian. Ret. Præc. 15.

Lucretius IV. 1121. Eustath. ad Hom. p. 1302. 22. ed. Rom.).

^h See the passages collected by Thiersch, Act. Mon. vol. III. p. 273 sqq. Also Phocylides *ἔρματα λοξὰ κορύμβων* and Nicol. Dam. p. 51 Orelli, of a Smyrnæan κόμην τρέφων χρυσῷ στρόφῳ κεκορυμβωμένην.

ⁱ Thuc. IV. 34. Comp. Pollux. I. 149. Erotian. Lex. Hippocrat. Meursius Miscell. Lac. I. 17.

^k B. III. ch. 12. § 10.

^l Bentley Phalarid. p. 347. Lips. Bergler. ad Alciph. I. 36. 12.

^m Plutarch. Lysand. 2. reg. Apophth. p. 127. Lac. Apophth. p. 200, where Archidamus the son of Agesilaus is meant, and afterwards too he

Among the accompaniments of the toilette may be mentioned the baths; with respect to which it may be remarked, that the Lacedæmonian custom only admitted of two kinds; viz., the cold daily baths in the Eurotas (which also formed a part of the regimen of king Agesilausⁿ), and from time to time a dry sudorific bath.^o But the weakening of the body by warm or tepid baths was strictly prohibited.^p

CHAP. III.

§ 1. Syssitia of the Dorians and other Greek races. § 2. Simple fare of Sparta. § 3. Public tables of Sparta and Crete. § 4. Abandonment of the simple fare in some Doric colonies.

1. With respect to the food and meals of the Dorians, we will only mention those points which are connected with some historical or moral fact, since we have already considered this subject in connexion with the economy of the state.

In the first place, the adherence of the Dorians to ancient Greek usages is visible in their custom of eating together, or of the *syssitia*. For these public

is often confounded with the son of Zeuxidamus, Apostol. X. 48. In later times, however, *διαφανῆ Λακωνικά* are mentioned as a luxurious dress, Dio Chrysost. ad Es. vol. VI. p. 45 A. ad Matth. Hom. vol. VII. p. 796. B. ed. Montfaucon. On the Argive dresses *τήβεννος* and *κλεοβίνκος* see Pollux VII. 13. 61. and his commentators. The *ἀφάβρωμα* was an old-

fashioned gown of the Megarian women, Plutarch Qu. Gr. 16. p. 383.

ⁿ Xen. Hell. V. 4. 28. Plutarch Alcib. 23.

^o See particularly Martial Epigr. VI. 42. Casaubon ad Strab. III. p. 231. p. 663. ed. Friedemann.

^p This explains away the contradiction which Manso finds, vol. I. 2. p. 199.

tables were not only in use among the Dorians (with whom, besides in Crete and Sparta, they also existed at Megara in the time of Theognis^a, and at Corinth in the time of Periander)^b, but they had also once been a national custom among the Ænolrians^c and their kinsmen the Arcadians, particularly at Phigalia^d; and among the Greeks of Homer the princes at least eat together, and at the cost of the community; a custom which was retained by the Prytanes at Athens, Rhodes, and elsewhere. In particular, the public tables of Sparta have in many points a great resemblance to the Homeric banquets (δαῖτες)^e; only that *all* the Spartans were in a certain manner considered as princes. The Spartans, however, so far departed from the ancient custom, that at the time of Alcman they *lay*^f at table; while the Dorians of Crete always *sat*,^g like the heroes of Homer and the

^a V. 305. which passage would also apply to the syssitia of Sparta.

^b Who abolished them as an institution favourable to aristocracy, Aristot. Polit. V. 9. 2. They were still in existence in the time of Archias, see vol. I. p. 129 note^f. The σύσσιτος of Æthiops, in the passage of Athenæus, is evidently his regular messmate. We may also mention the δημοσίου θοῖναι of the Argives, at which the ancient clay vessels (Herod. V. 88.) were still used. Polemon ap. Athen. XI. p. 483 C. cf. p. 479 C. IV. p. 148 F.

^c Aristot. Pol. VII. 9. 2, 3.

^d Harmodius on the laws of Phigaleia ap. Athen. IV. p. 148 F. comp. in general Plutarch Quæst. Sympos. II. 10.

2. Thirlwall, Hist. of Greece, vol. I. p. 287, has rightly remarked that the description of Harmodius refers only to the maintenance of two choruses in Phigalia.

^e Book III. ch. 6. § 9.

^f But upon hard benches without cushions, *in robore*. Cicero pro Muræna 35. Athen. XII. p. 518 F. cf. IV. p. 142 A. Plutarch Lycurg. 18. Suidas in φιλίτια et Λυκούργος, Isidorus Orig. XX. 11. It was not till the reign of Areus and Acrotatus, that soft and expensive cushions were used at the public tables. Phylarchus ap. Athen. IV. p. 142 A.

^g Heraclid. Pont. 3. Pyrgion ap. Athen. IV. p. 143 F. Varro ap. Serv. ad Æn. VII. 176.

early Romans, according to the ancient European usage, which was entirely supplanted among the early Greeks by the oriental custom introduced by the Ionians.

2. With regard to the food, it is probable that in Sparta much had been retained from ancient usage, and that the rest had been from its first origin peculiar to the nation. The profession of cook at Sparta was, as we have already remarked, hereditary,^h and consequently they had no inducement to vie with one another in the delicacy and luxury of their dishes: they cooked the black broth, as their ancestors had done before them. It was likewise more difficult to make dishes of various ingredients, on account of the division of the different departments of cookery; for instance, some cooks were only allowed to dress flesh, others to make broth,ⁱ &c. The bakers, whose trade also was hereditary, generally baked nothing but barley-bread (ἄλφιτα);^k wheaten bread was only eaten at the dessert of the public tables, when presented by liberal individuals.^l The latter kind of bread was originally scarce in Greece, whither it was introduced chiefly from Sicily;^m in which country they had also a par-

^h B. III. ch. 2. § 4. Foreign cooks were not tolerated at Sparta, as is particularly stated of Mithæcus by Maximus Tyrius VII. 22. ed. Davies.

ⁱ Ælian. V. H. XIV. 7. There was a separate *broth-maker* (ζωμοποιός) for the king, Plutarch. Lac. Apophth. p. 214.

^k Heraclid. Pont. 2. who perhaps says too generally, πέττει σῖτον οὐδείς (πέττειν is said of ἄρτος made of ἄλευρα as μάττειν of μᾶζα made of ἄλφιτα). Comp.

Dicæarchus ap. Athen. IV. p. 141 A. Plutarch Alcib. 23.

^l Book III. ch. 10. § 6. Varieties of ἄρτος were also eaten at the κοπῆς, Molpis ap. Athen. IV. p. 140 A. cf. p. 139 A. B. Hesychius in κοπῆς, βέσκεροι ἄρτοι, and πητεῖται πιτυρίαι ἄρτον. There was a Lacedæmonian kind of barley, Theophrast. Hist. Plant. VIII. 4. *Siligo Lacedæm.* Plin. H. N. XVIII. 20. IV. 4.

^m B. II. ch. 10. § 4.

ticular kind of Doric wheaten bread, of coarser meal than was common elsewhere.^a The chief dish of meat at the public tables was the black broth (μέλας ζωμός);^o also pork,^p the meat being subjected to stricter regulations than any other kind of food.^q Poultry and game were generally eaten after dinner: beef, pork, and kid, were chiefly supplied by the sacrifices, which upon the whole were an exception to the Phiditia.^r Their mode of drinking was also that of the ancient Greeks; which, as far as I am aware, is only mentioned in Homer. Before each person was placed a cup, which was filled by the cup-bearer with mixed wine, when it had been emptied; the wine was however never passed round, and no person drank to another; which were Lydian customs introduced by the Ionians.^s Both in Sparta and Crete it was forbidden by law to drink to intoxication;^t and no persons were lighted home except old men of sixty.^u

3. But a still more beautiful feature in the Doric character is the friendly community of their public tables, founded upon the close union of the company

^a Theocrit. Id. XXIV. 136. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 1077.

^o Plutarch Lycurg. 12. comp. Meurs. Miscell. Lac. I. 8.

^p Ælian V. H. III. 31.

^q Dicæarchus ubi sup. A little pig was called by the Lacedæmonians ὀρθαγορίσκος, Athen. p. 140 B. see Hesychius in βορθαγορίσκος et ἡμιτύγρια above p. 110. note ^v.

^r Ἀφένδοι ἡμέραι, according to Hesychius. cf. in διαφοίγμωρ.

^s See Critias the Athenian in Athen. X. p. 432 D sq. comp. XI. p. 463 C. Xen. Rep. Lac. 5. 4, 5. Plutarch Lac. Apophth.

p. 172. In Crete however the whole table drank from one large goblet, Dosiadas ap. Athen. IV. p. 143. Eustath. ad Od. p. 1860. 45.

^t Pseudo-Plat. Min. p. 320. comp. Leg. I. p. 637 A. from which passage it also follows that all the inhabitants of Lacedæmonia were prohibited from attending drinking entertainments (συμπόσια). The Dionysia at Sparta were also more serious than elsewhere, Plut. ubi sup. Athen. IV. p. 155 D.

^u Xen. Rep. Lac. 5. 7. Plutarch Lycurg. 12.

of the tables (ἐταιρία in Crete);^z into which fresh members were admitted by unanimous election (by ballot).^y Whether a preference was shown to kinsmen is uncertain; the syssitia indeed, as divisions of the state, were founded upon a supposed relationship, that is, the connexion of houses;^z but here we are speaking of smaller societies, consisting of about fifteen men. A company of this kind was a small state in itself,^a arranged upon aristocratical principles,^b although the equality was not interrupted by the privileges of any individuals. The ties of this friendly union were however drawn still closer by the constant intercourse of giving and taking, which enriched the scanty meal with the more palatable *after-meal* (ἐπάϊκλον) or dessert, which no one was permitted to purchase:^c from which the κοπίς should be distinguished, a sacrificial feast, which individuals fur-

^z B. III. ch. 10. § 7. In Sparta the guests, as in the time of Homer, were called δαιτύμονες, Alcman ap. Strap. X. p. 482. fragm. 37. ed. Welcker. Herod. VI. 57. and a κρεοδαίτης presided at the meal (above, p. 251, note ^r. comp. Plutarch Quæst. Sympos. II. 10. 2. p. 102. Pollux VI. 7. 34.), as a δαιτύς in ancient times; each guest in Sparta having a certain *portion* or *mess* allotted to him.

^y See Plutarch Lycurg. 12. Schol. Plat. Leg. I. p. 229. ed. Ruhnken. p. 449. ed. Bekker.

^a B. III. ch. 12. § 4. It is to this that Dionysius Hal. refers, when he says that the Phiditia made men ashamed to leave their comrades in the field of battle, *with whom they had sacrificed and made libations*,

Ant. Rom. II. 23. p. 283. ed. Reisk.

^b Persæus ap. Athen. IV. p. 140 F. and see below, p. 288, note ^k.

^c Plutarch Quæst. Sympos. VII. 9. p. 332. calls them in a certain sense βουλευτήρια ἀπόρρητα καὶ συνέδρια ἀριστοκρατικά, and compares them with the Prytaneum and Thesmothesium of Athens.

^d B. III. ch. 10. § 6. The only ἐπάϊκλον eaten by boys was some dough of barley-meal baked in laurel leaves (καμματίδες), and kneaded in oil (Hesychius in ἀμφιμάντορα, ἀμφίτοροι); a cake of this kind was called κάμμα, and from its use παλλιχίαρ, Meursius Misc. Lac. I. 12.

nished on stated occasions, and invited to it any friends whom they wished, and particularly the kings.^d The phiditia were not, however, considered a scanty and disagreeable meal, until thrown in the shade by the refinements of modern luxury; for they had originally been intended to increase the comforts of the partakers. The conversation, indeed, turned chiefly upon public affairs:^e but laughter and jocularity were not prohibited.^f Every person was encouraged to speak by the general confidence, and there were frequent songs, as Aleman says that "at the banquets and drinking entertainments of the men, it was fit for the guests to sing the pæan."^g Nor was the appellation *φειδίτια*, that is, the *spare*, or *scanty meals*, of any antiquity, and the Spartans received it from abroad:^h by whom, as well as in Crete, they were once called *ἀνδρεῖα*, or the meals of men.ⁱ For the men alone were admitted to them: the youths and boys ate in their own divisions, whilst the small children were allowed to eat at the public tables, and both in Crete and Sparta they sat on low stools near their fathers' chairs, and received a half share without any vegetables (*ἀβαμβάκευστα*).^k The

^d Athen. IV. p. 138 B. comp. Herod. VI. 57. Perhaps Aleman describes a *κοπὴς* in the following verses, *Κλίνει μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ τόσαι τράπεσσαι Μακωνίδων ἄρτων ἐπιστεφοῖσαι Λίνω τε σασάμω τε κὴν πελίχνης Παίδεσσι χρυσοκόλλα*, fragm. 17. ed. Welcker.

^e Xen. Rep. Lac. 5, 6. and above, p. 287, note ^b. Concerning Crete, see Dosiadas ubi sup.

^f Critias ubi sup. Plutarch Lycurg. 12.

^g Φοίνας δὲ καὶ ἐν θιάσοισιν ἀνδρείων παρὰ δαιτυμόεσσι πρέπει παιᾶνα κατάρχειν, fragm. 31. ed. Welcker.

^h It is very probable that this *φειδίτια* was a ludicrous distortion of an ancient Spartan name *φιλίτια*, i. e., "love-feasts."

ⁱ Aleman ubi sup. Ephorus ap. Strab. X. p. 482. Aristot. Polit. II. 7. 3. The word *ἀλκλα* is also used by Epicharmus for *δεῖπνα*.

^k Pyrgion ap. Athen. 143

women were never admitted to the *syssitia* of the men: both at Sparta and in Crete the rule was, that they ate at home;^l in the latter state, however, a woman had the care of the tables of the men.^m The Cretans were distinguished by their great hospitality: for every two tables of the citizens there was always one for foreigners; and when two cities were in close alliance with one another, their citizens mutually enjoyed the right of frequenting the public tables of the other state.ⁿ

4. This temperance and simplicity, which was longest preserved in Crete and Sparta, were considered by the ancients as characterizing generally the whole Doric race, and a simple mode of cookery was called Doric;^o although many cities of that race, such as

E. and Casaubon's note. Ephorus ap. Strab. X. p. 483 A. For Sparta, see Aleman quoted in p. 288 note ^d. Plutarch Lycurg. 12. Quæst. Græc. 33. p. 332. Concerning the Phigalean custom, see Athen. IV. p. 148 F. From the passage quoted in p. 287 note ^a, it also follows that guests of inferior rank sat *ἐπὶ τοῦ σκιμποδίου*, as was also the custom among the Macedonians, according to Athen. I. p. 18 A. Wytténbach. Miscell. Doctr. v. 3. ad Plat. Phæd. Adit. p. 234.

^l This follows from Plat. Leg. VI. p. 780 D. p. 781 A. comp. Plutarch Lycurg. 12. Lac. Apophth. p. 221. *παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ* (i. e., at home) *δειπνεῖν*. See also Lycurg. 26. Sosibius *περὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος* ap. Athen. XIV. p. 646 A. speaks of banquets of the women at Sparta, at which

certain cakes (*κριβάναι*) were carried, when they were about to sing the praise of the virgin, probably at marriages. Aristotle Polit. II. 7. 4. says that in Creta the women also were fed at the *public cost*, not that they ate *in public*.

^m Dosiadas ap. Athen. p. 143 B. with the assistance of some men *τῶν δημοτικῶν*. Does he mean Periceci or Mnotæ? Young women were used as cup-bearers among the Dorians, above, p. 276 note ^a.

ⁿ Dosiadas and Pyrgion ubi sup. Heraclid. Pont. and see the decree of the Olontians in Chishull's Antiq. Asiat. p. 137. cf. p. 131, 134.

^o Damasc. ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 1037. Suidas in *ἄθροπτος* et *Δώριος*. *Δώριος οἰκονομία* in Diog. Laërt. IV. 3. 19. for a plain rough mode of living.

Tarentum, Syracuse,^p and Agrigentum,^q entirely abandoned the severe and sober habits of their race; and having once broken through the bonds of ancient custom, gave themselves up with the less restraint to every kind of luxury and indulgence.^r

CHAP. IV.

§ 1. Freedom of intercourse between unmarried persons at Sparta. § 2. Marriage ceremonies. § 3. Age of marriage. § 4. Relations of husband and wife. § 5. Different treatment of women among the Ionians. § 6. Παιδεραστία of Sparta. § 7. And of Crete. § 8. Origin of this custom.

1. We now proceed to describe the different relations in the domestic life of the Dorians; and first, that between man and wife. Here it will be necessary to contradict the idea, that the duties of private life were but little esteemed by the Doric race, particularly at Sparta, and were sacrificed to the duty owed to the community. The Lacedæmonian maxim was in direct opposition to this doctrine; viz., that the door of his court^a was the boundary of every

^p Συρακοσίων et Σικελῶν τράπεζα, Athen. XII. p. 518 B. p. 527 C. Zenob. Prov. V. 94. Suidas Erasm. Adag. II. 2. Σικελικός κότταβος Anacreon ap. Athen. X. p. 427. fragm. p. 374. ed. Fischer. The Σικελικός βίος is opposed to the Δωριστὶ ζῆν in the 7th (spurious) Platonic Epistle, p. 336.

^q See, among others, Timæus fragm. 76. p. 271, ed. Goeller. The Argives and Tirynthians were reproached for their debauchery, Ælian. V. H. III. 15. Athen. X. p. 442. D.

^r See Æginetica p. 188.

^a See above, p. 266 note^d. In Crete it was called βωνία, Hesych. in v.

man's freedom:^b without, all owned the authority of the state; within, the master of the house ruled as lord on his own ground;^c and the rights of domestic life, notwithstanding their frequent collision with the public institutions, were more respected than at Athens. At the same time, however, a peculiar national custom, which pervaded the whole system of legislation, prevailed throughout these relations with a force and energy, which we, taking the accounts of the ancients as our guide, will endeavour now to examine. It has been above remarked how, in accordance with the manners of the east, but in direct opposition to the later habits of the Greeks,^d a free intercourse in public was permitted by the Dorians to the youth of both sexes, who were brought into contact particularly at festivals and choruses.^e Hence Homer represents the Cretan chorus as composed of young men and women, who dance hand in hand.^f At Sparta in particular the young men lived in the presence of the unmarried women, and as their derision was an object of dread, so to be the theme of their praise was the highest reward for noble actions.^g Hence it was very possible

^b Dionys. Halic. XX. 2. ed. Mai.

^c According to the supposed saying of Lycurgus, "first make a democracy in thine own house." Plutarch Lycurg. 19. reg. Apophth. p. 124. Lac. Apophth. p. 225.

^d See particularly Eurip. Androm. 596.

^e Κόροις καὶ κόραις κοινὰ τὰ ἱερά. Plutarch Inst. Lac. p. 254. above ch. 2. § 2.

^f Eustath. ad Od. p. 1166. So also the Arcadians had, according to Polybius IV. 21. 3.

(though not for the reason which he assigns) συνόδους κοινὰς καὶ θυσίας πλείστας ὁμοίως ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξί, ἔτι δὲ χοροὺς παρθένων ὁμοῦ καὶ παίδων. The unrestrained manners, and the public games and dances of the virgins of Ceos (Plutarch Mul. Virt. p. 277. Antonin. Liber. met. 1.), probably were derived from a Cretan custom (see above, p. 236. note^a), and certainly one prior to the Ionic migration.

^g Plutarch Lycurg. 14. comp. Welcker ad Alcman. frag. p. 10.

at Sparta, that affection and love, although not of a romantic nature, should take possession of the heart: but at Athens, as far as my recollection goes, we have not a single instance of a man having loved a free-born woman, and marrying her from any strong affection, whilst a single narrative of Herodotus^h contains two love stories at Sparta. How many opportunities may have been given by the festivals, as for instance the Hyacinthia, at which the Spartan damsels were seen going about in *κάνναθρα* (ornamented cars peculiar to the country, which were also used in the procession to the temple of Helen at Therapne), and racing in chariots in the midst of assembled multitudes.¹ Accordingly, the beauty of her women, the most beautiful in all Greece,^k was at Sparta more than any other town, an object of general admiration, in a nation where beauty of form was particularly felt and esteemed.¹

2. Two things were, however, requisite as an introduction and preparation to marriage at Sparta, first, betrothing on the part of the father;^m secondly, the seizure of the bride. The latter was clearly an ancient

^h VI. 61, 65.

¹ Polycrates ap. Athen. IV. p. 139 F. Xenoph. Ages. 8. 7. with Casaubon's restoration from Plutarch. Ages. 19. Hesychius in *κάνναθρα*, Eustathius ad Il. XXIV. p. 1344. 44. Schol. ad Aristoph. Vesp. 413. The temple of Helen, mentioned by Hesychius in *κάνναθρα*, is that at Therapne, above the Phœbæum, of which Herodotus speaks, VII. 61.

^k Λακεδαιμονίην τε γυναῖκα in

the oracle; and how, in the Lysistrata of Aristophanes, the Athenian women admire the lusty and vigorous beauty of Lampito. comp. Athen. XII. p. 609 B.

¹ Heracl. Lembus ap. Athen. XIII. p. 566 A.

^m If the father and grandfather died, the right, even in Doric states, e. g., in Cyrene, passed to the brothers, Plutarch Mul. Virt. p. 303. Polyæn. VIII. 41.

national custom, founded on the idea that the young woman could not surrender her freedom and virgin purity unless compelled by the violence of the stronger sex. They married, says Plutarch, by ravishing. The bridegroom brought the young virgin, having carried her off from the chorus of maidens or elsewhere, to the bride's maid, who cut short her hair, and left her lying in a man's dress and shoes, without a light, on a bed of rushes, until the bridegroom returned from the public banquet, carried the bride to the nuptial couch, and loosened her girdle.ⁿ And this intercourse was for some time carried on clandestinely, till the man brought his wife, and frequently her mother, into his house. That this usage was retained to the last days of Sparta may be inferred from the fact, that the young wife of Panteus was still in the house of her parents, and remained there, when he went with Cleomenes to Egypt.^o A similar custom must have prevailed in Crete, where we find, that the young persons who were dismissed at the same time from the agele, were immediately married, but did not till some time after introduce their wives into their own house.^p The children born before this took place

ⁿ Plutarch Lycurg. 15. Lac. Apophth. p. 224. Xen. de Rep. Lac. I. 5. The account of Hermippus in Athenæus XIII. p. 555 C. is absurdly disfigured. The same is true of Hagnon, ibid. XIII. p. 602 E. This explains the statement of Herodotus VI. 65. that Demaratus obtained possession of Percalus the daughter of Chilon, who was betrothed to Leotychides, by previously carrying her away

by force, φθάσας ἀρπάσας. In later times, whoever ravished a virgin at Sparta (as also at Delphi, Heliodorus IV. p. 269.) was punished with death, Xenoph. Ephes. V. 1; and compare Marcellinus on Hermogenes, although this account does not belong to the age of which we treat.

^o Plutarch. Cleom. 38.

^p Strabo X. p. 482 D. from Ephorus.

were probably called *παρθέναι*;^a they were in general considered in all respects equal to those born at home; but in the first Messenian war particular circumstances seem to have made it impossible to provide them with lots of land;^r and hence they became the founders of Tarentum.^s

3. The age of marriage was fixed by the ancient Greeks and western nations much later than at a subsequent period by those of the east. Following the former, the laws of Sparta did not allow women of too tender an age to be disposed of in marriage. The women were generally those at the highest pitch of youthful vigour^t (called in Rhodes *ἀνδρστηριάδες*),^u and for the men, about the age of thirty was esteemed the most proper, as we find in Hesiod,^x Plato,^y and even Aristotle. Public actions might however be brought against those who married too late (*γραφὴ ὀψιγαμίου*), to which those also were liable who had entered into unsuitable marriages (*γραφὴ καχογαμίου*),

^a According to Hesychius. Homer. Il. XVI. 180. calls Eudoxus a *παρθένος*, τὸν ἔτικτε χορῶ καλῇ Πολυμήλῃ, which I explain thus: she produced him "in the chorus," i. e., while she yet belonged to the ἀγέλη of the virgins. The passage is quoted by Dio Chrysost. Or. VII. p. 273., who also speaks of the Lacedæmonian *παρθέναι*.

^r Justin. III. 4. *Nulli pater existeret cujus in patrimonium successio speraretur.*

^s Book I. ch. 6. § 12. The common narrative of Ephorus is repeated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and is evidently invented to account for the

name *Παρθέναι*, which Antiochus declines to explain.

^t Xen. Rep. Lac. I. 6. Plutarch Lyc. 15. Comp. Num. 4. Lac. Apophth. p. 224.

^u Hesychius in v.

^x Op. et Di. 695.

^y Leg. VIII. p. 785. Aristotle indeed (Polit. VII. 16.) gives 37 years as the most fitting time for marriage in a man; which number Larcher (*Chronologie d'Herodote*) has no reason to suppose borrowed from the laws of Laconia. The Troezenians were forbidden by the oracle from making early marriages, Aristot. Pol. VII. 14. 4.

and those who remained unmarried (*γραφὴ ἀγαμίου*).^z It is well known that these laws have been blamed as a violation of the rights of individuals, and even a profanation of the rite of marriage: but these censors should have remembered that they were judging those institutions by principles which the founders of them would not have recognised. For the Spartans considered marriage, not as a *private relation*, about which the state had little or no interest, but as a *public institution*, in order to rear up a strong and healthy progeny to the nation. In Solon's legislation, marriage was also placed under the inspection of the state, and an action for not marrying (*γραφὴ ἀγαμίου*), though merely as a relic of antiquity, existed at Athens. It is nevertheless true that marriage, especially in Sparta, was, to a certain degree, viewed with a primitive simplicity, which shocks the feelings of more refined ages, as the peculiar object of matrimony was never kept out of sight. Leonidas, when despatched to Thermopylæ, is said to have left as a legacy to his wife Gorgo the maxim, *Marry nobly, and produce a noble offspring*;^b and when Acrotatus had fought bravely in the war against Pyrrhus, the women followed him through the town, and some of the older ones shouted after him, "Go, Acrotatus, enjoy yourself with Chelidonis, and beget valiant sons for

^z See Plutarch Lyc. 15. Ly-sand. 13. de Amore prol. 2. Lac. Apophth. p. 223. Clearchus ap. Athen. XIII. p. 555 C. Pollux III. 48. VIII. 40. Stobæus Serm. 65. Clem. Alexand. Strom. II. p. 182. compare Schlæger's Præfat. ad Dissertat. Helmat. 1744. p. 10. It is most singu-

lar that the cowards (*τρεσάντες*) to whom every man denied his daughter, were punished for not marrying, Xen. Rep. Lac. 9. 5.

^a Pollux VIII. 40.

^b Plutarch de Herod. Malign. 32. p. 321. Lac. Apophth. p. 216. fragm. p. 355.

"Sparta."^c Hence we may perceive the reason why in various cases^d (such as are known to us have been mentioned above^e) Lycurgus not only allowed, but enjoined the marriage duties to be transferred to another; always, however, providing that the sanctity of the marriage union should be for a certain time sacrificed to that which the Doric race considered as of higher importance, viz., the maintenance of the family. That these cases were so defined by custom, as to leave but little room for the effects of caprice or passion, is evident from the infrequency of adultery at Sparta:^f but the above aim justified even king Anaxandridas, when, contrary to all national customs, he cohabited with two wives,^g who lived without doubt in separate houses. To marry foreign women was certainly forbidden to all Spartans, and to the Heraclidæ by a separate rhetra;^h contrary to the custom in other Grecian towns, especially Athens, whose princes in early times, as Megacles, Miltiades, &c., frequently contracted marriages with foreigners.

4. The domestic relation of the wife to her husband

^c Plutarch Pyrrh. 28. See B. III. ch. 10. § 3. concerning the *ius trium liberorum* in Sparta.

^d Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα συνέχεται, Xen. Rep. Lac. I. 9. Later writers often give fabulous accounts of this point, particularly Theodoretus Græc. Affinit. 9.

^e B. III. ch. 10. § 4.

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bly were composed of a mixture of different ranks, and certainly were not the offspring of a regular *stuprum*. At Rhodes, according to Schol. Eurip. Alcest. 992, the νόθοι were called μαστρούξεννοι, i. e. those who at a public scrutiny (called at Athens διαψήφισις) were rejected from the lists of citizens. The investigation was perhaps conducted by the μάστοροι, Hesych. in v. comp. Harpocrat. μαστήρες.

^g Herod. V. 39, 40.

^h Plutarch Agid. 11.

among the Dorians was in general the same as that of the ancient western nations, described by Homer as universal among the Greeks, and which existed at Rome till a late period; the only difference being, that the peculiarities of the custom were preserved by the Dorians more strictly than elsewhere. It formed a striking contrast with the habits of the Ionic Athenians, with whom the ancient custom of Greece was almost entirely supplanted by that of the east.ⁱ Amongst the Ionians of Asia, the wife (as we are informed by Herodotus^k) shared indeed the bed, but not the table of her husband; she dared not call him by his name, but addressed him with the title of lord, and lived secluded in the interior of the house: on this model the most important relations between man and wife were regulated at Athens. But amongst the Dorians of Sparta, the wife^l was honoured by her husband with the title of mistress (δέσποινα),^m (a gallantry belonging to the north of Greece, and also practised by the Thessaliansⁿ), which was used neither ironically nor unmeaningly. Nay, so strange did the import-

ⁱ The history of women in the heroic age has been better treated by Lenz, than by Meiners in his *Geschichte des Weiblichen Geschlechts*; although even he has many prejudices, e. g., that women are always improved by education, the reverse of which was the case in Greece. Lenz (p. 64.) correctly remarks, that in Homer the manners of unmarried are represented as less restrained than those of married women; although their intercourse with men was more free than among

the Dorians. Comp. p. 143.

^k I. 146.

^l Though she lived in the interior of the house, as is proved by the Doric term for a wife, μεσόδομα: see Hesych. in οἰκέτις, Theocrit. Id. XVIII. 28. and compare the sayings of Aregeus in Plutarch Lac. Apophth. p. 198. of Euboidas, p. 205. and of the Lacedæmonian woman, p. 262. who being asked what she understood, answered, εὖ οἰκεῖν οἶκον.

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ance which the Lacedæmonian women enjoyed, and the influence which they exercised as the managers of their household, and mothers of families, appear to the Greeks, at a time when the prevalence of Athenian manners prevented a due consideration for national customs, that Aristotle^o supposed Lycurgus to have attempted, but without success, to regulate the life of women as he had that of the men; and the Spartans were frequently censured for submitting to the yoke of their wives.^p Nevertheless Alcman, generally a great admirer of the beauty of Lacedæmonian women, could say, "It becomes a man to say much, and a woman "to rejoice at all she hears."^q In accusing the women of Sparta, however, for not essentially assisting their country in times of necessity, Aristotle has in the first place required of them a duty which even in Sparta lay out of their sphere, and in the second place, his assertion has been sufficiently contradicted by the events of a subsequent period, in the last days of Sparta, which acquired a surprising lustre from female valour.^r On the whole, however, little as the Athenians esteemed their own women, they involun-

^o Polit. II. 6. 8. and in Plutarch Lyc. 14. At that time moreover the manners of the Spartan women had really degenerated, and a considerable licence (*ἀνεσις*) prevailed, Aristot. Polit. II. 6. 5. Plat. Leg. I. p. 637. Dion. Hal. Hist. Rom. II. 24.

^p Plutarch Lyc. 14. Comp. Num. 3. Aristotle also (Polit. II. 6, 7.) speaks of their influence on the government in the time of the ascendancy of Sparta; it increased still more, when a large part of the landed

property fell into the hands of women. The singular assertion of Ælian V. H. XII. 34. that Pausanias loved his wife, has been correctly interpreted by Kühn to mean a too great, or uxorious affection; and so likewise Menelaus appears to have been represented, see, e. g., Aristoph. Lysist. 155.

^q Πολλὰ λέγειν ὄνυμ' ἀνδρὶ, γυναικὶ δὲ πᾶσι χαρῆναι, fragm. 13. ed. Welcker. comp. Franck's Tyrtæus p. 173 and 203.

^r See, e. g., Plutarch Cleom. 38.

tarily revered the heroines of Sparta, such as Gorgo the wife of Leonidas, Lampito the daughter of Leotychidas, the wife of Archidamus and mother of Agis;^o and this feeling is sometimes apparent even in the coarse jests of Aristophanes.

5. How this indulgent treatment of the women among the Dorians produced a state of opinion entirely different from that prevalent at Athens, has been intimated above, and will be further explained hereafter. In general it may be remarked, that while among the Ionians women were merely considered in an inferior and sensual light, and though the Æolians allowed their feelings a more exalted tone, as is proved by the amatory poetesses of Lesbos;^t the Dorians, as well at Sparta as in the south of Italy, were almost the only nation who esteemed the higher attributes of the female mind as capable of cultivation.

It is hardly necessary to remark, that in considering the rights and duties of the wife, as represented in the above pages, to apply to the whole Doric race, allowance must be made for the alterations introduced into different towns, particularly by foreign intercourse and luxury. At Corinth, for instance, the institution of the sacred slaves (*ιερόδουλοι*) in the temple of Aphrodite, probably introduced from Asia Minor, produced a most prejudicial effect on the morals of that city,

^o Plato Alcib. I. p. 41. Plin. H. N. VII. 41. Compare the saying of Gorgo in Plutarch Lac. Apophth. p. 258.

^t The Boeotian poetesses, however, Corinna and Myrto, and Diotima the Arcadian (concerning whom see Frederick Schlegel, Griechen und Roemer,

vol. I. p. 275.), were on the rank of Doric women; although in Boeotia the female sex was very much restricted, and placed under the superintendence of *γυναικονόμοι* (as under the *ἀρμόσυνοι* at Sparta, ch. 7. § 8.), Plutarch Solon. 21.

and made it the ancient and great resort of courtesans.^u

6. Having now considered the personal relations between the sexes, we next come to those depending on difference of age; which from the Doric principle of the elders instructing the younger, are intimately connected with education.^x But before we enter on that subject, it will be necessary to speak of a connexion (termed by the Greeks παιδεραστία), which, so long as it was regulated by the ancient Doric principles, to be recognised both in the Cretan laws and those of Lycurgus, had great influence on the instruction of youth. We will first state the exact circumstances of this relation, and then make some general remarks on it; but without examining it in a moral point of view, which does not fall within the scope of this work.

At Sparta the party loving was called εἰσπνήλας,^y

^u See b. II. ch. 10. § 7. Aris-
toph. Lys. 90. Plut. 149. et
Schol. Suidas in ἐταῖραι Κο-
ρινθ. and χοῖρος. Pollux IX. 6.
75. Κορινθιάζεσθαι τὸ μαστρο-
πέυειν ἢ ἐταῖρειν (see b. I. ch.
8. § 3.) Eustath. ad Il. p.
290. 23. ed. Rom. and Anacreon
XXXII. 10. whose poems are
of the Achæan or Roman time.
Compare also the Κορινθία κόρη
in Plato de Rep. p. 404 D.
Κορίνθια παῖς, Eurip. Sciron.
ap. Poll. X. 7. 25. cf. IX. 6.
75. and Hemsterhuis, and the
proverb in Suidas (XIV. 81.
Schott.) Plutarch Prov. Al. 92.
ἀκροκορίνθι ἔοικας χοιροπολήσειν.
Compare Jacobs in the Attisches
Museum, vol. II. part III. p.

137. Schiebel zur Kenntniss der
Alten Welt, vol. I. p. 177.—The
women of *Sicyon* were, ac-
cording to the βίος Ἑλλάδος of
Dicæarchus, exceedingly grace-
ful in their carriage.

^x Plutarch Lycurg. 17. Dio-
nys. Hal. XX. 2. ed. Mai. Old
men could punish persons con-
ducting themselves improperly
(ἀκοσμοῦντες) by striking them
with their sticks.

^y Εἰσπνήλας is probably the
genuine form; see Callim.
Fragm. 169. ed. Benti. Ety-
mol. Mag. p. 43. 34. p. 306.
24. Gudian. p. 23. 2. Orion,
p. 617. 49. Εἰσπνήλος is used
by Theocritus Id. XII. 13.

and his affection was termed a *breathing in*, or *in-
spiring* (εἰσπνέειν^z); which expresses the pure and
mental connexion between the two persons, and cor-
responds with the name of the other, viz., ἀῖτας,^a i. e.,
listener or *hearer*. Now it appears to have been the
practice for every youth of good character to have his
lover;^b and, on the other hand, every well-educated
man was bound by custom to be the lover of some
youth.^c Instances of this connexion are furnished by
several of the royal family of Sparta; thus Agesilaus,
while he still belonged to the herd of youths, was the
hearer of Lysander,^d and himself had in his turn also
a *hearer*;^e his son Archidamus was the lover of the son
of Sphodrias, the noble Cleonymus;^f Cleomenes the
Third was, when a young man, the hearer of Xenares,^g
and later in life the lover of the brave Panteus.^h The
connexion usually originated from the proposal of the
lover; yet it was necessary that the listener should
accept him from real affection, as a regard to the riches
of the proposer was considered very disgraceful.ⁱ

^a Ælian V. H. III. 12. Ἐμ-
πνεῖσθαι is the word used by
Plutarch Cleom. 3.

^b Vol. I. p. 5. Compare
Etymol. Magn. p. 43. 31. Gu-
dian. ubi sup. Ἀείτης was used
by Aristophanes; see Bekker's
Anecd. p. 348. Tzetzes ad Ly-
cophr. 459, and ἀῖτας by Al-
cæus ap. Athen. p. 430 D.
Alcman also called lovely young
women ἀῖτας κόρας; see
Schneider's Lexicon in v. and
Etymol. Gudian. p. 23. 3; also
the Lexicon vocum peregrina-
rum in Valpy's edition of Ste-
phens's Thesaurus, part XII.
p. 492.

^c Servius ad Æn. X. 325.

adeo ut Cicero dicat in libris
de re publica (p. 280. Mai.)
opprobrio fuisse adolescentibus
si amatores non haberent.

^e Ælian III. 10.

^d Plutarch Ages. 2. Lysand.
22.

^e Plutarch Ages. 13. Reg.
Apophth. p. 128. Lac. Apo-
phth. p. 177.

^f Xenoph. Hell. V. 4. 25.

^g Plutarch Cleom. 3.

^h Ib. c. 37.—The youth of
Argilus, loved by Pausanias,
cannot be mentioned among
these, Thuc. I. 132. Nepos
Pausan. 4.

ⁱ Ælian V. H. III. 10.

sometimes however it happened that the proposal originated from the other party.^k The connexion appears to have been very intimate and faithful, and was recognised by the state. If his kinsmen were absent, the youth might be represented in the public assembly by his lover:^l in battle too they stood near one another, where their fidelity and affection were often shown till death;^m while at home the youth was constantly under the eyes of his lover, who was to him as it were a model and pattern of life;ⁿ which explains why, for many faults, particularly for want of ambition, the lover could be punished instead of the listener.^o

7. This ancient national custom prevailed with still greater force in Crete; which island was hence by many persons considered as the original seat of the connexion in question.^p Here too it was disgraceful for a well-educated youth to be without a lover;^q and hence the party loved was termed *κλεινός*,^r the *praised*; the lover being simply called *φιλήτωρ*. It appears that the youth was always carried away by force,^s the intention of the ravisher being previously communicated to the relations, who however took no measures of precaution, and only made a feigned resistance; except when the ravisher appeared, either in family or talent, unworthy of the youth. The lover then led

^k Id. III. 12.

^l Plutarch Lyc. 25.

^m Xen. Hell. IV. 8. 39. Plutarch Reg. Apophth. quoted in note^o, p. 301.

ⁿ See Plutarch Lac. Apophth. p. 209. In Bæotia also *ἀνὴρ καὶ παῖς συζυγόντες ὁμιλοῦσιν*, Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 2. 12.

^o Plutarch Lycurg. 18. Ælian V. H. III. 10.

^p Athen. XIII. p. 601 E.

p. 602 F. from Timæus, Heraclid. Pont. 3. Heyne ad Apollod. III. 1. 2. *Κρήτες ἐρωτικώτατοι*, together with the Lacedæmonians and Bæotians, Plutarch Amator. 17. p. 37.

^q Athen. XV. p. 782 E.

^r Ephorus ap. Strab. X. p. 483. Hesychius in *φιλήτωρ*.

^s Ephorus ubi sup. Compare Plutarch de Educ. 14.

him away to his apartment (*ἀνδρεῖον*), and afterwards, with any chance companions, either to the mountains or to his estate. Here they remained two months (the period prescribed by custom), which were passed chiefly in hunting together. After this time had expired, the lover dismissed the youth, and at his departure gave him, according to custom, an ox, a military dress, and brazen cup, with other things; and frequently these gifts were increased by the friends of the ravisher.^t The youth then sacrificed the ox to Zeus, with which he gave a feast to his companions: at this he stated how he had been pleased with his lover; and he had complete liberty by law to punish any insult or disgraceful treatment. It depended now on the choice of the youth whether the connexion should be broken off or not. If it was kept up, the companion in arms (*παραστάτης*), as the youth was then called, wore the military dress which had been given him; and fought in battle next his lover, inspired with double valour by the gods of war and love, according to the notion of the Cretans;^u and even in man's age he was distinguished by the first place and rank in the course, and certain insignia worn about the body.

Institutions, so systematic and regular as these, did not indeed exist in any Doric state except Crete and Sparta; but the feelings on which they were founded seem to have been common to all the Dorians. The love of Philolaus, a Corinthian of the family of the

^t Ephorus and Heraclides Ponticus. Arms were in Crete, according to Nicolaus Damascenus, the most honourable present that could be made. Concerning the cup, see Hermonax ap. Athen. XI. p. 502 B.

^u Ælian V. H. III. 9. comp. N. A. IV. 1.

Bacchiadæ, and the lawgiver of Thebes, and of Diocles the Olympic conqueror, lasted until death; and even their graves were turned towards one another, in token of their affection:^x and another person of the same name was honoured in Megara, as a noble instance of self-devotion for the object of his love.^y

8. It is indeed clear that a custom of such general prevalence cannot have originated from any accidental impression or train of reasoning; but must have been founded on feelings natural to the whole Doric race. Now that the affection of the lover was not entirely mental, and that a pleasure in beholding the beauty and vigour, the manly activity and exercises^z of the youth was also present, is certain. But it is a very different question, whether this custom, universally prevalent both in Crete and Sparta, followed by the noblest men, by the legislators encouraged with all care, and having so powerful an influence on education, was identical with the vice to which in its name and outward form it is so nearly allied.

The subject should be carefully considered, before, with Aristotle, we answer this question in the affirmative, who not only takes the fact as certain, but even accounts for it by supposing that the custom was instituted by the legislator of Crete as a check to population.^a Is it, I ask, likely that so disgraceful a vice, not practised in secret, but publicly acknowledged and

^x Aristot. Polit. II. 9. 6, 7.

^y Aristoph. Acharn. 774. Theocrit. Id. XII. 28. and Schol.

^z According to Plato and Cicero (Leg. I. p. 636 B. Tusc. Quæst. IV. 34. comp. Boeckh ad Leg. p. 106.) This practice originated from the

gymnastic exercises; a supposition probably not true in this general sense.

^a Polit. II. 7. 5.—It is however true of Athens only, and not of the Dorians, that the love of the male supplied the place of that of the female sex.

countenanced by the state, not confined to a few individuals, but common for centuries to the whole people, should really have existed, and this in the race of all the Greeks, the most distinguished for its healthy, temperate, and even ascetic habits? These difficulties must be solved before the testimony of Aristotle can be received.

I will now offer what appears to me the most probable view of this question. The Dorians seem in early times to have considered an intimate friendship and connexion between males as necessary for their proper education. But the objection which would have presented itself in a later age, viz. the liability to abuse of such a habit, had then no existence, as has been already remarked by a learned writer.^b And hence they saw no disadvantage to counterbalance the advantages which they promised themselves in the unrestrained intercourse which would be the natural consequence of the new institution. It is also true that the manners of simple and primitive nations generally have and need less restraint than those whom a more general intercourse and the greater facility of concealment have forced to enact prohibitory laws. This view is in fact confirmed by the declaration of Cicero, that the Lacedæmonians brought the lover into the closest relation with the object of his love, and that every sign of affection was permitted *præter stuprum*;^c

^b Welcker, Sappho von einem herrschenden vorurtheil befreit, p. 41. Confederates in arms are called Ἀχιλλῶι φίλοι in the beautiful Fragment of Æolian lyric poetry, attributed to Theocritus, XXVIII. 34. Comp. Arrian.

Peripl. Pont. p. 23.

^c Cicero de Rep. IV. 4. Lacedæmonii ipsi cum omnia concedunt in amore juvenum præter stuprum, tenui sane muro dissæpiunt id quod excipiunt: complexus enim concubitusque permittunt.

for although in the times of the corruption of manners this proximity would have been attended with the most dangerous consequences, in early times it never would have been permitted, if any pollution had been apprehended from it. And we know from another source that this *stuprum* was punished by the Lacedæmonians most severely, viz. with banishment or death.^d It may be moreover added, that this pure connexion was encouraged by the Doric principle of taking the education from the hands of parents, and introducing boys in early youth to a wider society than their home could afford.^e

^d Ælian V. H. III. 12. On account of this provision the Lacedæmonian law is called *ποίκιλος* by Plato Sympos. p. 182. The purity of the Lacedæmonian custom is also attested by Xenophon, the best authority on Doric manners. *Εἴ τις παιδὸς σώματος ὀρεγόμενος φανείη, αἰσχιστον τοῦτο θεῖς (ὁ Λυκούργος) ἐποίησεν ἐν Δακεδαίμονι μηδὲν ἥττον ἐραστὰς παιδικῶν ἀπέχεσθαι ἢ γονεῖς παίδων ἢ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἀφροδίσια ἀπέχονται*, de Rep. Lac. 2. 13; and see Schneider's note. Plato however has a different opinion of it, Leg. I. p. 638. VIII. p. 836. The Cretan fell into worse repute than the Lacedæmonian custom, Plutarch de Educ. 14. Both however are praised as equally innocent by Maximus

Tyrius, Diss. X. p. 113. The suspicions thrown upon it are perhaps to be entirely traced to the Attic comic poets; thus Eupolis ap. Athen. I. p. 17 D. Hesych. et al. Lexicog. in *Κυσολάκων* and *λακωνίζειν*. Comp. Suidas and Apostolius, XI. 73. *Λακωνικὸν τρόπον περαίνειν*.

^e On the subject of this last part generally, see Meiners' Miscellaneous Philosophical Writings, vol. I. p. 61, and History of the Female Sex, vol. I. p. 321. Herder's Thoughts on the Philosophy of History, Works, vol. V. p. 173. Since the first publication of this work, the view of the above question taken in the text has been approved by Jacobs, Miscellaneous Works, III. *Leben und Kunst der Alten*, II. (1829) pp. 212, sqq.

CHAP. V.

§ 1. Education of the youth at Sparta. Its early stages. § 2. Its continuation after the twelfth year. § 3. Education of the youth in Crete. § 4. Nature of the education: gymnastic and music. § 5. Influence of the Dorians upon the national games. § 6. The Spartan youth trained to hardships. § 7. Military games at Crete and Sparta. § 8. Athletic exercises of the women.

1. The education of the youth (*νεολαία*)^a in the ancient Doric states of Sparta and Crete, was conducted, as might be supposed, on a very artificial system: indeed, the great number of classes into which the boys and youths were distributed, would itself lead us to this conclusion. For since this separation could not have been made without some aim, each class, we may conjecture, was treated in some way different from the rest, the whole forming a complete scale of mental or bodily acquirements.

Whether a new-born infant should be preserved or not, was decided in Lacedæmon by the state, i. e. a council composed of the elders of the house.^b This custom was not by any means more barbarous than that of the ancient world in general, which, in earlier times at least, gave the father full power over the lives of his children. Here we may perceive the great

^a Lucian. Anach. 38. *θηλυς νεολαία* Theocr. Idyl. XVIII. 24. Comp. D'Orville ad Charit. p. 22. Alberti ad Hesych. in v.

^b Plutarch, Lycurg. 16. I have written *house* instead of *tribe*, as above, b. III. ch. 10. § 2.

influence of the community over the education of its members, which should not, however, lead us to suppose that all connexion between parents and children was dissolved, or the dearest ties of nature torn asunder. Even Spartan mothers preserved a power over their sons when arrived at manhood, of which we find no trace in the rest of Greece. Agesilaus riding before his children on a stick^c presents a true picture of the education,^d which was entrusted entirely to the parents^e till the age of seven; at which period the public and regular education (*ἀγωγή*)^f commenced. This was in strictness enjoyed only by the sons of Spartans (*πολιτικοὶ παῖδες*),^g and the mothaces (slaves brought up in the family) selected to share their education: sometimes also Spartans of half-blood were admitted.^h This education was one chief requisite for a free citizen;ⁱ whoever refused to submit to it,^k suffered a partial

^c The philosopher Archytas is mentioned as the inventor of a child's rattle, *πλατάγη*, Aristot. Polit. VIII. 6. 1. Apostol. XVI. 21.

^d *μίτυλλα, ἐσχατονήπια* Hesychius.

^e Plutarch, ubi sup.

^f Concerning this expression see Plutarch, Ages. 1. Cleom. II. 37. *Λακωνικὴ ἀγωγή* Polyb. I. 32, also Zonaras and Suidas. The *Λυκούργειος ἀγωγή* was in later times supplanted by the *Ἀχαικὴ παιδεία*, the object of which was utility, Plutarch, Philop. 16. comp. Pausan. VII. 8. 3.

^g According to the correct reading in Athen. VI. p. 271 E. These are the same as *οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγωγῆς παῖδες*: see above, p. 22. note P. From the ex-

pression *ὡς ἂν καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐκποιῶσιν*, we may infer that the fathers paid the expenses of education, which was observed in b. III. ch. 10, § 7.

^h Xenoph. Hellen. V. 3. 9. *τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καλῶν οὐκ ἄπειροι*. The *δημοτικὴ ἀγωγή* in Polyb. XXV. 8. 1. is an inferior degree.

ⁱ See in particular Plutarch, Lac. Apophthegm. p. 243.

^k Any one who when a boy would not undergo hard labour, according to Xen. Rep. Lac. 3. 3. had no longer any share *τῶν καλῶν*; i. e. the remaining education (*τὰ καλὰ* in Sparta; comp. Xenoph. Hellen. V. 4. 32, and above, note ^b), and became *ἀδόκιμος* in the town, not *ὁμοιος*. Plutarch, Inst. Lac. p. 252, says too generally, that

loss of his rights; the immediate heir to the throne was the only person excepted,¹ whilst the younger sons of the kings were brought up in the herd (*ἀγέλη*). Leonidas and Agesilaus, two of the noblest princes of Sparta, submitted when boys to the correction of their masters.

2. From the twelfth year^m upwards, the education of boys was much more strict. About the age of sixteen or seventeen they were called *σιδεῖναι*.ⁿ At the expiration of his eighteenth year, the youth emerged from childhood, the first years of this new rank being distinguished by separate terms.^o During the progress from the condition of an ephebus to manhood, the young Spartans were called *Sphæreis*,^p probably because their chief exercise was foot-ball, which game

"any one who did not go through the education lost the right of citizenship; which conversely might be obtained by a stranger who submitted to it."

¹ Plutarch, Ages. 1.

^m Plutarch, Lycurg. 16: comp. above, ch. 2. § 5.

ⁿ Photius in *συνέφηβος*, where for *ἐξῆς δέκα* read *ἐκκαίδεκα*. Schneider Lexicon in *σκόθραξ* proposes *συνεύνας*; but all these were in the Agelæ. More general names are derived from *κόρος*, e. g. *κωραλίσκοι*: see Hesych. in v. From thence the piece of Epilycus, the scene of which was laid in Sparta, had its title: see above, p. 288, note ^d, *κυρσανίον*, Aristoph. Lysistr. 983. Schol. also Suidas, Photius in *κυρσάνια*, Hesych. in v. also in *κύρσιον*, *σκόρθακες*, *σκυρθάκια*: comp. Hesych. in *σκούραξ* et *σκυρθαλίας*. Phot. in

σκυρθάνια.

^o In the second year after this period he was called Eiren, before it Melleiren, Plutarch, Lycurg. 17. Etym. Mag. and Gloss. Herodot. in *εἶρην*, Hesych. in *ἱρίνες*, *ἱρανές*, *μελλίρην*. Hesychius explains *ἱρανές* by *ἄρχοντες*, *διώκοντες*; and *εἰρηνάζει* to mean *κρατεῖ*, and this appears to be the original meaning of the word. Amompharetus, Callicrates, &c., the *ἱρένες* in Herod. IX. 85. were certainly not youths, but commanders, particularly Amompharetus, was lochagus of the Pitanatan lochus. After that same period he was called Proteires, Phot. p. 105. *κατὰ πρωτεῖρας*, Hesych. *κατὰ πρωτῆρας*. It appears that in this composition *εἶρης* is the same word as *εἶρην*.

^p Pausan. III. 14. 6, and see Boeckh Inscript.

was carried on with great emulation, and indeed resembled a battle rather than a diversion.^a In their nineteenth year they were sent out on the crypteia,^b at twenty they served in the ranks, their duties resembling those of the *περίπολοι* at Athens. Still the youths, although they were now admitted to the public banquets,^c remained in the divisions, which were called *ἀγέλαι*, or in the Spartan dialect *βοῦαι*,^d and distributed into smaller troops (called *ἵλαι*).^e The last name was also applied to a troop of horse,^f and is one amongst several other proofs,^g that, in early times at least, the exercise of riding was one of the principal occupations of the youths of Sparta. In these divisions all distinction of age was lost, the leaders of them were taken from among the Irenes,^h and exercised great powers over the younger members; for the use of which they were in their turn responsible to every citizen of a more advanced age,ⁱ and particularly to the paidonomus, a magistrate of very extensive authority.^b His assistants were the floggers, or mastigophori, who were selected from the young men,^c the buagi or managers of the buæ;^d besides which, there were certain

^a Siebelis ad Pausan. ubi sup. and b. III. ch. 11. § 3.

^b Above, b. III. ch. 3. § 4.

^c Xen. Rep. Lac. 3. 5.

^d Hesych. and Etym. Mag. in *βονόα*, where for *ἀγλεῖ τις*, read *ἀγέλη τις*, Valcken. ad Adon. p. 274.

^e Xen. Rep. Lac. 2. 11. Plutarch, Lycurg. 16, 17. Inst. Lac. p. 248.

^f At Tarentum, the commander of the ile was called *βειλαρμόστας*, the digamma being prefixed; see Hesych.

^g See Hesych. in *ἵππαρχος* *ἡνιοχάρτης*, and according to

Eustath. ad Il. θ. p. 727. 22. not merely the 300 were called cavalry, but all the *ἱππεῖς* of the elders.

^h Xen. Plutarch, ubi sup. uses the word *agele* instead of *ile*.

ⁱ Plutarch Lyc. 18.

^b Xenoph. 2. 2. Plutarch. Hesych. According to Xen. 4. 6 the *ἱππεῖς* were still under the superintendence of the *παιδονόμος*.

^c Xenoph. ubi sup.

^d Hesych. where the *βονάγορ* is erroneously called *παῖς*. See b. III. ch. 7. § 8.

officers appointed to manage the boys, called *ampaides*.^a A similar arrangement was adopted in the societies of the girls and young women.^b Theocritus, in his Epithalamium of Helen, represents 240 young women of the same age, as joining in the daily exercises and games.^c And whilst Doric customs prevailed at Croton, the daughter of Pythagoras (according to Timæus)^d was several times appointed leader of the young women and matrons.

3. In Crete the boys, as long as they remained in the house of their father, were said to dwell in darkness.¹ At this period they were admitted into the syssitia of their respective fathers, where they sat together on the ground; after the syssitia they formed themselves into societies under separate *paidonomi*.^k It was not till their seventeenth year that they were enrolled in the *agelæ*,^l so that the education was here entrusted to the family for a longer period than at Sparta. They remained in the *agelæ* till married, and consequently even after they had attained the age of manhood; hence in the extant treaty between the Latians and Olontians, it is required that the *agelæ* also should take the oath.^m From the circumstance,

^a Hesychius in *ἀμπαίδες*.

^b Who were called *κῶραι*, *πῶραι*, *πάλλακες*. For the first expression see Maittaire, p. 156. *κόρα* amongst the Pythagoreans. Jambl. Pyth. XI. 56. For the second, see Hesychius in *v*. where read *κόραι*. For the third see Etym. Mag. p. 649. 57.

^c Theocrit. Idyll. XVIII. 23. comp. Pind. Fragm. Hyporch. 8. Boeckh, Callim. Lav. Pall. 33.

^d In Porphyry. Pyth. VIII. 61. p. 263. Goeller: comp.

Jambl. Pyth. 30.

¹ *σκότιοι*: see Schol. in Eurip. Alcest. 989. This also was the time in which the boys were taken away from home; see above, ch. 4. § 7; and from the circumstance of their belonging to no *agele*, they were called *ἀπάγελοι*, Hesych. in *v*.

^k Ephorus ap. Strab. p. 483.

^l Hesych. Ephorus ubi sup. and Nicol. Dam. mention indeed only a *παίδων ἀγέλη*, but use *παῖς* in an extensive sense.

^m Chishull, p. 134.

however, that these troops of young men were brought together by one of the most wealthy and illustrious in their body, whose father held the office of commander (ἀγελάτης), led them to the chase and the games, and exercised the right of punishment over them;ⁿ we perceive that a far greater influence, as well over the government^o as the education, was permitted to particular families in Crete than at Sparta, whilst the system itself was less strict and impartial. The age of manhood was in Crete dated from the time of admittance into the male gymnasia (there called δρόμοι;) ^p hence a person who had exercised ten years among the men was called δεκάδρομος;^q the youth who had not as yet wrestled or run in them ἀπόδρομος.^r We have no account respecting other Doric towns, and merely know that the classes of the ephebi at Cyrene were called from the number of each, the "three hundred."^s

4. Thus far respecting the arrangements for training the youths. The education itself was partly bodily, partly mental; although the division must not be drawn too strictly, since each exercise of the body includes at the same time that of the mind, at least of its hardihood, patience, and vigour. The Greeks, however, used the general terms of *gymnastic* for the

ⁿ Ephor. ubi sup. Heracl. Pont. 3. From this circumstance, according to Hesychius, the ephebi in the agele were called ἀγελαστοί, for which Meursius reads ἀγελαῖοι from ἀγελάζω, without any authority.

^o See book III. ch. 8. § 2.

^p Suidas.

^q οἱ δέκα ἔτη ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἡσκηότες, according to the correction of Valcken. ad Ammon.

I. 12.

^r Eustath. ad Il. θ'. p. 727. 18. ad Odys. θ'. 1592, 57. Rom. Ammonius in γέρων.

^s τριακάτιοι. Eustath. and Ammon. ubi sup. Hesych. in v. οἱ ἔφηβοι καὶ τὸ σύστημα αὐτῶν. comp. Intpp. vol. II. 1412. The observations of Mazocchi, Tab. Heracl. p. 258. 87. are very absurd.

former, and *music* for the latter of these branches. It is well known that the Dorians paid more attention than any other Greeks to gymnastic exercises;^t and it has been above remarked, that these exercises in their proper sense first originated among the Cretans and Spartans; the latter in particular have often been censured for practising them in an immoderate degree.^u This want of moderation, however, though it occurred in later times, is never perceivable in the maxims and ideas of the Dorians, who in this, as in several other cases, knew how to set bounds to youthful ardour, and check its pernicious effects. Aristotle himself^x remarks concerning the Spartan education, that it did not tend to form athletes, who considered gymnastic exercises as the chief business of life; and that the exercises tending to the beauty and elasticity of the frame were accurately separated from those of an opposite character, is shown by the absolute prohibition of the rougher exercises of boxing and the pancration;^y the latter being a mixture of wrestling

^t Hence a particular oil vessel used in the gymnasia was called Δωρίς ὄλπα, Theocr. Idyll. II. 156. it was probably a very simple utensil, since the Spartans, instead of the σπλεγγίς, used a bundle of reeds, Schol. ad Plat. Charm. p. 90. Rubnken. Plutarch. Inst. Lac. p. 253. Lobeck ad Phrynich. p. 430. remarks ingeniously that several *vocabula musica, palæstrica et militaria*, even in the common Grecian dialect, had a Doric character, being particularly in use amongst the Dorians.

^u Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 37. 33. Φιλογυμναστοῦσι Λάκωνες.

The same is said in Plato Protag. p. 342. of the imitators of the Spartans, who also (contrary to the customs of their original) were addicted to the contest with the cæstus. Aristot. Polit. VIII. 3. 3. merely says, that the discipline to which the Spartan youth were subjected made them too brutal, θηριώδεις.

^x Comp. what the Spartan in Plutarch. Lac. Apophthegm. p. 246. says concerning the distinction between κρείσσων and καβαλικώτερος, a better wrestler.

^y Plutarch Lycurg. 19. reg. Apophthegm. p. 125. Lac. Ap.

and boxing, in which the fall of either party did not decide the victory, but the most violent contest often took place when the combatants were struggling on the ground. The reason of this is said to be, that in these alone an express confession of the defeated party by the raising of the hand, served to put an end to the contest; and that Lycurgus would not permit such an avowal to his Spartans. But the real reason is probably that stated above. On the other hand, gladiators (ὀπλόμαχοι) who publicly exhibited their skill in the use of arms, were not tolerated in Laconia,² probably because the use of arms was thought too serious for mere sport and display. Nevertheless the colony of Cyrene adopted this custom from Mantinea in Arcadia,^a under their legislator Demonax.^b

5. The Doric race, to whom the elevation of gymnastic contests into great national festivals was principally owing, were probably likewise the first who introduced crowns in lieu of other prizes of victory. The gymnastic combatants in Homer are excited by real rewards; but from the advanced state of civilization on which the Dorians stood in other respects, it is probable that they also purified the exhibition of bodily activity from all other motives than the love of honour. The first crown was bestowed at Olympia, and was gained in the seventh Olympiad by Daicles a Dorian of Messenia.^c How much gymnastic exercises

p. 225. Seneca de Benef. V. 3. Xenophon's remarks in Rep. Lac. 4. 6. on the boxing of the ἡβῶντες, do not apply to the gymnastic exercises.

² Plato, Laches, p. 183.

^a Where it was without doubt connected with the military service, and a display of valour

in the practice of war.

^b Athen. IX. p. 154 D. The Mantinean ὀπλομαχία will account for a Mantinean being reported to have invented the ἐνόπλιος ὄρχησις, Plutarch. Num. 13. There was also a peculiar Μαντινική ὀπλισις.

^c Corsini, Diss. Agon. p. 127.

were practised in the different Doric states, may be collected from the extant catalogues of the conquerors at the Olympian, and Pythian games: some conclusions may even be drawn from an examination of Corsini's Catalogue. This shows that the Spartans never practised either boxing or the pancration,^d and their principles were so generally recognized at the Olympian games, over which they possessed great influence, that boys were not till a very late period permitted to contend in the pancration.^e On the other hand, many conquerors in the race came from Sparta, particularly between the 20th and 50th Olympiads; besides numerous pentathli and wrestlers: amongst the former Philombrotus (Olymp. 26—28.), amongst the latter Hipposthenes (Olymp. 37—43.) and his son Hetoemocles are distinguished by the number of crowns gained at Olympia; the first victors in both contests were also Lacedæmonians. Before the 9th Olympiad, the Elean catalogues mention Messenians in particular as victors in the race: from the 49th Olympiad, the natives of Croton are conspicuous as victors in the stadium; of these, Tisicrates and Asstylus occupy the whole period between the 71st and 75th Olympiads. At the same time the swift-footed Phallys was thrice victorious at the Pythian games: this champion was likewise the wonder of his age in the pentathlon (a contest requiring extraordinary activity), but particularly in the exercise of leaping,^f

^d Thus, as is his usual practice, Hermippus gives a fictitious account of the victory gained by the son of Chilon in the contest with the cestus at Olympia. Diog. Laert. I. 3. 5. ^e Pausan. V. 8. 3. It is however surprising that the πένταθ-

λον παίδων existed only in one Olympiad, viz. the 38th, when a Lacedæmonian obtained the victory.

^f See the Grammarians in the proverb ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα πηδᾶ.

being also a warrior and athlete. The gymnastic training of the young Crotoniats at that time attained the height of the development of the body in equal beauty and strength; Croton was celebrated for its beautiful boys and youths.⁸

During this period there existed at Croton a school of wrestlers, the chief of whom was Milo, who from the 62nd Olympiad was victorious in almost every one of the four principal games, more frequently than any other Greek. It was however whilst the philosophy of Pythagoras directed the public institutions of Croton, and influenced its manners, that this city outshone the rest of Greece by its warriors and athletes.⁹ Milo himself, the fabulous champion of posterity, was at the same time a sage and hero. But the conquest of Sybaris, the destruction of the Pythagorean league, and the adoption of the Achæan constitution, soon put an end to this system, and Croton, without suffering any external change, lost at the end of the 75th Olympiad the whole of her internal vigour. As the athletes of this town followed in their choice of exercises the fundamental principles of Spartan discipline, the case was reversed amongst the Rhodians, particularly whilst the family of Diagoras flourished,

⁸ The Olympic conqueror. Philip of Croton, the friend of Dorieus the Spartan, was considered the most beautiful of the Greeks, Herod. V. 47. Cicero de Invent. II. 1. says of the Crotoniats as follows: "Quodam tempore Crotoniatæ multum omnibus corporis viribus et dignitatibus antesteterunt, atque honestissimas ex gymnico certamine victorias domum cum maxima laude retulerunt."

"Quum puerorum igitur formas et corpora magno hic (Zeuxis) opere miraretur: horum, inquit illi, sorores sunt apud nos virgines." This is doubtless a correct description of the flourishing period of the youth of Croton: but it falls much before the time of Zeuxis.

⁹ Strab. VI. p. 262. comp. Meiners, Geschichte der Wissenschaft, book III. ch. 2.

which produced more than six boxers, the first of their day, and men of gigantic bodily strength.¹ The Æginetans were famed for their dexterity in the contests, and from the 45th Olympiad till the dissolution of their state, bore off numerous victories in the race, wrestling, and pancration, and were particularly distinguished as boys.² The distant colonies in Sicily and Libya took little interest in gymnastic contests: the latter expected more glory from their renowned horses and chariots,³ the former from their breed of mules.⁴ The Cretans, although particularly distinguished in running, fought (according to Pindar, whose statement is confirmed by these catalogues) "*like gamecocks in the arena of their own court.*"⁵ It is not possible to detail the peculiarities of the Doric states in their management of the various exercises, till the customs observed at their contests, particularly in wrestling, have been more accurately examined.⁶

6. But all the exercises in the gymnasium of Sparta were esteemed of perhaps less importance to the education of the body, than another class, the object of which was to harden the frame by labour

¹ Diagoras, his sons Damagetus, Acesilaus, Dorieus, and grandsons Eucles and Peisirrhodus; perhaps also Hyllus, see Boeckh Expl. Pind. Olymp. VII. p. 165.

² Æginetica, p. 141. see also Menand. de Encom. III. 1. p. 97. ed. Heeren.

³ Boeckh Expl. Pind. Pyth. IV. p. 268. Pyth. V. p. 287. to which add Hesych. in ἐλαία.

⁴ Boeckh Expl. Pind. Olymp. IV. p. 143.

⁵ Olymp. XII. 20. comp.

Boeckh Expl. p. 210.

⁶ The Spartans were particularly fond of the mode of wrestling called κλιμακίζειν: see the verses of Plato the comic poet quoted above, p. 280, note ^x. comp. Plut. Lac. Apophthegm. p. 241. The ἀπὸ τραχήλου γυμνάζεσθαι, Xen. Rep. Lac. 5. 9. appears to have required particular strength of neck. The Argives were dexterous ἐδροστροφῶται (throwers of crossbuttocks), Theocr. Idyll. XXV. 109.

and fatigue. The body was obliged to undergo heat and cold (the extremes of which were felt in an immoderate degree throughout the narrow valley of Sparta),^p likewise hunger, thirst and privations of every description. To this they were trained by frequent hunting on the mountains, in which manner the youths of Crete were also exercised,^q as also in the agelæ, under the agelates.^r Next came the laborious service in the most distant parts of the Laconian territory, amidst which the young men of Sparta grew up from youth to manhood, obliged to administer to their own wants without the assistance of a servant.^s The boys were also inured to hardships, by being forced to obtain their daily nourishment by stealing; for this custom was also limited to a particular period in the education of the sons of the Equals.^t We should certainly afford at the best but a very partial representation of these peculiar customs, if we were to single out some striking peculiarity from a connected system, and attempt to examine in detail a subject which should be criticised generally, or not at all. According to the scattered fragments of our information, the state of the case was as follows: "the boys at a certain period were generally banished from the town, and all communion with men, and were obliged to lead a wandering life in the fields and forests. When thus excluded, they were forced to obtain, by force or cun-

^p See b. I. ch. 4. § 3.

^q Above, ch. 4. § 7.

^r Above, § 3.

^s See b. III. ch. 3. § 4.

^t Xenoph. Anab. IV. 6. 14.

^u Heracl. Pont. 2. Xen. Rep.

Lac. 2. 6. Justin. III. 3. 6. 7

comp. Cicero apud Nonium in

clepere. Gellius N. A. XI. 18.

&c. Plutarch Lycurg. 17. does

not state the reason accurately,

comp. Inst. Lac. p. 249. Lac.

Apophthegm, p. 239. The Schol.

Plat. Leg. I. p. 225. ed. Ruhn-

ken. 450. ed. Bekker. confound

the cryptia with this institution.

ning the means of subsistence from the houses and court-yards, all access to which was at this time forbidden them; frequently obliged to keep watch for whole nights, and always exposed to the danger of being beaten, if detected. To judge this custom with fairness, it should only be regarded in the connexion which we have explained above. The possession of property was made to furnish a means of sharpening the intellect, and strengthening the courage of the citizens, by forcing the one party to hold and the other to obtain it by a sort of war. The loss of property which was thus occasioned, appeared of little importance to a state where personal rights were so little regarded; and the mischievous consequences were in some measure avoided by an exact definition of the goods permitted to be stolen,^x which were in fact those, that any Spartan who required them for the chase, might take from the stock of another. Such was the idea upon which this usage was kept up; it might possibly however have originated in the ancient mountain-life of the Dorians, when they inhabited mounts Œta and Olympus, cooped up within narrow boundaries, and engaged in perpetual contests with the more fortunate inhabitants of the plains: as a relic and memorial of those habits, it remained, contrasted with the independent and secure mode of life of the Spartans at a later period. Respecting the triumph of Spartan hardihood, viz. the scourging at the altar of Artemis Orthia, it has been above remarked in what manner, by a change made in the genuine Grecian

^x ὅσα μὴ κωλύει νόμος. Xenoph. Anab. ubi. sup. comp. *latrocinari honestum putant* should also be taken in a limited sense; comp. however Polyb. De Rep. Lac. 2. 6. Cicero's assertion de Rep. III. 9. *Crete* VI. 46. 1.

spirit, the gloomy rites of a sanguinary religion had been turned to a different and useful purpose.^y

7. The gymnastic war-games, which were peculiar to the Cretans and Spartans, still remained to be noticed as a characteristic feature of the Doric education. At the celebration of these, the ephebi, after a sacrifice to Ares in a temple at Therapne, went through a regular battle unarmed, in an island formed by ditches, near the garden called Platanistas, and exerted every means in their power to obtain the victory.^z In Crete the boys belonging to one syssition frequently engaged in battle against those of another, the youths of one agele against those of another, and these contests bore a still nearer resemblance to a real engagement. They marched to the sound of flutes and lyres, and besides fists, weapons of wood and iron were employed.^a Yet although at Sparta gymnastic exercises were certainly brought to a nearer resemblance with war than in the rest of Greece, it would be erroneous

^y B. II. ch. 9. § 6. Concerning the διαμαστίγωσις, comp. Plutarch Lycurg. 18. Inst. Lac. p. 254. Athen. VIII. p. 350 C. Lucian. Icarom. 16. Musonius apud Stob. Serm. 92. p. 307. Schol. ad Plat. Leg. I. p. 224. Ruhnken. p. 450. Bekker. Cic. Quæst. Tusc. V. 27. Seneca de prov. IV. To this add the passages in Manso I. 2. p. 183. Creuzer Init. Philos. Plat. II. p. 166. A βωμονίκης occurs in a Lacedæmonian inscription, Boeckh, N^o. 1364. I am not yet convinced of the truth of Thiersch's conjecture, that the bronze statue of the youth at Berlin is of this character. I should rather take it

to represent a conqueror in the pancration τῶν παίδων, in the attitude of returning thanks to Jupiter for his victory.

^z Pausan. III. 14. 8. comp. II. 2. Plat. Leg. I. p. 633. Cic. Quæst. Tusc. 5—27. Lucian. Anach. 38. Plutarch Lac. Apophthegm. p. 239. Lacæn. p. 258. what Plato terms γυμνοπαίδιαι, are in general exercises of naked boys in the heat of summer, comp. Schol. ad loc. and Suidas in Λυκοῦργος. The ἡβῶντες according to Xen. Rep. Lac. 4. 4. also fought with the selected three hundred wherever they encountered them.

^a Ephor. apud Strab. X. p. 483. Heracl. Pont. 3.

on that account to conclude, that the aim of all bodily education among the Dorians was to obtain superiority in war. Enough has been alleged to prove satisfactorily to any unprejudiced reader, that the chief object of Spartan discipline was to invigorate the bodies of the youth, without rendering their minds at the same time either brutal or ferocious. And that this endeavour to attain, as it were, an ideal beauty and strength of limb, was not altogether unsuccessful, may be seen from the fact, that the Spartans, as well as the Crotoniats, were about the 60th Olympiad (540 B. C.) the most healthy of the Greeks,^b and that the most beautiful men as well as women were found amongst them.^c

8. The female sex underwent in this respect the same education as the male, though (as has been above remarked) only the virgins. They had their own gymnasia,^d and exercised themselves, either naked or lightly clad, in running, wrestling, or throwing the quoit and spear.^e It is highly improbable that youths or men were allowed to look on, since in the gymnasia of Lacedæmon no idle bystanders were permitted; every person was obliged either to join the rest, or withdraw.^f Like the Elean girls in the temples of

^b Xen. Rep. Lac. 5. 9. The Lacedæmonian ἀγωγή was in later times considered as a

gymnastic education. Thus Phocion had his son brought up in the Lacedæmonian manner, and Alcibiades was at least nursed by Amycla, Plutarch Lycurg. 16. Schol. Plat. I. p. 77. Ruhnken.

^c Herod. IX. 72. A Lacedæmonian strikingly resembled Hector, i. e. the ideal of heroic excellence, according to Plu-

tarch Arat. 3.

^d Nicol. Damasc.

^e Plutarch Lycurg. 14. Lac. Apophthegm. p. 223. comp. Manso I. 2. p. 162. Respecting the exercise of running ἐνδριώνας, Welcker ad Alcm. p. 10 sq. The exercises, besides the gymnasia, are mentioned by a poet in Cic. Quæst. Tusc. II. 15. and referred to also in Aristoph. Lys. 117.

^f Plato Theæt. p. 162, 169. Plutarch Lycurg. 14. only says,

Here, so at Sparta the eleven Bacchanalian virgins exhibited their skill in the race at a contest in honour of their god.

The whole system of gymnastic exercise was placed at Sparta under the superintendence of magistrates of the highest dignity, the *bidiaei*; and the ephors every ten days inspected the condition of the boys, to ascertain whether they were of a good habit of body, if so general a meaning can be attached to the testimony of Agatharchides.^g

The whole of this book from the first chapter has been employed in considering the manners and physical existence of the Dorians (the *δίαίτα Δωρική*). We now come to the second great division of education, viz. *music*; in which term the whole mental education of the Doric race was included, if we except writing, which was never generally taught at Sparta.^h Nor indeed was it essential in a nation, where, as in Crete, laws, hymns, and the praises of illustrious men, that is the jurisprudence and history of such a people, were taught in the schools of music.ⁱ

that they witnessed the procession and dances of the young men.

^g In Athen. XII. p. 550 D. comp. Ælian. V. H. XIV. 7.

^h According to Isocr. Panath. p. 544. comp. Perizonius ad Ælian. V. H. XII. 50. That they learnt to read, is asserted by Plutarch Lycurg. 16. Inst. Lac. p. 247. but contradicted by a Soph. anon. in Orelli Opp. Mor. II. p. 214. The ancient simplicity of their manners is evident from the custom of cutting a staff (*σκυτάλη*) in pieces, and dividing the

fragments, to be preserved as memorials of a contract entered into, Photius in *σκυτάλη*, and Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1284. from Dioscorides *περὶ νομιμῶν*. Concerning the schools of learning in Crete, see Heracl. Pont. 3. Ephor. apud Strab. X. p. 482. The most ancient Grecian letters appear also to have been called Doric, Suidas in *Κόρινθος*.

ⁱ Ælian. V. H. II. 39. The same practice was enjoined by the laws of Lycurgus, see book I. ch. 7. § 3.

CHAP. VI.

§ 1. Origin of the Doric musical mode. § 2. Character of the Doric mode. § 3. Progress of music in Sparta. § 4. Public musical performances. § 5. Progress of music in other Doric states. § 6. Connexion of dancing and music. Military music of Sparta. § 7. Military dances. § 8. Connexion of gymnastic exercises and dancing. § 9. Imitative dances. § 10. Dances of the Helots. Origin of bucolic poetry among the subject classes. § 11. Comedy connected with the county festivals of Bacchus.

1. WE are now about to speak of the history of music in the different Doric states; and before we notice particular facts and circumstances, we must direct our attention to the more general one, namely, that one of the musical *modes* or *ἀρμονίαι* (by which term the ancient Greeks denoted the arrangement of intervals, the length of which was fixed by the different kinds of harmony, *γέννη*, according to the strings of the tetrachord, together with the higher or lower scale of the whole system), was anciently called the Doric,^a and that this measure, together with the Phrygian and Lydian, was long the only one in use among the musicians of Greece, and consequently the only one which in these early times derived its name from a Greek nation; a sufficient warrant for us to consider it as the genuine Greek mode, in contradistinction to

^a Hence also *δωρίζειν*, to sing in the Doric style, Hesychius. A cithara strung so as to suit that measure was called a *Δωρία φόρμιγξ*. Pindar Olymp. I. 17. who also calls the rhythm which suited the Doric mode, *Δωριον πέδιλον*, Olymp. III. 5. and the whole together *Δωρία κέλευθος ὕμνων*, Fragm. Incert. 98.

any other introduced at a later period.^b A question next arises, wherefore this ancient and genuine Greek strain was called the *Doric*.^c The only explanation that can be given is, that it was brought to perfection in Doric countries, viz. in the ancient nurseries of music, Crete, Sparta, Sicyon, and Delphi. There cannot therefore have been any school or succession of musicians among the other Greek nations, of greater celebrity than the Doric, before the time we allude to. Had this been the fact, they must either have adopted the same mode, or had an original one of their own; in the first case, it would have been named rather after them, in preference to the Dorians; in the second, there would have been *two* Greek musical modes, not merely the Doric. It follows then, that the establishment of the Doric music must have been of greater antiquity than the renowned musicians of Lesbos, who themselves were prior to Archilochus,^d and should not be considered as commencing with Terpander^e (who flourished from Olymp. 26. till 33. 676—646 B.C.), since at his time they had already arrived at a high degree of eminence. In fact, the Lesbian musicians were at that time the most distinguished in Greece:

^b Plat. Lach. p. 188 D.

^c Some endeavoured to explain this name by supposing that Thamyris was the inventor, who had contended with the Muses at *Dorium*, Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 307. comp. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. vol. I. p. 301.

^d Vol. I. p. 357. note g. It was on this that Glaucus ap. Plutarch Music. 4. probably grounded his proof of the date of Terpander.

^e According to the important

testimony of Sosibius the Lacedæmonian, the musical contests at the Carneæ were first instituted in Olymp. 26., and according to the catalogue of Hellanicus, Terpander was the first who gained the prize, Athen. XIV. p. 635. The Parian Marble ep. 35, places his new regulation of music at Sparta in Olymp. 33. 4. The other statements on the time of Terpander are far inferior to these in authority.

they far surpasssd the native musicians of Peloponnesus, nay, even of Lacedæmon itself; so that if the above style had not at that time been common in the Peninsula, it would not have been called *the Doric*. Notwithstanding which, the opposition of the Doric to the Phrygian and Lydian modes on the one side, and the definite and systematic relation between the three on the other, can neither have been the result of mere popular and unscientific attempts, nor have originated in the mother-country of Greece, where there was no opportunity of becoming acquainted with the styles of music peculiar to those Asiatic nations,^f or of comparing them with their own, so as to mould them into one. The *Doric* mode, however, could only have been so named originally, from the contrast which it exhibited with these other kinds of music, and this must have been first observed in foreign countries, and not among the Dorians or Peloponnesians themselves, who were only acquainted with one style. The natural supposition then is, that the Lesbian musicians, being in constant communication both with Peloponnesus and Asia Minor, first established the distinction and names of the three *modes*, by adapting to the particular species of tetrachord in use throughout Peloponnesus, the accompaniments of singing and dancing practised in Asia Minor, and moulding the whole into a regular system.

2. Allowing then the truth of these premises, it follows that the Dorians of Peloponnesus, the genuine Greeks, cultivated music to a greater degree than any other of the Grecian tribes, before the time when

^f Thus Pindar (ap. Athen. p. 635 D. fragm. Scol. 5. Boeckh.) at Lydian banquets the strings of the lyre sound *in opposition* to the high *πηνίς*. says, that Terpander first heard

this far-famed school of Asia flourished. We are warranted in assuming that it was not merely the external influence of the Doric race which gave their name to this mode, from the close affinity it bears to the character of the nation. The ancients, who were infinitely quicker in discovering the moral character of music than can be the case in modern times, attributed to it something solemn, firm, and manly, calculated to inspire fortitude in supporting misfortunes and hardships, and to strengthen the mind against the attacks of passion. They discovered in it a calm sublimity, and a simple grandeur which bordered upon severity, equally opposed to inconstancy and enthusiasm;^g and this is precisely the character we find so strongly impressed on the religion, arts, and manners of the Dorians. The severity and rudeness of this music (which appeared gloomy and harsh to the later ages, and would be still more so to our ears, accustomed to a softer style) was strikingly contrasted with the mild and pleasing character which had then long pervaded the Epic poetry. It teaches us undoubtedly to distinguish between the Asiatic Greeks, and those sprung from the mountains in the north of Greece, who, proud of their natural loftiness of character and vigour of mind, had acquired but little refinement from any contact with strangers.

3. In the study of music, as well as every thing else, the Dorians were uniformly the friends of antiquity; and in this also Sparta was considered the model of Doric customs.^h Not that Sparta opposed

^g For the whole of this, see Boeckh de Metric. Pindar. p. 238. and particularly Heraclid. Pont. ap. Athen. XIV. p. 624 D.

^h See Athenæus, p. 632. from Heraclides Ponticus.

herself altogether to every attempt at improvement; her object was, that every novelty should be first acknowledged to be an improvement, before it passed into common use, and formed a part of the national education. Hence it unavoidably followed, that the music publicly practised in Sparta proceeded by rapid and single advances to a state of perfection; which opinion is perfectly consistent with the account given by an ancient author of the different regulations respecting the exercise of this art.ⁱ When Terpan-der, the son of Derdenes, an inhabitant of Antissa in Lesbos, four times carried off the prize in the Pythian games, and also in the Carnean festival at Sparta (where the musicians of his school were long distinguished),^k and had tranquillized the tumults and disorders of the city by the solemn and healing tones of his songs,^l the acknowledged admiration of this master became so general in Sparta, that he procured the sanction of the law to his new inventions, particularly the seven-stringed cithara. It appears that by these means^m the music of earlier times became entirely antiquated, so that with the exception of the

ⁱ The supposed Plutarch, in the learned and excellent Essay on music, c. 9.

^k See Aristotle and Ælius Dionysius in Eustathius p. 741. 15. Heraclid. Pont. 2. Plutarch de Sera Num. Vind. 13. Hesychius in *μετὰ Δέσβιον ῥῶδον*, Apostolius XII. 70. &c. According to Plutarch Mus. 6, the last of that school who appeared at the Carnea was Pericleitus, who lived before Hipponax. If so, Ælius Dionysius is wrong in mentioning Euænitides and Aristocleides, the latter of whom was certainly of a later date.

Phrynus is altogether out of the question.

^l Diod. fragm. II. p. 639. Plutarch Music. 42. Schol. Od. γ'. 267. ed. Buttman. Tzetzes Chil. I. 16. Marm. Par. ep. 35.

^m Although he is said to have been first fined by the ephors on account of the number of the strings, Plutarch. Inst. Lac. p. 251. but the account is very confused. Yet Athenæus XIV. p. 628 D., when he says that the Spartans saved music *three times*, seems to allude to it.

ancient Pythian minstrels, Chrysothemis and Philammon, not one name of the Doric musicians, before the time of Terpander, has come down to us. For those who, like Thaletas, have been sometimes considered more ancient, belong, according to undoubted testimony, to a later period.ⁿ Plutarch dates the second epoch of Spartan music from Thaletas the Elyrian (whose skill was undoubtedly derived from the ancient sacred minstrels of the neighbouring town of Tarrha),^o and from Xenodamus of Cythera, and Xenocritus the Locrian,^p (whose chief compositions were pæans and hyporchemes), from Polymnestus of Colophon, and Sacadas the Argive, the latter of whom distinguished himself in elegies and other compositions adapted to the flute, the former in the orthian and dithyrambic styles, and also as an epic and elegiac poet. Sacadas flourished and conquered at the Pythian games in Olymp. 48. 3. 586 B. C.; the other musicians, according to Plutarch, must also have lived about the same period. Thaletas was however earlier than Polymnestus^q and Xenocritus,^r although later than Terpander

ⁿ For the statements of Schol. Od. γ'. 267. and Eustathius ad 1. concerning an ancient Lacedæmonian named Demodocus, of Sippias a Dorian, of Abaris a Lacedæmonian, and of Probolus a Spartan, at the time of the migration of the Heraclidæ, are hardly worthy of the name of mythical.

^o B. II. ch. 1. § 5.

^p Concerning whom see Boeckh Expl. Pind. Ol. X. p. 197.

^q Polymnestus wrote a poem to Thaletas for the Lacedæmonians (Paus. I. 14. 3.), probably after his death, and there-

fore he is unquestionably of a later date than Thaletas; he is called the contemporary of Sacadas, who flourished about the 48th Olympiad (588 B. C.), but was probably somewhat earlier. According to Plutarch Mus. 5. he was mentioned by Alcman, which does not agree, if this poet lived in Olymp. 27 (672 B. C.), where he is generally placed: but the other date of the ancient chronologists for Alcman, viz. Olymp. 42 (612 B. C.), is doubtless more correct.

^r Glaucus ap. Plutarch. Mus. 10.

and Archilochus, and therefore lived before the 40th Olympiad, or 620 B. C. To these musicians Plutarch entirely ascribes the introduction of songs at the gymnopædia of Lacedæmon,^s the endymatia at Argos, and some public spectacles in Arcadia. The regulations established at this period appear to have continued in force as long as the Spartan customs were kept up, and were the chief means by which the changes attempted to be introduced during the several epochs of Melanippides, Cinesias, Phrynis, and Timotheus the Milesian were prevented from being carried into effect. Thus Ecprepes the ephor, on observing that the cithara of Phrynis had two strings more than the allowed number, immediately cut them out; and the same thing is said to have happened to Timotheus at the Carnean festival.^t The account is, however, contradicted by an improbable story, that the accused minstrel justified himself by referring to a statue of Apollo at Sparta, which had a lyre containing the same number of strings.^u At least Pausanias^v saw in the hall of music at Sparta^w (σκιὰς), the eleven-stringed cithara which was taken from Timotheus, and there hung up.

^s Sosibius ap. Athen. XV. p. 678 B. also mentions songs of Thaletas at this festival. comp. Suidas in Θαλήρας. It seems however probable that the introduction here mentioned did not take place before the battle of Thyrea, about Olymp. 58. or 546 B. C., since much of the musical solemnities of the gymnopædia referred to this action, Athen. ubi sup. comp. Etymol. Mag. in γυμνοπαῖδια, if we should there read with Manso, Sparta, vol. I. part 2.

p. 211. Θυραίων for Πύλαιαν, on which however there is some doubt. See vol. I. p. 309, note ^m.

^t Plutarch Agis 10. Lac. Apophth. p. 205.

^u According to Plutarch Agis 10. Inst. Lac. p. 251, and Cicero de Leg. II. 15. compare Dio Chrys. Or. XXXII. p. 382 B. ed Reisk.

^v Artemon ap. Athen. XIV. p. 636 E.

^w III. 12. 8.

^x Etymol. Mag. in σκιάς.

It is well known that a Spartan decree is supposed to exist,^a on this real or fabulous transaction respecting the eleven-stringed cithara of Timotheus. It recites, that "whereas Timotheus of Miletus, despising
"the harmony of the seven-stringed cithara, poisoned
"the ears of the young men by increasing the number
"of strings, and introducing a new and effeminate
"species of melody; and that having been invited to
"perform at the festival of the Eleusian Ceres, he
"exhibited an indecent representation of the holy
"rites, and most improperly instructed the young
"men in the mystery of the labour-pains of Semele;
"it is decreed that the kings and ephors should reprimand Timotheus, and compel him to reduce the
"number of strings on his cithara to seven; in order
"that every person in future, being conscious of the
"dignity of the state, might beware of introducing
"improper customs into Sparta, and the fame of the
"contests be preserved unsullied."^b But the authen-

^a Ap. Boeth. de Musica ad calc. Arati. Oxon. p. 66. Also in Casaubon on Athen. VIII. p. 613. (vol. IV. p. 611. Schweigh.), Scaliger on Manilius, Bulliald on Theon, Leopardus in his Observationes Criticæ, Gronovius Præf. ad Thes. Ant. Græc. vol. V. from a Cambridge MS., Chishull Ant. Asiat. p. 128, and with a collation of several Oxford manuscripts (Cleaver's) Decretum Lacedæmoniorum contra Timotheum Milesium, Oxonii 1777; lastly, Payne Knight, Essay on the Greek Alphabet, sect. 7. and Porson, Tracts, p. 145. Mus. Crit. vol. I. p. 506.

^b The following recension of

the decree is made after the manuscripts, without any arbitrary introduction of laconisms; while the short vowels are every where retained, and even the singular I for Υ. *Ἐπειδὴ ὁ Τιμοθεὺς ὁ Μιλήσιος παργινομένην ἐν τῶν ἀμετεραν πόλιν τῶν παλαιῶν μοῶν ἀτιμασθε, καὶ τῶν δια τῶν ἑπτὰ χορδῶν κιθαρῶν ἀποστρεφόμενον πολίφονίαν εἰσαγόν λημναιεταί τῶν ἀκοῶν τοῦ νεοῦ δια τῶν πολυχорδῶν καὶ τῶν καινοτάτων τοῦ μελεῶν, ἀγενεῖ καὶ ποικίλῃν ἀντι ἀπλοῶν καὶ τεταμενῶν ἀμφιεννιταί τῶν μοῶν, ἐπὶ χροματῶν σινισταμένων τῶν τοῦ μελεῶν διασκευῶν ἀντι τῶν ἐναρμονίῳ ποττῶν ἀντιστροφῶν ἀμοιβῶν παρακλῆτεῖς δὲ καὶ ἔττον*

ticity of the inscription is so doubtful, to say no more, that we dare not deduce any historical inferences from it. For in the first place, the style of the document appears to have been formed upon the model of a common Athenian honorary decree, only that censure is inserted instead of praise with a sort of mock gravity. There is nothing in it characteristic of Spartan manners, but much that is foreign and almost strange; for example, it is not even stated who proposed and approved the decree. Secondly, a decree upon such a subject is not consistent with the general spirit of the government of Sparta, which was distinguished by its summary method of proceeding. Every ephor, as inspector of the games, had the same powers individually as are here attributed to the whole college, and the kings; who had (it is true) a place of honour at the public games, but no share in the direction of them. The Eleusinia, in the form of a theatrical festival, were at least celebrated in Sparta at a late date.^c That Timotheus should have ventured to produce his "Birth of Bacchus" at those games is very surprising; but still more so is the account of his having taught it to the Spartan youths, which can only mean that he contrived to have it represented by the young men of the town. Now the Ὠδὴν of Timotheus was a dithyrambic ode of the mimic species, which was a late invention performed by regular actors, not by a

ἀγωνα τῶν Ἐλευσινίῳ Δαματῶν ἀπρεπεῖ διεσκευασατο τῶν τῶν μιτῶ διασκευῶν τῶν γὰρ Σεμελῶν ὁδῶν οὐκ ἐνδὲκα τῶν νεῶν διδάσκε· δεδοκται ἀρ περὶ τούτοις τῶν βασιλεῶν καὶ τῶν ἐφορῶν μεμψατται Τιμοθεῶν, ἐπαναγκάσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐνδὲκα χορδῶν ἐκταμεν τῶν περι-

τῶν ὑπολιπομένων τῶν ἑπτὰ ὁποῦ ἕκαστος τῶν τῶν πολίων βαρῶν ὅρον εὐλαβεται· ἔτταν Σπαρτῶν ἐπιφέρειν τι τὸν με καλὸν ἐτὸν με ποτε ταραττῖται κλεῶν ἀγόνων (according to Porson, ἢ τῶν μὴ ποτὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν κλέῶν ἀγόνων).

^c B. II. ch. 10. § 4.

public chorus. How then is it possible that the latter should have been the case at Sparta? The learned distinction between different styles of music in the decree, clearly savours less of Laconian brevity than of the self-complacency of some grammarian.^d Most of the expressions used may be traced to the comic poets of Athens, and contain no Spartan peculiarities, and yet an accurate explanation of them might lead us into many difficulties. Lastly, the dialect appears to me to be the composition of some one who had accidentally become acquainted with peculiar Spartan inflections. The letter P is most suspiciously used throughout; the author had evidently an erroneous notion that Θ is not Laconian, and should be changed into T, instead of Σ.^e The editors have endeavoured to make considerable alterations in the orthography;^f but by this means all possibility of criticism is made hopeless. It is therefore probable that some grammarian has taken the trouble to draw up a Laconian decree from one of the stories respecting Timotheus, the interest of which should consist in the austerity of the sentiments, and the roughness of the dialect. That the inventor really intended it for a public monument, is evident from the ancient style of writing, which was abolished at Athens

^d In common Greek, ἐπὶ χρώματος συνιστάμενος τὴν τοῦ μέλεος διασκευὴν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐναρμονίου πρὸς τὴν ἀντίστροφον ἀμοιβήν.

^e Thus, for example, we have ετων from ἔθος, the Laconian form of which was ΒΕΣΟΡ, Valcken. ad Theocrit. p. 282.

^f For instance, ΜΟΥΣΩ has been written for μῦσω (see

Valckenær. p. 379.), without a shadow of probability; for κίταριτιν ΚΙΣΑΡΙΞΙΝ, for ἀμφιεννιται ΑΜΠΕΝΝΥΤΑΙ (from ἀμπέσαι, ἀμφιέσαι Hesychius), or ΑΜΗΙΓΕΝΝΥΤΑΙ (from βέστον, Etym. M. p. 195. 45. for ἔσθος Aristoph. Lys. 1090.); for ἐπαναγκάται ΕΠΑΝΑΓΚΑ-ΑΙ from ποιηάι, &c. &c.

at the archonship of Euclid, and in Sparta perhaps later.^g

In Crete the national music was once formed on the same principles as in Lacedæmon,^h but became relaxed in course of time. In a Cnosianⁱ decree made at the beginning of the second century before Christ, an ambassador is commended for having often played on the cithara the melodies of Timotheus, Polyidus,^k and the ancient Cretan poets. In Argos, too, the first person who used a cithara with more than seven strings was punished;^l and in Sicyon, also, there were laws appointed to regulate musical contests.^m

4. The chief reason why the state constantly interfered in the regulation of music was, that it was considered much more as expressing the general tone of the feeling and morals of the people, than as an art which might be left to its own capabilities of improvement. Historical examples confirm the truth of this close connexion, and in particular, it is alleged respecting the Dorians of Sicily, that by introducing a soft effeminate music, they destroyed the purity of their morals;ⁿ while the strict domestic discipline at Sparta would hardly have been preserved without the assistance of the ancient style of music which was there cultivated. In order to explain this, it is neces-

^g That it was a common practice to forge Spartan inscriptions is remarked by Valckenær. p. 257. The genuineness of this decree was first questioned by Villebrun ad. Athen. VIII. p. 352. and Heinrich Epimenides, p. 175.

^h Plat. Leg. II. p. 660. cf. III. p. 680.

ⁱ Chishull Ant. Asiat. p. 121.

^k A contemporary of Timo-

theus, Plutarch Mus. 21. Athen. VIII. p. 352 B.

^l Plutarch Mus. 37.

^m Boeckh Inscript. N^o. 1108. Plutarch Mus. 32. ascribes a moral judgment of music particularly to the Lacedæmonians, Mantineans, and Pelleneans.

ⁿ Max. Tyr. 4. p. 46. 21. p. 216. ed. Davis. cf. Cic. de Leg. II. 15.

sary to observe, that in those times music formed a much more universal branch of education, and was practised to a far greater extent by the people at large, than it has ever been since.^o We may trace the progress of music, as it from time to time fell more into the hands of individual artists, whilst the populace, which in the infancy of the art took a part in the exhibition, gradually became mere spectators. The command of an ancient Delphic oracle,^p that public thanksgivings should be offered to Bromius by the whole people for a fruitful year, by singing choruses in the streets, was also followed at Sparta, at least in the Gymnopædia. At this festival large choruses of men and boys appeared,^q in which many of the inhabitants of the city doubtless took part. From this circumstance either the whole or part of the market was called *chorus*;^r and it is probable that the spacious (εὐρύχοροι) cities of Homer were merely furnished with open squares large enough to contain such numerous choruses. It was at these great city choruses that those of blemished reputation always occupied the hindermost rows:^s sometimes, nevertheless, men of consideration, when placed there by the arranger of the chorus, boasted that they did honour to the places, the places did not dishonour them.^t

^o As was always the case in Arcadia, according to Polybius IV. 20. 7.

^p Ap. Demosth. in Mid. p. 15. compare Buttmann's Commentary, p. 35.

^q Sosibius ap. Athen. p. 678 B.

^r Pausan. III. 11. 7.

^s Xen. Rep. Lac. IX. 5. ἐν χοροῖς εἰς τὰς ἐπονιδίστους χώ-

ρας ἀπελαύνεται.

^t See the apophthegm of Damonides, Plutarch Reg. Apophth. p. 130. Lac. Apophth. p. 203. where however χοραγός is put instead of χοροποιός, which magistrate had the regulation of the choruses in general (Xen. Ages. 2. 17. Plutarch ubi sup. p. 173. but in Herodotus VI. 67. there is no

Those placed at the back of the chorus were called (like the soldiers arrayed behind the line of battle) ψιλῆς;^a the choregus, however, did not merely defray the expenses of the chorus, but he also led it in person; and indeed a choregos once performed the duties of flute-player at Lacedæmon.^x If then every citizen took some part in these choruses, it follows that they must have been trained to them, and have practised them from childhood; as we know on the other hand that the whole musical instruction of Crete and Sparta was intended as a preparation for them.^y Accordingly, the musical school was called *chorus* among the Dorians;^z in musical training there was a constant reference to the public choral dances. Hence we perceive that, at least in early times, a certain cultivation of music within the limits prescribed by the national manners was common to all Spartans; and the saying of the poet Socrates,^a "that the bravest of the Greeks also made the finest choruses," was peculiarly applicable to them; also Pratinas the scenic poet speaks of "the Lacedæmonian cicada,"^b as ready for

reason to introduce him on conjecture); and the saying of Agesilaus, Plutarch Lac. Apophth. p. 173 (where however it is erroneously stated that Agesilaus was appointed king when a boy). The author of the Agesilaus attributed to Xenophon states, that Agesilaus, before the capture of Peiræum, returned home, though lame, in order to be conducted to his place by the choropæus at the pæan of the Hyacinthia; but he clearly confounds him with the Amycleans.

^a Above, page 262, note g,

where I preferred the explanation of Hesychius to that of Suidas.

^x Aristot. Polit. VIII. 6. 6.

^y Plato Leg. II. p. 666.

^z Pollux IX. 5. 41.

^a Ap. Athen. XIV. p. 628 F. Schweighæuser asks who this poet Socrates was? I believe the passage is from the Προῖμον, or Hymn to Apollo, which the philosopher composed when in prison.

^b The cicada was considered as a musical animal, and sacred to Apollo.

"the chorus."^c In later times, indeed, the numbers of the citizens in Sparta so greatly diminished, and war occupied so much of the public attention, that the favourable side of Spartan discipline was cast into the shade, and Aristotle ascribes with truth to the Spartans of his time a just discrimination and taste for music, but no scientific knowledge of it.^d

The cultivation of music, however, was the more general among the Dorians and kindred race of Arcadians, from the circumstance that women took a part in it, and sang and danced in public both with men and by themselves.^e On the nature of the *parthenia*, or the choruses performed by girls, the character and education of Doric virgins enable us to decide with confidence, when we are told, that the *parthenia* were accompanied by Dorian music, and there was something in them exceedingly grave and solemn.^f It appears likewise, that aged persons, who at Athens would have been ridiculed for dancing at religious ceremonies, at Sparta often took a part in the great choruses, as is proved by the accounts of the three great choirs of boys, men, and *old men*, which seem to have danced at several great festivals.^g

5. Having now in the foregoing remarks considered the peculiarities of the Doric race, as well in general

^c Ib. XIV. p. 633 A.

^d Aristot. Polit. VIII. 5. and on the other hand see Chamæleon ap. Athen. IV. p. 184 D.

^e Above, ch. 2. § 3. ch. 4. § 1. Hesychius *φουλίδερ, παρθένων χορός, Δωριεῖς*.

^f Boeckh ad Pindar. fragm. p. 598.

^g Plutarch Lycurg. 21. de amore sui 15. Lac. Inst. p. 251. Schol. Plat. Leg. I. p.

223. Ruhnken. p. 449. Bekker Zenobius, Apostolius, &c. They are said to have been instituted by Tyrtæus (Pollux IV. 15. 106.), to whom Lycurgus in Leocrat. p. 162. 21. ascribes generally a large share in the education of youth at Sparta. It is from these of the Spartans that Plato copies his great choruses. Leg. II. p. 664 sqq.

as with respect to Sparta in particular, we shall next give some account of the progress of music among the several states of that race.

That the religious music and poetry of the Dorians originated in Crete, has been shown above:^h and perhaps the loud and irregular music of the early Phrygian inhabitants first awakened a taste for that art among the Dorians. The nome, the pæan, and the hyporcheme,ⁱ had been known in Crete from an early period, though the more polished form of the two last was introduced by Thaletas. The dances in a ring were often connected with the nome and hyporcheme, according to an ancient custom in Crete and the neighbouring regions; and they were danced by both men and women.^k At Sparta there were the same dancers, known by the name of *ῥμοι*, or *ornaments*.^l The youth danced first some movements suited to his age, and of a military nature; the maiden followed in measured steps, and with feminine gestures. The Spartan music was in general derived from the Cretan, nor did it attempt to disown its origin; indeed many favourite dances, with their tunes, and certain pæans, ordered by law to be sung at appointed times, together with many other kinds of music, were called Cretan.^m But it cannot be denied that, although their origin may have been

^h B. II. ch. 8. § 11, 13.

ⁱ Concerning these songs, see Athenæus IV. p. 181 B. where it is stated that tumbling (*κυβιστᾶν*) was a national custom in Crete, and in general Aristoxenus ap. Athen. XIV. p. 630 B.

^k Above, ch. 4. § 1. Eustathius ubi sup. relates that The-

seus danced thus with the seven youths and maidens to Cnosus. Compare Lobeck ad Soph. Aj. 698. *Κνώσια ὀρχήματα*.

^l Lucian de Saltat. 12. See Meursius Orchestra, tom. V. p. 237.

^m Ephorus ap. Strab. X. p. 481 D.

similar, their progress and development were very different. The Cretan music appears to have been almost entirely warlike and religious, while the Spartan, from the time of Alcman, was adapted to more various purposes. Peculiar kinds of Lacedæmonian dances were in existence at the time of Cleisthenes of Sicyon;^a they consisted both of motions of the hands and feet, as Aristoxenus states of several ancient national dances.^o The early zeal for music in these regions is shown by the contests in the temple of Zeus at Ithome in Messenia, in which Eumelus engaged before the first war with Lacedæmon:^p the contests of the Muses connected with the Carnean festival began in the 26th Olympiad (676 B. C.). In the time of Polycrates, Argos possessed the most celebrated musicians in Greece,^q particularly flute-players; about the 48th Olympiad (588 B. C.) Sacadas wrote poetry, composed music, and played lyric songs and elegies to the flute:^r a particular kind of flute was called the Argive.^s Sicyon also appears to have had a share in these improvements: for after Sacadas had thrice gained the prize, Pythocritus of Sicyon was victorious in six following contests;^t and the dithyrambic chorus to the flute was performed there with great skill and effect.^u That at Sicyon, Corinth, and Phlius, the worship of Bacchus gave a peculiar turn to music

^a Herod. VI. 129. compare Wesseling's note.

^o Athenæus I. p. 22 D.

^p Pausan. IV. 33. 3.

^q Herod. III. 131.

^r Boeckh ad Pindar. fragm. inc. 88. Concerning Hierax, see below § 7. Ariston is also mentioned as an ancient flute-player of Argos, in an epigram

of Simonides or Bacchylides, Brunck's Analect. vol. I. p. 141. Gaisford's Poet. Min. vol. I. p. 383. Neue Bacchyl. fragm. 61.

^s Pausan. IV. 27. 4.

^t Pausan. VI. 14. 5.

^u See the ancient Epigram in Athenæus XIV. p. 629.

and poetry, has been remarked above,^{*} and will be explained at greater length hereafter. In Sicily the worship of Demeter prevailed, which was always attended with a degree of licentiousness; the Syracusan choruses of iambists^y were, without doubt, connected with this worship.^z The circumstance that the effeminate dances of the Ionians were celebrated there in honour of Artemis,^a was probably occasioned by music having degenerated in that island.^b

6. We do not intend to consider the subject of dancing independently of music; as this combination appears to be most convenient for our purpose of ascertaining its importance as connected with manners and public education. Dancing, when it did not merely accompany the time of the music, inclined either to gymnastic display or to mimicry; that is, it either represented bodily activity, or it was meant to express certain ideas and feelings. The gymnastic dancing was no where so much practised as at Sparta, where the ancient connexion between the musical school and the palæstra, and of both with the military exercises,^c was more strictly maintained than in any other state. Indeed the march of the Spartans and Cretans had, on account of its musical accompaniment, some resemblance to a dance.

^{*} B. II. ch. 10. § 6.

^y Athen. V. p. 181 C.

^z The *ιαμβίζειν* is also elsewhere connected with this worship; compare Max. Tyr. Diss. XXI. p. 216. Davis. and the general expression *οικελίζειν* for *ὀρχεῖσθαι*, Theophrast. ap. Athen. I. p. 22 C. And Archilochus perhaps belonged to the colony in which the priestess

Cleobœa brought the mystical rites of Demeter from Paros to Thasos.

^a Particularly of Artemis *Χιτωνία*, as appears from Athenæus p. 629 E. who was also originally 'Ionic, b. II. ch. 9. § 5.

^b Athen. IV. p. 103.

^c On which see Athen. p. 624 B.

For, whereas the other Greeks either marched to battle without any music, in the manner of the ancient Achæans, or, like the Argives, made use of Tyrrhenian trumpets,^d the Cretans advanced to battle to the sound of the lyre,^{ad} the Spartans to that of the flute.^o This last seems, however, to have been an innovation; for Alcman the Laconian mentions the cithara;^f and the Cretans also introduced the flute in their army.^g However, be this as it may, the flute had become the common instrument at Sparta; probably because the cithara was not fitted for uniting large bodies of men, its sound being too low to produce any effect, even during a complete stillness. The sound of flutes was doubtless more piercing, and particularly when a great number of pipers (who in Sparta formed several native families)^h played the tune for attack. Thucydides remarks that this was not for any religious purpose, but that the troops might march in time,

^d Pausan. II. 21. 3. Comp. Schol. Soph. Aj. 14. Eurip. Phœn. 1386. Athene was evidently the patron of the trumpeters, under the name Σάλπιγξ, at Argos (an allusion to which see in Æsch. Eum. 556. Soph. Aj. 17.), because she was tutelar deity of the flute-players; and this was also the case at Sparta. For it is plain from Polyænus I. 10. that the διαβατήρια were offered to Athene on the boundaries (b. III. ch. 12. § 5.) only because she presided over the flutes, by which the army was conducted.

^{ad} Athen. XII. p. 517 A. de XIV. p. 627 D. Plutarch Mus. 26.

^o Polyb. IV. 20. 6. Athen. XIV. 626. Plutarch ubi sup. Lucian de Saltat. 10. Dio Chrysost. Or. XXXII. p. 380. Reisk. Gell. N. A. I. 11. Eustath. ad Il. ψ. p. 1320. 3. ed. Rom.

^f Fragm. 14. ed. Welcker. Pausanias III. 17. 5. mentions flute, lyre, and cithara together. The fabulous narration of Polyænus appears to me to be historically refuted by Alcman, as also by that remarked in b. II. ch. 8. § 11.

^g Polyb. IV. 20. 6. Compare Strabo X. p. 483 B.

^h B. III. ch. 2. § 4. ch. 12. § 5, 10.

and not as large armies are apt to do, fall into disorder.ⁱ The general term for a tune of this kind was *embaterion*.^k One kind of nome was called *castoreum*, which, like the others, was played on the flute, when the army marched in line to meet the enemy.^l This had the same rhythm^m as the other embateria,ⁿ viz. an anapæstic; both in its measure and melody there was something very enlivening and animated,^o so that Alexander of Macedon always felt himself inspired with fresh bravery when Timotheus the Theban played the *castoreum* to him. There can be no doubt that it was originally set in the Doric mode, and bore the character of Spartan simplicity, notwithstanding the many variations which were afterwards added.^p Pindar is reminded by its name of Castor the horseman and charioteer;^q but I do not perceive what relation the most ancient use of this nome, as a march for the Spartans, could have to this point: but it clearly took its name from the Tyndaridæ, who were considered as

ⁱ V. 70. See Lucian de Saltat. 10.

^k The Ἀδώνιον was one kind of the ἐπιβατήρια, according to Hesychius, whose gloss ὅπερ ὕστερον παρὰ Λεσβίοις ὠνομάσθη, as well as the name itself, is by no means clear. Ἐνόπλια μέλη ἐμβατήρια in Athenæus XIV. p. 630 F. Valckenaer ad Theocrit. Adon. p. 283. is also of opinion that the σαρκίτιος χορὸς to the flute was an ἐμβατήριον (from θαρρεῖν); but an ἐμβατήριον was not a chorus.

^l Plutarch de Mus. 26. Lycurg. 22. where however the Καστόρειον μέλος of the flute-players is distinguished from the ἐμβατήριος παιᾶν, in which the king joined (on the other

hand Polyænus I. 10. ἐμβατήριον ἐνδίδωσιν αἰλός); Καστόρειον generally being used for the music of instruments, and ἐμβατήριον the song itself.

^m Pollux IV. 10. 78.

ⁿ *Messeniacum metrum seu embaterium*, Victorinus, p. 2522. ed. Putsch. Comp. Hephæst. pag. 25. 46, 1. ed. Gaisford. Schol. Eurip. Hec. 59. and Demetrius Triclinius ad Soph. Aj. 134. Cic. Quæst. Tusc. II. 16.

^o Plutarch Inst. Lac. p. 251. Valer. Maxim. II. 6. 2.

^p Pindar. Pyth. II. 69. Hermann de Dial. Pind. p. 19, 20. Boeckh de Metr. Pind. p. 276. Expl. Pyth. II. p. 249.

^q Isthm. I. 16.

the leaders of the Spartan army.¹ That of the poems of Tyrtæus the anapæstic verses only were sung as marches, and that they were embateria, is now generally admitted.² The elegies were sung in campaigns, at meals, and after the pæan, not in chorus, but singly, and for a prize. The polemarch decided,³ and the victor was rewarded with a chosen piece of meat.⁴ The Cretans had also embateria, named after Ibycus, a musician.⁵

7. That war among these ancient nations had something of an imitative nature, and that it was by imperceptible transitions connected with the pure imitations of art, I have already attempted to show;⁶ and the same may be inferred from what has been just said. A transition of this kind was formed by the Pyrrhic dance, the dancers of which bore the same name as the practised, armed and expert combatant

¹ B. II. ch. 10. § 8. A third supposition is that of the Scholiast to Pindar, Pyth. II. 127, that the νόμος took its name from the Dioscuri, as being the inventors of the Pyrrhic dance (comp. Plat. Leg. VII. p. 795. Lucian de Saltat. 10.) But in the Μῶσαι of Epicharmus (ap. Schol. Pind. et Athen. p. 184 F.) it was only stated that Minerva played the flute for the Dioscuri to the ἐνόπιος νόμος (i. e. the Pyrrhic), and hence that the flute was used as a military instrument at Sparta; but not a word of the Καστόρειος νόμος.

² As, for instance, ἄγετ' ὃ Σπάρτας εὐάνδρου in Dion Chrysost. Orat. II. p. 31 A. ed. Reisk.; although, according to Hephæstion, the *laconicum me-*

trum was a *tetrameter catalectic in syllabam*, with a spondaic ending; and according to M. Victorinus ubi sup. a *trimeter catalectic in syllabam*.

³ B. III. ch. 12. § 4.

⁴ This very precise and credible account is given by Philochorus ap. Athen. p. 630. Lycurgus in Leocrat. p. 212. ed. Reisk. states, that it was sung at the king's tent before the battle. Compare Manso's Sparta, vol. I. part II. p. 171. Conrad Schneider in the Studien, vol. IV. p. 18. Franck's Tyrtæus, p. 133.

⁵ Hesych. in ἰβυκτήρ. Write ἰβυκτήρ. ἦν παρὰ Κρησὶν ἰβυκος ἐμβατήριον ποιησάμενος, ὅπερ ὁ ἄδων οὕτω ἐκαλεῖτο.

⁶ Book III. ch. 12. § 10.

(πεύλις).¹ The Pyrrhic dance was undoubtedly a production of the Doric nation in Crete and Sparta,² although in the former state it was fabulously connected with the Curetes and the rites of the ancient Idæan Zeus,³ and at Sparta with the Dioscuri. It was danced to the flute,⁴ and its time was very quick and light, as is shown by the name of the Pyrrhic foot. Hence in Crete Thaletas was able to add hyporchematic or mimic variations to it,⁵ which had likewise quick measures. From this account it may be also inferred that the war-dance of Crete was of an imitative kind; and indeed Plato says of the Pyrrhic dance in general that it imitated all the attitudes of defence, by avoiding a thrust or a cast, retreating, springing up, and crouching, as also the opposite movements of attack with arrows and lances, and also of every kind of thrust.⁶ So strong was the attachment to this dance at Sparta, that, long after it had in the other Greek states degenerated into a Bacchanalian revel, it was still danced by the Spartans as a warlike exercise, and boys of fifteen were instructed in it.⁷

8. But we must return to the subject whence we digressed, the connexion between gymnastic exercises and dancing. These two arts were connected

¹ Ib. notes.

² Plato Leg. VII. p. 795. Aristoxenus ap. Athen. p. 630. E. Strab. X. p. 467. Nicol. Damasc. Κρήτες. Lucian de Saltat. 8. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. II. 127. Hesychius in πυρρικήζειν. Pollux IV. 14. 99. derives two ἑνόπιοι ὀρχήσεις from Crete, the Pyrrhic and the Telesias, comp. Athen. p. 630 A; and from Athen. p. 629 C. it ap-

pears that there were there also the similar dances of ὀρίτης and ἐπικρηνίδιος.

³ See Hoeck's Kreta, vol. I. p. 212.

⁴ Above, p. 342. note 1.

⁵ Schol. Pind. ubi sup.

⁶ Leg. VII. p. 815.

⁷ Athen. p. 631 A. Comp. Meursius Orchestra Op. vol. V. p. 242. Manso, Sparta, vol. I. part II. p. 175.

by the pentathlon, a pattern of adroitness, activity, strength and measured motions, which was accompanied by the music of the flute.^g In later times any tunes were used for this exhibition; but earlier certain fixed measures were played, one of which had been composed by Hierax, a disciple of Olympus:^h nor at that time did distinguished artists disdain to appear as actors in these sports, as, for example, Pythocritus of Sicyon. At Argos, at the Sthenia, the combatants wrestled to the sound of the flute;ⁱ and a melody of this same Hierax was played^k when the women carried flowers (at a festival) to the temple of Here. At Sparta the chief object of the Gymnopædia was to represent gymnastic exercises and dancing in intimate union, and indeed the latter only as the accomplishment and end of the former. One of the principal games at this festival resembled the *anapæle*, or wrestling-dance; the boys danced in regular time with graceful motions of the hands, in which the methods of the wrestling-school and the pancration were shown; at the same time, however, this dance had some mixture of the Bacchanalian kind.^l Thus also the youths (ephebi) of Sparta, when they were skilled in their exercises, danced in rows behind each other, to the music of the flute, first military, then choral dances, and at the same time repeated two verses, of which one was an invitation to Aphrodite

^g As is frequently seen on vases.

^h Plutarch. Music. 26. Comp. Pollux IV. 10. 79.

ⁱ Plutarch ubi sup.

^k That is, if the emendation of Salmasius, *ἱεράκιον* for *θεράκιον*, in Pollux IV. 10. 78, is

adopted.

^l Athen. p. 678 B. and compare p. 631 B. p. 632 C. Concerning the gymnopædia in general, see Meurs. Orchest. p. 202. and the passages cited by Creuzer Comment. Herod. vol. I. p. 230.

and Eros to join them, the other an exhortation to one another.^m There was also a dance with a ball at Sparta and Sicyon.ⁿ The *Bibasis*, a dance of men and women, was of the gymnastic kind;^o all the dancers struck their feet behind, a feat, of which a Spartan woman in Aristophanes prides herself.^p Prizes were given to the most skilful; and we are told by a verse which has been preserved that a Laconian girl had danced the Bibasis a thousand times more than any other had done.^q Besides the Bibasis the *Dipodia* is mentioned;^r but so little is known about it, that the origin of its name even is not clear.^s In a comedy of Aristophanes a chorus of Lacedæmonians danced a Dipodia to the flute, and sing, chiefly in trochaic metre, of the battles of Thermopylæ and Artemisium, and the friendship of Sparta and Athens; after which follows another song, which was probably danced in the same manner. In this the chorus implores the Laconian Muse to come from mount Taygetus, and to celebrate the tutelary deities of Sparta; and urges itself to the dance in words which give a very good idea of its character: "Come

^m *πόρρω παῖδες πόδα μετάβατε, καὶ κωμάζατε βέλτιον*, Lucian de Salt. 10. 11.

ⁿ Athen. p. 14 D. from Di-cæarchus and Hippasus. At Argos the choruses of boys were called *Βαλλαχράδαι*. Plutarch Quæst. Græc. 51. p. 405.

^o Pollux IV. 14. 102.

^p Lysist. 82. The *ἀναλακτί-ζεν* of the Spartan women when dancing is mentioned in Oribasius Med. p. 121. ed. Mosq.; the *ἐκλακτίσματα*, as a woman's dance in general is mentioned by Pollux ubi sup.

^q Cited by Pollux, *χιλιά ποκα βιβάντι* (rather *βίβατι*) *πλεῖστα δὴ τῶν πη ποκα*, which becomes a trimeter iambic by the omission of the first *ποκα*.

^r Pollux IV. 4. 101. Hesychius in v. See Meurs. Orchest. under *διποδία*, *διαποδισμός ποδίστρα*.

^s Perhaps it was connected with the trochaic dipodia, which appears to have been the common metre in these choral songs, though mixed with cretics, spondees, dactylic, and logæedic verses.

"hither with a light motion to sing of Sparta. Where
 "there are choruses in honour of the gods; and the
 "noise of dancing, when, like young horses, the
 "maidens on the banks of the Eurotas rapidly move
 "their feet; while their hair floats, like revelling
 "Bacchanals; and the daughter of Leda directs them,
 "the sacred leader of the chorus. Now bind up the
 "hair, and leap like fawns; now strike the measured
 "tune which gladdens the chorus."¹ Many points in
 this description remind us of the dances of the Laco-
 nian maidens at the worship of Artemis of Caryæ,
 which were animated and vehement.²

9. We now come to the dances whose object was
 to express and represent some peculiar meaning.
 This was either some feeling (to which class almost
 all the religious as well as the theatrical dances
 belong) or some outward object; to which we may
 refer the mimic dances. To the latter, the Pyrrhic
 and the Gymnopædian dances belong, and to the reli-
 gious, the Hyporcheme, which we treated of in con-
 nexion with the worship of Apollo.³ Of this descrip-
 tion was perhaps the Bryallichæ,⁴ a dance in honour of

¹ Aristoph. Lysist. ad fin.

² Some rites of Bacchus were mixed with the worship of the Caryatan Artemis, as may be seen from Servius ad Virg. Eclog. VIII. 30; hence the dances of this goddess were of a wild and violent character. Accordingly, Praxiteles (Pliny, H. N. XXXVI. 4.) made a joint composition of Caryatides and Thyades; and Pratinas (Athen. X. p. 392.) wrote a play called Δύμαιναι ἢ Καρύατιδες, the former of whom, also called Δύσμαιναι, occur as Bacchantes. The form Δύσ-

μαιναι is defended against Toup and Meineke (Euphorion. fragm. 42. p. 93.) by Philargyr. ad Virg. Georg. II. 487. who translates the name by *furiôsæ Bacchæ*. The Caryatides, who danced with uplifted hands, (Lynceus ap. Athen. VI. p. 241 D.) may be recognised in many reliefs as young women with their garments girt up and lightly clad.

³ B. II. ch. 8. § 14.

⁴ Pollux IV. 14. 104. where for βαρύλλικα write with Schneider (in v.) βρυάλλικα.

Artemis and Apollo, danced by women, or, as some assert, by men in hideous women's masks, who at the same time sang hymns to the two deities.⁵ The name signifies a violent leap; and from what we can gather elsewhere respecting the character of this dance, it appears to have been irregular and licentious. How it agrees with the worship of Apollo, one does not exactly perceive, unless it is supposed that some fable in the history of that god was represented in a mimic style, which admitted of such irregularity. The worship of Artemis, however, had other forms which produced these licentious dances, as in Laconia itself the Calabis.⁶

A few particulars respecting several Laconian dances have been preserved by a grammarian,⁷ whose

⁵ Hesychius has βύλλικαι χοροὶ τινες ὄρχηστῶν παρὰ Λάκωνιν; then βρυαλίκται ὄρχησται from Ibycus and Stesichorus; next βρυδάλικα (but the order of the letters requires ΒΡΥΑΛΛΙΧΑ), in the sense of frightful female masks, from Rhinthon; and βρυδαλίκας ΒΡΥΑΛΛΙΧΑΣ) τὰς μαχλάδας, Λάκωνες; and, lastly, βρυλλοχισται, persons who sang hymns in hideous female masks. The original forms appear to have been βρυάλλικα for the dance, βρυαλλίχα for the mask, and βρυαλλίκτης (like δεικηλίκτης) for the dancer.

⁶ Vol. I. p. 377, note ⁵.

⁷ Pollux IV. 14. 104. ἦν δὲ τινα καὶ Λακωνικὰ ὄρχήματα· δειμαλῆα· Σειληνοὶ δ' ἦσαν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Σάτυροι ὑπότροχα ὀρχούμενοι· καὶ ἴθυμβοι ἐπὶ Διονύσῳ· καὶ καρνατίδες ἐπὶ Ἀρτέμιδι· καὶ βρυάλλικα τὸ μὲν

εὖρημα Βρυαλλίχου· προσω-
 χούντο δὲ γυναῖκες Ἀπόλλωνι
 καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι· οἱ δὲ ὑπογύπωνες
 γερόντων ὑπὸ βακτηρίοις τὴν
 μίμησιν εἶχον· οἱ δὲ γύπωνες
 ξυλίνων κώλων ἐπιβαίνοντες
 ὄρχουντο, διαφανῆ ταραντινίδια
 ἀμπεχόμενοι· καὶ μῆνες Χα-
 ρίνων μὲν ὄρχημα, ἐπώνυμον δ'
 ἦν τοῦ εὐρόντος αὐλητοῦ· τυρ-
 βασία δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ ὄρχημα τὸ
 διθυραμβικόν· μιμητικὴν δὲ
 ἐκάλουν δι' ἧς ἐμιμοῦντο τοὺς
 ἐπὶ τῇ κλοπῇ τῶν ἐώλων μερῶν
 ἀλίσκομένους· λαμπροτέρα δὲ
 ἦν ἢν ὄρχουντο γυμνοὶ σὺν
 αἰσχρολογίᾳ· In this passage
 there is nothing altered except
 βρυάλλικα and Βρυαλλίχου for
 βαρύλλικα and βαρυλλίχον,
 λαμπροτέρα δὲ ἦν ἢν for λαμ-
 προτέραν δὲ ἦν; and μιμητικὴν
 for μιμητικὴν, as a friend of the
 author's has proposed (G. A.
 Schoell, de origine Græci dra-
 matis, p. 97.), which gives the

account we will insert at full, adding only some remarks of our own. "*The Deimalea was danced by Sileni and Satyrs waltzing in a circle,*" its name being perhaps derived from the cowardice (δειμα) of these "useless and worthless fellows," as Hesiod calls them.^c "*The Ithymbi was danced to Bacchus, the dance of the Caryatides to Artemis; the Bryallichus was so called after its inventor Bryallichus; it was danced by women to Apollo and Artemis.*" The following dances also, as appears from the conclusion, were Laconian. "*The Hypogypones imitated old men with sticks. The Gypones danced on wooden stilts, and wearing transparent Tarentine dresses. The Menes was danced by Charini,^d and took its name from the flute-player who invented it. There was a Bacchanalian dance called Tyrbasia,*" probably resembling the Argive Tyrbè, and deriving its name from its intricate mazes. "*A dance in which they mimicked those who were caught stealing the remains of meals was called Mimelic. But the Gymnopædia, danced with jests and merriment, was more splendid.*" The merry spirit, and the love for comic exhibition, which produced all these mimic dances, is shown in these imperfect notices, the deficiencies of which we can only supply in one instance, viz. in the account of the Deicelictæ (or Mimeli). There was at

same sense as δεικηλιστικήν, which I had formerly proposed, as μιμητοὶ and δεικηλισταὶ were synonyms, according to Suidas in Σωσίβιος.

^c γένος οὐτιδανῶν Σατύρων καὶ ἀμμηχανοεργῶν, Hesiod. ap. Strab. X. p. 471. The reading

δειμαλέα is not however at all certain; and still less the word μῆνες, a little lower.

^d On the Charinus or Gracioso, see below, ch. 7. § 3; and on the Argolian τύρβη, b. II. ch. 10. § 6.

Sparta an ancient play, but it was probably acted only by the common people, and quite extempore, nor ever by regular players.^e From the account of Nepos it may be also conjectured that it was performed by unmarried women. The name Deicelictæ (or Mimeli) merely means "imitators;"^f but it came to signify only comic imitators.^g In this play there was not (according to Sosibius)^h any great art; for Sparta in all things loved simplicity. It represented in plain and common language either a foreign physician or stealers of fruit (probably boys), who were caught with their stolen goods;ⁱ that is, it was an imitation of common life, probably alternating with comic dances.

10. In Laconia it was chiefly the lower orders who had any decided love for comedy and buffoonery; for with the Dorians we only now and then discover a ray of levity or mirth piercing the gravity of their nature. I have already mentioned,^k that from the Helots, who dwelt in the houses of the Spartans, and were called Mothones, or Mothaces, a kind of riotous dance took

^e Although the Spartans also called regular actors δεικηλίκται, Plutarch Agesil. 21. Lac. Apophth. p. 185. Apostolius XV. 39. Schol. II. χ'. 391.

^f δίκηλον according to Hesychius ἀνδρίας, ζῳδιον παρὰ Λάκωσιν perhaps refers to the fact mentioned in vol. I. p. 66, note 4.

^g δεικηλισταὶ σκευοποιοὶ καὶ μιμηταί, Sosibius ap. Athen. XIV. p. 621 D. Hesychius in δεικηλισταί. cf. interpret. They were μιμολόγοι according to Hesychius in δίκηλον, κωμικοὶ according to Eustathius p. 884. 23, σκωπτικοὶ according to Schol.

Apoll. Rh. I. 746. The Laconic form is δεικηλίκτας.

^h Ap. Athen. Eustath. ubi sup. Suidas and Phavorinus in δεικηλιστῶν, and Suidas in Σωσίβιος. On the Lacedæmonian mimicry see also Boettiger Quat. ætat. rei scenicæ, p. 8.

ⁱ See Plutarch Lycurg. 1. καὶ φέρουσι κλέπτοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς κήπους βαδίζοντες (robbers of gardens), οἱ δ' εἰς τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν συσσίτια παρεισρέοντες (the thieves of the ἐωλομερῇ of Pollux cited in p. 347, note b).

^k B. III. ch. 3. § 3; and see Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 279. Eq. 632.

its name, in which drunken persons were probably represented; whence perhaps was derived the story that the Spartans intoxicated their slaves as a warning to their children. Other dances may perhaps have been common among the peasants, and particularly among the shepherds of remote regions.

It is an interesting question, and one allied to the present inquiry, to ascertain the origin of the *bucolic* poetry of the ancients. No one can doubt that its mingled character of simplicity, nature, and buffoonery, was copied from real life. Now the manners which it represented could neither have been those of slaves, for the condition of slavery does not admit of any regular society; nor yet of free citizens, for the rustic scenes of this poetry wholly disagree with a city life. It remains therefore that it imitated the life of subjects, of bondmen, such as existed as a separate class in the Doric states, and accordingly bucolic poems are commonly in the Doric dialect. It is related, that when Xerxes had overrun Greece, and the Spartan women could not perform the customary rites of Artemis Caryatis, the shepherds came from the mountains, and sang pastoral hymns to the goddess.¹ From this confused account we may collect that in the north of Laconia there had been some rude essays of pastoral poetry. In this respect, however, the shepherds of Italy and Sicily have become far more celebrated; Epicharmus mentions their bucolies (βουκολιασμοί), as a kind of dance and song;^m and even before his time

¹ Diomed. 3. p. 483. ed. Putsch. Servius ad Virg. Ecl. I. Donatus Vit. Virg. p. 84. sq. Diomedes also connects the Sicilian bucoliasms with rites of Ἀρτεμις Δύη. ^m Ἐν Ἀλκωνί καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐ ναυαγῶ, Athen. XIV. p. 619 A. Comp. Hesych. et Etym. M. in v.

Stesichorus had formed them into a species of lyric poetry.ⁿ Nevertheless their origin appears not to have been independent of one another, for both in Laconia and Sicily the name of Tityrus was used for the leading goat or ram of the flock.^o That the same name should equally distinguish the human and animal leader of the flock, is a trait of the simplicity of those men, who passed their days among valleys and pastures, harmlessly tending their flocks, and taking no more notice of other modes of life than sending from time to time the produce of their industry to the city. Now in Sicily these shepherds were not of Greek extraction, but were undoubtedly of the aboriginal Siculian population, the ancient worshippers of the goddess Pales;^p and it is not improbable that the bucolic poetry owed its origin to native talent. Even the ancient legend of Daphnis, who lost his eyes through his love for a nymph,^q appears to me rather of a Siculian than Grecian cast; although how far the character of the Greeks and of the native inhabitants were opposed, is a very obscure subject of inquiry.^r

ⁿ Ælian. V. H. X. 18.

^o Tityrus, according to Servius ad Ecl. I. 1. was *aries major, qui gregem anteire consueverit, lingua Laconia*; a goat, according to Schol. Theocrit. III. 2. Photius in v. Τίτυρος is the Doric form of σίσυρος, which also originally meant a goat; whence σισύρνα (i. e. σισυρίνα), or σισύρα, a goat-skin: but τίτυρος is not allied to σίσυρος (as the Schol. Theocrit. III. 2. VII. 72. Eustath. ad II. 7. p. 1157. 39. ed. Rom. suppose; comp. Creuzer, Symbolik, vol. III. p. 197). The

flute called τινύρινος by the Italian Dorians (Artemidorus ap. Athen. IV. p. 182 D. Eustath. p. 1157. 38), was so named from a shepherd.

^p Of the θεοὶ Παλικοί, near mount Ætna, which evidently were originally identical with the goddess *Pales* of the Romans; and consequently her worship belongs to the Siculian branch of the Roman religion.

^q Schol. Theoc. et Virg. Ælian ubi sup.

^r The poems of Theocritus unluckily give little informa-

11. To conclude; as in Attica, so among the Dorians, comedy connected itself with the *country festivals* of Bacchus; and, as Aristotle says,^a originated from the extemporaneous songs of those who led the Phallic processions, which were still customary in many Greek cities at the time of that philosopher. Of this, Sicyon furnishes an example. There was there a dance called 'Αλητήρ,[†] which was probably of a Phallic nature; and also a comic entertainment, called the Phallophori,[‡] in which the actors, with their heads and faces adorned with flowers, but unmasked, came into the theatre, in stately garments, some at the common entrance, some at the scene-doors; the Phallophorus, his face smeared with soot, walked first from among them, and, after giving notice that they came with a new song in honour of Bacchus, they began to ridicule any person they chose to select. Thus too the Phlyaces of Tarentum were probably connected with the worship of Bacchus, whose festivals were accompanied with similar rejoicings in Sicily.[‡]

Yet the rites of Demeter sometimes gave rise among the Dorians to lascivious entertainments of this kind, as we learn from the description in Herodotus of the Æginetan choruses of women at the festival of Artemis and Auxesia, which provoked others of their sex

tion on these points, as the bucolics are those which show the most artifice and novelty.

^a Poet. IV. 14.

[†] Athen. XIV. p. 631 D. At Athens too the country Phallic festival was called *ἑορτὴ ἀλητῆς*.

[‡] Semus Delius ap. Athen. p. 621 F. p. 622 C. and Suidas in *Σῆμος*. Compare b. II. ch. 10. § 6.

[‡] It seems probable that the

proverb *μωρότερος Μορύχου* originally referred to the rude mirth at the vintage-festivals, at which it was common in Sicily (and probably elsewhere also) to smear the face with the juice of the grape. In Italy there were also at the festival of Artemis Corythallia clowns, with wooden masks (*κύριθρα*), called *κυριττοί*, Hesych. in v.

by riotous and insulting language.^a These mockeries were, however, only the humour of the moment, and were merely accessaries to certain dances and songs; but among the Megarians, comedy, we know not by what means, obtained a more artificial character, and a more independent form.

CHAP. VII.

§ 1. Origin of comedy at Megara. § 2. Life and drama of Epicharmus. § 3. Traces of theatrical representations on painted vases. § 4. Political and philosophical tendency of the drama of Epicharmus. § 5. Mimes of Sophron. § 6. Plays of Rhinthon. § 7. Origin of tragedy at the city festivals of Bacchus. § 8. Early history of the Doric tragedy. § 9. Character of the Doric lyric poetry. § 10. Doric lyric poets. § 11. Origin of the Doric lyric poetry. § 12. Character of the Doric style of sculpture.

1. At Athens, a coarse and ill-mannered jest was termed a Megarian joke;^a which may be considered as a certain proof of the decided propensity of that people to humour. This is confirmed by the claims of the Megarians, who disputed the invention of comedy with the Athenians,^b and perhaps not without justice, if indeed the term invention be at all ap-

^a Æginetica, p. 170. sq.

^a Aristoph. Vesp. 57. *γέλῳτα Μεγαρόθεν κεκλεμμένον*. Eupolis ap. Schol. Vesp. 57. et Aspas. ad Aristot. Eth. Nic. IV. 2. 20. fol. 53 B. *τὸ σκῶμ' ἀσελγὲς καὶ Μεγαρικὸν καὶ σφόδρα ψυχρὸν γελῶσιν, ὥς ὁρᾷς, τὰ παῖδιά* (as emended by Dobree in Porson's Tracts, p. 384.). See also on the *γέλῳς*

Μεγαρικὸς Diogenian. Prov. IV. 88. App. Vatic. I. 46. Apostol. VI. 2. What Aristotle ubi sup. relates, refers merely to the silly and unnecessary display of a Megarian choregus for comedy, in the embellishment of the theatre.

^b Aristot. Poet. 3. Aspasius ubi sup.

plicable to the rise of the several branches of poetry, which sprung so gradually, and at such different times, from the particular feelings excited by the ancient festival rites, that it is difficult, and perhaps impossible, to fix upon the period at which the species of composition to which each gave rise was sufficiently advanced to be called a particular kind of poetry. Yet it is in the highest degree probable that the Athenians were indebted for the earliest form of their comic poetry to the Megarians. The Megarian comedy is ridiculed by Ecphantides, one of the early comic poets of Athens, as rude and unpolished, which circumstance alone makes its higher antiquity probable.^c Ecphantides, whom Aristophanes, Cratinus, and others, ridicule as rough and unpolished,^d looks down in his turn on those who had introduced comedy from Megara, and claims the merit of first seasoning the uncouth Megarian productions with Attic salt. But one of the earliest introducers of comedy was, according to the most credible and authentic accounts, Susarion, a native of Tripodiscus, an ancient village in the Megarian territory;^e in Attica he made his first appearance in the village of Icaria,^f situated on

^c Ecphantides ap. Aspas. ubi sup. says, Μεγαρικῆς κωμῳδίας ἄσπ' οὐ δέειμ' ἡσυχνόμεν τὸ δράμα Μεγαρικὸν ποιεῖν, as Meineke ad Menand. p. 382. and Quæst. Scen. I. p. 6. has correctly written, i. e. "the song which I sing is not that of a Megarian comedy; I was ashamed to make my play Megarian."

^d Concerning Ecphantides, see Schneider ad Aristot. Pol. VIII. 8. Gaisford ad Hephæst. p. 97. and particularly Næke's

Choerilus, p. 51 sq. and Meineke Quæst. Scen. I. p. 12. who correctly places him between Magnes and Chionides on the one side, and Cratinus and Teleclides on the other, about Olymp. 80. 460 B. C. [See also Clinton, F. H. vol. II. Introduction, p. xxxvii.]

^e Aspasius ubi sup. Schol. Dionys. Thrac. in Bekker's Anecdota Gr. p. 748. compare Bentley Phalarid. p. 261.

^f Marm. Par. ep. 34. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 308.

the borders of Megaris and Bœotia;^g where it is known from mythological fables, that the rural festival of Bacchus had been celebrated from an early period. The argument for its Doric origin, derived from the name κωμῳδία, "the village-song" (the Peloponnesians calling their villages κῶμαι, and the Athenians δῆμοι), is by no means conclusive, as the derivation of that name from the word κῶμος, a *tumultuous festival procession*, is far more probable. The early time at which comedy must have flourished may be seen from the fact, that it passed over to Athens in the 50th Olympiad;^h but of its character we should form a very partial judgment, if we trusted implicitly to the accounts of the Athenian neighbours; and yet we have no other means of information.

The ancient comedy of Susarion, and of the Megarians, was (as is clear from the passage of Ecphantides) founded on a dramatic principle; although a species of lyric poetry, also called comedy, had existed from an early period among the Dorians and Æolians;ⁱ nor can I admit the opinion of Aristotle,

^g As may be inferred from Statius Theb. XII. 619.

^h According to Aristot. Poet. 3. it originated during the existence of democracy at Megara; but the period of popular rule in this town (b. III. ch. 9. § 10.) was too late for this to be strictly true, though its rise was probably connected with a democratic principle, which was alive at Megara before the time of Theagenes, and after his downfall was continually on the increase.

ⁱ Boeckh, Staatshaushaltung,

vol. II. p. 362 sqq. and Thiersch, Einleitung zu Pindar, p. 117. with the opposite remark on the τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμῳδός, Goettingen Review, 1821. part 106. p. 1050. I also conceive that the comedies of Antheas the Lindian, the relation (συγγενής) of Cleobulus, were lyric; who passed his whole life in leading processions to Bacchus, and also practised the obscure ποιήσεις διὰ συνθέτων ὀνομάτων, Athen. X. p. 445 A. In this instance the comedies are evidently only *procession-songs*

that Epicharmus and Phormis were the first who wrote a comedy with a plot or story; previously to those poets, only some extempore and abusive speeches (*ιαμβίζειν*) were, according to his view of the subject, introduced between the songs of the chorus; but if this had been the case, the Megarian comedy would not have differed materially from the Sicyonian sports of the Phallophori, nor have attracted so much attention as it actually did. A Megarian actor, named Mæson, is often mentioned by the ancients as the inventor of masks of certain characters of low comedy, as cooks, scullions, sailors, and the like.^k Hence it may be inferred that these Megarian farces, with their established or frequently recurring characters, had some resemblance to the Oscan Atellane plays.

2. It is indeed very probable that the Megarian furnished the first germ and elements of the Sicilian comedy, as perfected by Epicharmus. For the Megarians in Sicily, as well as those near Athens, laid claim, according to Aristotle,¹ to the invention of comedy, and there is no doubt that a communication was kept up between those two states. Now it is possible that comedy was brought from Megara to Syracuse, when Gelon (484 or 483 B. C.)^m transplanted the inhabitants from the former to the latter city; and thus the elements of comedy which existed in the choruses and iambic speeches, were, by their subsequent combination with a more improved species of poetry, brought to maturity. This suppo-

from *κῶμος*. The same is likewise true of the slanderous comedies of Timocreon, also a Rhodian, Suidas in v.

^k Aristoph. Byz. ap. Ath.

XIV. p. 659 A. Hesych. in *Μαίσων, τεττιξ*. Festus in Maeson. cf. Zenob. Prov. II. 11.

¹ Poet. III. 5.

^m B. I. ch. 6. § 10.

sition, however, rests upon mere conjecture. Epicharmus, the son of Helothales,ⁿ must have gone to Syracuse at this emigration, having formerly resided at Megara; but he cannot be considered as the person who really introduced comedy at Syracuse, as he had lived only a short time at Megara; he was, as we are credibly informed, a native of Cos,^o and went to Sicily with Cadmus, that is, about, or soon after, 480 B. C.,^p and he must at this time have been at least a youth, in order to have acquired a name and influence in the reign of Hieron (between 478 and 467 B. C.)^q In confirmation of the statement that he was a native of Cos, it may be remarked, that he was likewise a physician, which was the regular profession of his brother, his family being probably connected with that of the Asclepiadæ. Phormis, or Phormus, who by Aristotle and others is often mentioned with Epicharmus, appears to have been earlier than that poet by some Olympiads, having been the friend of Gelon, and tutor to his children;^r but his fame was so com-

ⁿ That the names "Chimarus" and "Tityrus" were taken from the occupation of the shepherd and goatherd, is remarked by Welcker on Schwenck's *Mythologische Andeutungen*, p. 331.

^o Diog. Laert. and *τινὲς* ap. Suid. cf. Diomed. 3. p. 486. ed. Putsch.

^p See vol. I. p. 187. note *.

^q This statement is indeed inconsistent with the account in Diog. Laert. VIII. 78. that Epicharmus, when a child of three months, was brought from Cos to Megara; but this is not a sufficient authority to set aside the other accounts.

The statements of the writer *περὶ κωμῳδίας* in Kuster's Aristophanes, p. xii. *γέγονε κατὰ τὴν οὐλύμπιάδα*, and of Suidas, *ἦν δὲ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν ἔτη ἑξ, διδάσκων ἐν Συρακούσαις*, perhaps refer to the arrival of Epicharmus in Sicily.

^r Jambl. Pythag. 34. cf. Plin. H. N. XX. 11. Diog. Laert. ubi sup. Eudoc. ap. Villos. Anecd. vol. I. p. 193.

^s Suidas. His first covering the stage with purple skins reminds us of the Megarian choregus, who used real purple. Aristot. Eth. Nic. IV. 2. 20. Bentley Phalarid. p. 260. considers him as identical with

pletely eclipsed by that of his successor, that there is scarcely anything remaining of his plays, except a few titles,¹ which however show that he parodied mythological subjects.

But Epicharmus is much less known and esteemed than his peculiar style of writing and dramatic skill deserve; and those authors greatly err, who fix upon the period when his peculiar kind of poetry had arrived at perfection, as the commencement of the Athenian comedy, and attribute the clumsy and rustic simplicity from which the latter emerged, to the Sicilian style, which had enjoyed all the advantages which the life of a city and court could afford.² Before, therefore, we enter into details respecting the dramas, of Epicharmus, we will say a few words on the nature of his subjects, and his mode of handling them.

The subjects of the plays of Epicharmus were chiefly mythological, that is, parodies or travesties of mythology, nearly in the style of the satyric drama of Athens. Thus in the comedy of Busiris, Hercules was represented in the most ludicrous light, as a voracious glutton, and he was again exhibited in the same character (with a mixture perhaps of satirical remarks on the luxury of the times) in "the Marriage of Hebe," in which an astonishing number of

Phormis the Mænalien, who served Gelon and Hieron with great honour; to me it seems that the ideas of an Arcadian *condottiere* and a comic poet are quite irreconcilable.

¹ Fabric. Biblioth. vol. II. p. 315. Harles.

² There is no reason for supposing that there were never

more than two interlocutors in the plays of Epicharmus. Three, viz. Amycus, Pollux, and Castor, are evidently engaged in the dialogue of which a fragment is preserved in Schol. Soph. Aj. 722. "Ἀμυκε μὴ κύδαζέ μοι τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀδελφεόν; and there must have been several in the Ἀφαιστος.

dishes was mentioned.³ We can however form a better notion of the drama called "Hephæstus, or 'the Revellers,'" chiefly by the help of some ancient works of art, which have come down to us. The play began we are told, with Hephæstus chaining his mother Here by magical charms to a seat, from which he only released her after long entreaties.⁴ Now on a vase discovered at Bari in the kingdom of Naples, and now preserved in the British Museum,⁵ Here, with the superscription Ἥ-ΗΡΑ,⁶ is seen seated on a throne; on her right is a clown fantastically dressed, whom his pointed cap marks as a servant of Hephæstus, and his name, Dædalus, is written over his head;⁷ on her left is Mars, dressed, with the exception of his helmet, in the same fashion (with the superscription ΕΝΕΥΑΑΙΟΣ); both these figures are armed, and endeavouring, the one to dissolve, the other to strengthen the charm by which Here is held. The whole scene is evidently supposed to take place on a stage, leading to which there are some steps; and as there were no other Sicilian or Italian comedies on the same subject, it may without hesitation be considered as a representation of the first part of the Hephæstus of Epicharmus.

³ See Casaubon ad Athen. III. 13. p. 176. Harles ibid. p. 45.

⁴ Photius in Ἡρας δεσμούς, and Suidas in Ἡρας δὲ δεσμούς.

⁵ Figured in Mazocchi Tab. Heracl. ad p. 138. Hancarville, vol. III. pl. 105. Millin, Galerie Mythologique, XIII. 48.

⁶ This form of the H or aspirate, which seems to have been peculiar to the Italian Greeks, is found, besides the

Heracleian Tables and this vase, on the Pæstum vase, which Lanzi and others have edited (*Illustrazione di due vasi fittili*, Roma 1809).

⁷ Why I do not (with Visconti Mus. Pio Clement. vol. IV. p. 20. and Welcker ap. Dissen. ad Pind. Nem. IV. p. 386.) suppose that Dædalus means Hephæstus himself, is sufficiently explained in the text.

The legend went on to say, that Hephæstus, having in consequence of this act been ill-treated by his parents, entirely deserted Olympus, until Bacchus, having contrived to make him drunk, placed him on an ass, and thus brought him in jolly merriment back to Olympus; to which transaction the other title of the piece, "the Revellers," evidently alludes. Now this scene also has been transmitted to us in some ancient paintings, which although they do not exhibit the theatrical dress and the place of performance so clearly as that just mentioned, are evidently taken from comedies. There is on a Coghill vase^e a procession in which the names of the several individuals composing it are superscribed; first Marsyas as a flute-player; then Comedy, in a state of violent motion; next Bacchus, in the ancient festival costume; and lastly, Hephæstus, who in other compositions of the same subject is drawn riding on an ass.

3. From these data, I will leave it to the judgment and taste of the reader to draw his own conclusions on the character of the drama of Epicharmus. But I may take this opportunity of remarking, that the painted vases of lower Italy often enable us to gain a complete and vivid idea of the theatrical representations of that country. From this source I have above traced a farce, in which Hercules delivers the Cercopes to Eurystheus, or some other king,^d and perhaps also the picture of Hercules in the form of a pigmy, and fighting with the cranes, was derived from

^e Millingen Vases de Coghill. pl. 6. and in Millin vol. I. pl. 9. The scene in Millin vol. II. pl. 66. Tischbein III.

9. IV. 38. is evidently the same, and Millingen's opinion, p. 10. seems to me untenable.

^d B. II. ch. 12. § 10.

a similar source.^e We may likewise mention the picture of Zeus and Hermes, the latter with a lantern, and the former with a ladder, both dressed in the most ridiculous and fantastical costume, in the act of ascending to a fair female, who is expecting them at her window.^f It seems also probable, that the buffoon represented on a vase, as sitting on a fish, and making ridiculous grimaces,^g is a caricature of the Tarentine fable of Taras on the dolphin. The costume, which reminds us of the Italian Policinello and Arlecchino,^h proves that it was taken from a dramatic representation, which however is still more conspicuous on the painted vase of Asteas,ⁱ on which, among a number of clowns, one is seen stretched on a couch, evidently the bed of Procrustes. But it is remarkable, that in this case the performers do not bear the names of the heroes whom they travesty, but those of their masks. The one on the bed is called XAPINOS, or *Gracioso* (which name was likewise in use at Sparta);^k the others are named ΔΙΑΣΥΡΟΣ "the jester:" ΚΑΓΧΑΣ "the laughter;"^l and ΓΥΜΝΑΣΟΣ, if the letters are read correctly: these are evidently names of standing characters of a dramatic fable, resembling the Attelane farces of Campania. The vase was moreover discovered in Campania.^m

^e Millin I. pl. 63. 72. comp. Tischbein II. 7. 18.

^f Winckelmann Monum. ined. N°. 190. p. 285. Hancarville, vol. IV. pl. 160.

^g Tischbein IV. 57. The figure looks like the Κάγχας in the vase described below.

^h See A. W. Schlegel, Ueber dramatische Kunst. vol. II. p. 8.

ⁱ Millingen, Peintures de Collections diverses, 46. Compare

the explanation, p. 69. From this name *charinos* for jester probably comes the Latin *carnari*, in Festus. The Glossaries of Labbæus render it by *χαριερ-ρίζεσθαι*.

^k Above, ch. 6. § 9.

^l The best translation for Κάγχας is "*cachinno*" in Persius Sat. I.

^m That the above painting was taken from the Σκίρων of

4. But to return to Epicharmus; the comedy of this poet was by no means confined to parodies of mythological stories, as he also, like Aristophanes, handled political subjects, and invented comic characters like the later Athenian poets; and indeed the extent of his subjects was very wide. The piece called Ἀρπαγαί, or "the Plunderings," which described the devastation of Sicily in his time, had, according to Hemsterhuis,ⁿ a political meaning; and this was perhaps also the case with the Νᾶσοι, or "the Islands:" at least it was mentioned in this play, that Hieron had prevented Anaxilas from destroying Locri (477 B. C.);^o in his "Persians" also there were allusions to the history of the times. The play called the "Countryman" (Ἀγροστίνος, i. e. ἀγροῖκος), was an instance of the drama, which illustrated the character of a certain class of society. Epicharmus also introduced, and almost perfected characters, which were very common in the drama of later times;^p and if the plot of the Menæchmi of Plautus was, as the poet seems to state in the prologue, taken from a comedy of Epicharmus, it must be granted that the ingenious construction of plots was not beyond the powers of that poet.^q The style of his plays was not less vari-

Epicharmus, I could hardly maintain, from the grounds stated in the text; although the bed of Procrustes probably occurred in that play, as well as in the Σκίρων of Euripides. On the latter see Hemsterhuis ad Poll. X. 7. 35. Boettiger, Vasengemälde I. 2. p. 147.

ⁿ Ad Poll. IX. 4. 26.

^o Schol. Pind. Pyth. I. 99. see Boeckh Explic. Pyth. II. p. 240.

^p Athen. VI. p. 235. 236 A. X. p. 429 A.

^q Menæchm. Prol. 12. Indeed the expression can only mean, that the characters of this play of Plautus were Sicilian Greeks. Plautus has sometimes Doric names for his characters; thus a parasite in the Stichus I. 3. 89. is called *Miccotrogos*, from μικτός Doric for μικτός. Such names as this were probably borrowed from Epicharmus.

ous than his subjects, as he passed from the extreme of rude and comic buffoonery to a more serious and instructive vein, introducing maxims and moral sentences^r with precepts of the Pythagorean philosophy, in which he is said to have been initiated with Archytas and Philolaus the son of Arcesas, the successor of Pythagoras;^s and we know from Diogenes Laertius that he introduced long discourses of a speculative and philosophical nature, though it is not easy to see how they were connected with the rest of the piece. In the Ulysses (as I conjecture from the speech to Eumæus) he made incidentally some philosophical remarks on the instinct of animals;^t other pieces, such as "the Pyrrha and Prometheus," and "the Land and Sea," were by their subjects still more closely connected with philosophy; he also wrote some poems on questions of natural and moral philosophy, which, if we may judge from the imitation of Ennius, were composed in a theatrical and very lively metre, the trochaic tetrameter.^u That the dramatic style of Epicharmus was perfect in its kind, is proved by the great admiration it was held in by the ancients, particularly by Plato; and if the Attic comedy excelled in cutting satire and ridicule, the Sicilian poet

Notwithstanding the line of Horace, "*Plautus ad exemplar 'Siculi properare Epicharmi,'*" his chief model was the Attic comedy.

^r Epicharmus was γνῶμικός, according to the writer, περὶ κωμῶδίας, p. xii. Kuster.

^s Jambl. Pyth. 36. p. 219. whose statement seems probable to Boeckh, Philolaos, p. 13. This person's name is uncertain; Jamblichus calls him

Ἀρήσας, Ἀρκεσος Plutarch de de Gen. Socrat. 13.

^t Diog. Laert. III. 16.

^u Diog. Laert. VIII. 78. Eudocia ap. Villos. Anecd. vol. I. p. 193. compare the Ἐπιχάρμειος λόγος in Suidas, and the fragm. Ennii, p. 170. ed. Hessel. It is however possible that this Ἐπιχάρμειος λόγος was merely an extract from his comedies.

had a higher and more general aim. The Athenian poets, if we may judge from Aristophanes, confined themselves wholly to the affairs of their own state, and it was their object to point out what they considered beneficial to the people. But Epicharmus had a different and higher object; for if the elements of his drama, which we have discovered singly, were in his plays combined, he must have set out with an elevated and philosophical view, which enabled him to satirize mankind, without disturbing the calmness and tranquillity of his thoughts; while at the same time his scenes of common life were marked with the acute and penetrating genius which characterized the Sicilians.^x

5. Notwithstanding this excellence, the comedy of Epicharmus was only an insulated and passing phenomenon, as we are not informed of any successors of that great poet, except Deinolochus^y his son, or rather his disciple. But about half a century after Epicharmus,^z Sophron, the mimographer, made his appearance, who was the author of a new species of comedy, though in many respects resembling that of his predecessor. Still this variety of the drama differed so much, not only from that of Sicily, but from any other which existed in Greece, that its origin must, after all our attempts at explanation, remain involved in great obscurity. The mimes of Sophron

^x Cicero Tusc. I. 8. ad Att. I. 19. calls him *acutus* and *vafer*, as being a Sicilian.

^y Bentley Phalar. p. 413.

^z As may be inferred from Photius in *Πηγιῶν*, where Sophron's son Xenarchus (also a mimographer, Hermann ad Ari-

stot. Poet. I. 3. p. 94.) is mentioned as a contemporary of Dionysius (the elder). Suidas and Eudocia p. 389. place Sophron in the time of Xerxes and of Euripides; several moderns have followed the former statement.

had no accompaniment of music or dancing, and they were written, not in verse, but in prose, though perhaps in certain *rhythmical divisions*.^a This latter circumstance seems quite singular, and without example in the Greek literature which has been transmitted to us. But that it was in reality so, seems improbable, when we remember that there would naturally be an intermediate rhythm, formed at the transition from the metrical to the prosaic style;^b and with the Dorians this would have taken the form of concise and disjointed sentences, a periodical style being more suited to the Athenians. We are led to this notion by the consideration of some remains of Lacedæmonian composition, in which no one can fail to see the rhythmical form and symmetry of the sentences. Thus in the famous letter of Hippocrates,^c

ἔρρει τὰ καλὰ. Μίνδαρος γ' ἀπεσσοῦα·
πεινῶντι τῶνδρες ἀπορέομεν τί χρὴ δρᾶν.

and also in that of the Lacedæmonian women, preserved by Plutarch,^d

κακὰ τεῦ φάμα κακκέχεται·
ταύταν ἀπωθεῦ, ἢ μὴ ἔσο,

where the rhythm passes insensibly into verse; which is less strikingly the case in other instances.^e

^a Which appear to have partially corresponded with one another, as is evident from some fragments extant, and from a comparison of the Schol. in Gregor. Naz. in Montfaucon's Biblioth. Coislin. p. 120. with the poem to which it refers, in Tollius' Itin. Ital. pag. 96 sq. See Hermann *ibid.* p. 93.

^b Hence in early inscriptions fragments of hexameters often occur.

^c Xen. Hell. I. 23. Plutarch Alcib. 28. Eustathius ad Hom. II. p. 63. 1. Apostol. IX. 2. Compare Valckenær ad Adonias. p. 264. But to suppose that Hippocrates *intentionally* wrote two scazons, would be very absurd.

^d Plutarch Lacæn. Apophth. p. 260. τεῦ and ἀπωθεῦ, according to Valckenær. p. 260. who collects some letters, which say the same thing a little differently.

^e Compare, e. g., the frag-

Whether the mimes of Sophron were publicly represented or not, is a question not easily answered. It would however be singular, if a poetical work had been intended only for reading, in an age when everything was written, not for the public eye, but for the public ear. It is certainly more probable that these mimes were originally part of the amusements of certain festivals, as was the case with the Spartan *deicelictæ*, which they resembled more than any other variety of the drama.^f Indeed it can be easily conceived, that farces of this description, acted by persons who had a quick perception of the eccentricities and peculiarities of mankind, and a talent for mimicry, should have existed among the Dorians of Sicily, as well as of Laconia, particularly as the former were celebrated for their imitative skill.^g Even Agathocles the tyrant excited the laughter, not merely of his guests and companions, but of whole assemblies of the people, by ridiculing certain known characters, in the manner of an *ethologus*, or merry andrew.^h Accordingly the mimes of Sophron, by which these rude attempts were improved, and raised to a regular species of the drama, were distinguished by their faithful imitation of manners, even of the vulgar, and the solecisms and rude dialect of the common people were copied with great exactness;ⁱ whence the nu-

ment of Sophron in Athen. p. 86 E. (Blomfield N^o. 12. Mus. Crit. vol. II. p. 342.)

τίνας δ' ἐν τῇ ποίᾳ, φίλα, ταῖς τε
μακροῖς κόγχαι; B. σωλῆνες,
ταυτὶ γὰρ γλυκύπρεπον πογχύλιον
χρηρῶν γυναικῶν λίχνευμα.

^f The actual representation of the mimes of Sophron is also proved by the words of Solinus 5., that in Sicily "cavil-

"latio mimica in scena stetit." Compare Salmas. Lect. Plin. p. 76 B. C.

^g Σικελίζειν, τὸ ἀτηρεῦσθαι παρὰ Ἐπιχάρμῳ, οἱ δὲ τὸ πονηρεῦσθαι, Photius &c. in v.

^h Diod. XX. 63.

ⁱ See particularly on this point, Valckenær. ad Adonias. p. 200 sq.

merous sayings and proverbs which were introduced.^k On the other hand, he was most skilful in seizing the more delicate shades and turns of feeling, and in preserving the unity and consistency of his characters, without which he would never have been so much admired by Plato, or the study of his works have been so serviceable in the composition of the Socratic dialogues, as we know on good authority to have been the case;^l and hence we should compare the scenery of Plato's dialogues with the poems of Theocritus, which we know to be imitated from the female mimes of Sophron, in order to obtain a proper idea of those master-pieces. His talent for description must however have been supported and directed by moral considerations; which probably preponderated rather in the serious (*μῦμοι σπουδαῖοι*), and were less prominent in the common mimes (*μῦμοι γέλοιοι*). The tribe of Aretalogi and Ethologi, who originally spoke much of virtue and morality, but gradually sank into mere buffoons, appears to have come from Sicily, and was, perhaps through several intermediate links, connected with Sophron.^m

In considering these philosophical sports, which mingled in the same breath the grave and solemn lessons of philosophy and the most ludicrous mimicry and buffoonery, we may perhaps find a reason why Persius, a youth educated in the Stoic sect, should

^k Demetrius de Elocut. 156. cf. 127. 162. Ulpian. ad Demosth. Olynth. p. 36. comp. Apollodorus ἐν τοῖς περὶ Σώφρονος fragm. p. 438 sq. Heyne.

^l Duris ap. Athen. XI. p. 504 B. Diog. Laert. III. 18. Olympiodorus Vit. Plat. &c.

^m On Sophron see the references of Fabricius Bibl. Gr. vol. II. p. 493 sq. Harl. and Blomfield in the Classical Journal, vol. IV. p. 380. Museum Criticum, vol. IV. p. 340—358. 559—569.

have thought of making Sophron the model of his Satires. This statement is given by a late, but in this instance a credible writer,ⁿ and is confirmed by the dramatic character of the Satires of Persius, and the constant use of mimicry in them, particularly the first four; so much so indeed, that a study of Persius is the best method of forming an accurate and lively idea of the mimes of Sophron.

6. The Dorians in general had evidently less poetical skill and feeling than the Athenians, and did not cultivate those rude attempts of wit and mirth which the festivals called forth, and of which the Athenians knew so well how to take advantage. This incapacity or negligence of the early times enables us to explain why several kinds of Doric poetry were not received into the literature of civilized Greece until the Alexandrian age, of which we may particularly specify the bucolic poetry, and the phlyaces of Tarentum. These carnival sports had doubtless been represented for ages, before they acquired, in the time of Ptolemy the First, notoriety in other places by the poems of Rhinthon, which were named after them. These plays are also called Ἰλαροτραγωδία,^o or tragi-comedy; and both these and the titles of some pieces^p and fragments handed down to us show that they were burlesques of tragical subjects.^q It may, however, be easily supposed that Rhinthon

ⁿ J. Laurent. Lydus de Magistratibus Rom. p. 70. ed. Fuss.

^o Identical with φλυαγογραφία, Suidas in Πίνθων, &c.

^p The Amphitryon, Hercules, Orestes, Telephus, the Iphigenias, and the slave Meleager in Athenæus, Pollux, Hephæstion, and Herodian.

^q This is the explanation given by several writers of the word φλύακες, Steph. Byz. in Τάρας, Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 976. φλύακες τραγικοί Nossis Epigr. ap. Brunck. Analect. vol. I. p. 196. See Reuven's Collect. Litter. p. 71.

did not lose sight of the Athenian tragedy, and it is possible that his two Iphigenias in particular, at Aulis and Tauris, contained many parodies of the two plays of Euripides. I should conceive, however, that he adhered generally to the form of the ancient phlyaces; thus for example, he faithfully imitated the dialect of Tarentum;^r we may also be assured that he polished the native farces, so as to fit them for theatrical representation. These pieces were generally written in trimeter iambs, which Rhinthon, however, framed somewhat carelessly, as may be seen from a fragment of his transmitted to us, where addressing himself to his verses, he declares "that he did not give himself much trouble about them;"^s it is also possible that he mixed the iambic with other metres, as parodies, for the sake of contrast; thus, for instance, he appears to have employed the solemn hexameter in some very ludicrous passages.^t Rhinthon was succeeded in this species of parody by Sopatrus, Sciras,^u and Blæsus; the last-named poet,

^r Apollonius Dysc. de Pronom. p. 364 C. ed. Bekker. comp. Valckenær. ad Adonias. p. 294.

^s In Hephæstion p. 10. Gaisford. Rhinthon says to a choliambic line, in the last thesis of which there is a syllable lengthened by a violent metrical licence, ἴθ' Ἰππώνακτος τὸ μέτρον οὐδέν μοι μέλει. Trimeter iambs of Rhinthon often occur; e. g. two properly constructed in Herodian περὶ μονήρους λέξεως p. 19. 27. 30. ed. Dindorf.

^t At least it appears that there is an hexameter extant of Sopater, another writer of φλύακες, in Athen. XIV. p. 656 F.

if Osann. Anal. Rei Scenicæ p. 73. corrects rightly; the other verses of the same poet are however all iambic. But the Ἰλαροτραγωδία of Rhinthon could not by any means be generally called ἐξαμετρική, and I agree with Reuven on Lydus I. 41. who considers that the statement ὅς ἐξαμέτροις ἔγραψε κωμῶδιαν as a mistake of that writer, and Lange in I. 40. seems properly to defend ἐξωτική.

^u Valckenær ad Adonias. p. 294. classes Sclerias (whom he considers as identical with Sciras in Athen. IX. p. 402 B.), Blæsus, and Rhinthon together; and there is no doubt that in

a native of Capreæ in Campania, wrote (as may be inferred from the title of his "Saturn") after the Roman manners and religion had gained the ascendancy; but he used only the ancient dialect, and he too, being called a serio-comic poet (σπουδογελοίων ποιητής), seems to have adopted the same mixture of tragedy and comedy.^x

7. We have now dwelt at some length on the comic poetry of the Dorians, on account of the interesting nature of the subject, and the light which it throws on the general character of a people, among whom the strictest gravity was found closely united with the most unrestrained jocularly and mirth; for as every real jest requires for a foundation a firm, solid, and grave disposition of mind, so moral indifference, and a frivolous temperament, not only destroy the contrast between gravity and jest, but annihilate the spirit of both. Our inquiries on the early state of the tragic drama among the Dorians will be more concise. And we may first observe, that the great difference between tragedy and comedy did not exist originally, but was only formed gradually in their development. Their only distinction at first was, that while comedy was more a sport and a merriment of the *country* festivals, tragedy was from its commencement connected with the public rejoicings and ceremonies of Bacchus in *cities*, and was performed by the great cyclic or dithyrambic choruses. Thence it came that the former expressed the boisterous mirth and joviality of clowns

Lydus Reuens p.69. has rightly corrected Πίνθωνα καὶ Σκίραν καὶ Βλαῖσον: as also φλυακογράφων for πυθαγόρων, and Lange κωμικῶν for οὐ μικρῶν. In Hesychius in ἄσεκτος, for παρὰ

Πίνθωνι Ταραντίνῳ φιλοσόφῳ may be corrected either φλυασκογράφῳ or Τηλέφῳ.

^x Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vol. II. p. 426. Harl. Reuens Coll. Litt. p. 79.

and peasants; whereas the latter was formed upon the particular ideas and feelings suggested by the worship of Bacchus, and by the part which he bore in mythology. It principally turned on the sufferings of Bacchus (Διονύσου πάθη), a point alluded to in some verses in the Iliad, though there is no doubt that it had been attempted at a much earlier period.^y

8. We shall now show how this applies to the tragedy of the Dorians. According to the account of Herodotus^z there were at Sicyon, an ancient seat of the worship of Bacchus, tragic choruses which sung of Bacchus, and undoubtedly of his sufferings. These choruses however had even before the age of Cleisthenes (Olymp. 45.) been transferred to Adrastus, the hero of that city, but they were by that tyrant restored to their former subject. The date of their restoration is therefore known; the time of their extension to Adrastus, and consequently of their foundation, must have been much more remote; this shows the comparatively late date of the Attic tragedy, which began with Thespis. Now we are also informed that Epigenes, a very ancient tragedian of Sicyon, was the sixteenth before Thespis;^a thus it appears that the ancients were in possession of a stock of information, which has been lost to us, that enabled them to draw

^y II. VI. 132.

^z V. 67; for an explanation of which passage see vol. I. p. 404. note c. Perhaps μεγαρίζειν for "to lament" (Aristoph. Ach. 822. Suidas and the Paroemiographers in Μεγαρέων δάκρυα, comp. Tyrwhit ad Aristot. Poet. p. 174.) refers to tragedy, as Μεγαρικός γέλως to comedy.

^a Suidas in Θεόσπις. Photius, Apostolius, and Suidas in οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, the former of whom says, Ἐπιγένους τοῦ Σικυωνίου τραγῳδίαν εἰς αὐτὸν (in Suidas εἰς Διόνυσον, but perhaps it is an old error for εἰς Ἀδραστον) ποιήσαντος ἐπεφώνησάν τινες τοῦτο· ὅθεν ἡ παροιμία.

up a regular succession of all the intermediate tragic poets. To this if we add that some of the Peloponnesians, as we are told by Aristotle,^b disputed with the Athenians the invention of tragedy,^c we shall not be inclined to deny the claims of the former, on the mere ground that their song, being drowned by the louder notes of the Athenians, was thus early silenced.

But it remains to be decided, whether this Sicyonian tragedy belonged to the regular drama, or whether it was merely a species of dithyrambic lyric poetry, the existence of which was first proved some few years ago by a learned writer of this country.^d Of these hypotheses the latter seems most probable, as the accounts of the Athenians respecting the origin and progress of their own tragedy can only then be justified, and because it is distinctly stated that the early tragedy consisted exclusively of choruses.^e But I should conceive that these Bacchanalian songs were always accompanied by some mimicry; which indeed the nature of that worship would seem to require; the liveliness of the feelings which it inspired calling for a personified representation of them; and thus Arion, who is styled the inventor of the tragic style (τραγικὸς πρόπος), is said to have introduced satyrs into his choruses.^f Arion, although by birth a Methymnæan, and probably a disciple of Terpander, chiefly lived and wrote (like his predecessors, mentioned above) in Peloponnesus and among Dorian

^b Poet. 3. and Hermann ad 1. p. 104.

^c Themistius Or. XIX. p. 487. says directly that the Sicyonians were the inventors of tragedy.

^d Boeckh, Staatshaushaltung, vol. II. p. 362.

^e Particularly by Aristocles ap. Athen. XIV. p. 630 C.

^f Suidas in Ἀρίων.

nations. It was at Corinth, in the reign of Periander,^g that he first practised a cyclic chorus^h in the performance of a dithyramb,ⁱ where he probably took advantage of some local accidents and rude beginnings, which alone could justify Pindar in considering Corinth as the native city of the dithyramb.^k

Thus the district of Corinth and Sicyon is of considerable importance in the early history of the drama. Phlius also, where the satirical drama probably first became a separate variety of the ancient tragedy, was situate in that part: whence being introduced into Athens, it was brought into a regular dramatical shape. For Pratinas the Phliasian is truly called the inventor of this species of the drama;^l and although he contended for the prize with Æschylus at Athens, he nevertheless must have remained a native of Phlius, as his son and successor Aristetas was a citizen of that city, and was buried there.^m I have nothing to remark respecting the satyric drama, except that it must have abounded in mimicry and pantomimic dances, such as were used under the name of *hyporchemes* in the temples of Apollo.ⁿ

^g Arion's age is stated in Suidas after the beginning of Periander's reign, Olymp. 38, or, according to Eusebius, Olymp. 40. (628 or 620 B. C.)

^h Hence also his father is called Cycleus, according to the analogy remarked above, p. 357. note ⁿ.

ⁱ Herod. I. 23. cf. Hellanic. ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1403. p. 87. ed. Sturz. Aristot. ap. Procl. Chrestom. p. 382. Gaisford.

^k Olymp. XIII. 18. cf. Schol. ad l.

^l Suidas in Πρατίνας. Acron ad Horat. A. P. 216. and compare the Φλιάσιοι Σάτυροι in Dioscorides. Anthol. vol. I. p. 252. Jacob. See Casaubon de Sat. Poësi I. 5. p. 120. Toup Emend. in Suid. vol. II. p. 479.

^m Paus. II. 13.

ⁿ As may be inferred from the fact that Pratinas also composed Doric hyporchemes, Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vol. II. p. 135, and from the title of one of his plays, Δύμαιναι ἢ Καρνατίδες, above, p. 346, note ⁿ.

9. Having now examined the two species of the drama, comedy and tragedy, under different heads, we will next consider them under the general name of *orchestic* poetry, or poetry accompanied with dancing. For while all poetry which was necessarily attended with music was called *lyric*, that which was sung to accompany dances, frequently of large choruses, has been called the Doric lyric poetry;° to which appellation it appears to be justly entitled, as in its various forms it always partakes more or less of the Doric dialect. Hence the terms Doric and Choral poetry may be used as synonymous, as songs for choral dances were usually composed in the Doric dialect; and whenever the Doric dialect occurred in regular lyric odes, these were generally for choral dances.† Thus, for instance, Pindar, the master of the Dorian lyric poetry, composed *solia*; which, unlike the poems sung at feasts, were accompanied with dances, and contained more of the Doric dialect.‡ Thus the dithyramb, so long as it belonged to the Dorian lyric poetry, was always antistrophic, that is, in a choral form, or one adapted to dancing; but after being new-modelled by Crexus, Phrynis, and others, it ceased to be acted by cyclic choruses, and its dialect at the same time underwent a total change. Choruses were sung in the Doric dialect in the midst of the Attic drama; so peculiarly did the choral dances seem to belong to the Dorians.†

° F. Schlegel, *Geschichte der Poësie der Griechen und Römer*, I. 1. p. 226. sqq. Schneider, *Geschichte der Elegie, Studien*, vol. I. p. 2.

† The choral poetry of Co-

rinna in the Boeotian dialect is however an exception.

‡ Boeckh ad Pind. *Fragm.* p. 607.

† In the Prytaneum at Elis also Doric songs were sung in

These facts afford two criterions for ascertaining the character of the lyric poetry of the Dorians. In the first place, it always bore the stamp of publicity; as in the formation of choruses the public was in some manner taken into consideration: secondly, it had some religious reference; as choruses ever formed part of religious worship. The feeling therefore expressed by this kind of lyric poetry, though it might more powerfully affect individuals, should nevertheless be of such a nature as to interest a whole people; and the subject, even if suggested by other circumstances, should have a reference to religious notions, and admit of a mythological treatment.

10. Thus much concerning the character of lyric poetry among the Dorians. But if we proceed to inquire what gave to this species of poetry the characteristic mark of the people, the circumstances which first strike the attention will rather surprise than enlighten us. For, in the first place, it is plain that no Greek city was wholly without choral poetry; and that prosodia, pæans, and dithyrambs, as soon as they obtained a separate existence, spread in a short time over the whole of Greece. Secondly, among the chief founders and masters of the Dorian lyric poetry, the smaller number only were Dorians, the others being either of Æolian or Ionian descent. Thus Terpander, the ancient pæan-singer, Arion, the inventor of the dithyramb, and Pindar, were Æolians; Ibycus of Rhegium, Bacchylides, and Simonides of Ceos, were Ionians; and of the more celebrated poets the only Dorians were Stesichorus of Himera, and Alcman,

the time of Pausanias (V. 15. Lernæa were in the same dialect 8.) and the *ἐπη* used at the (ib. II. 37. 3.).

by birth a Laconian, though descended from a Lydian family. This last fact however may be reconciled with the view taken above, by the supposition that a certain *national style* had from an early period been established in the native country of this choral poetry, to which the poets of the several cities generally conformed; while in other places, being more thrown on their own resources, they were led to cultivate their talent with greater freedom. Thus the choral poetry flourished in no part of Greece so much as at Sparta,^a as is proved by the best authorities, viz. Terpander^t and Pindar.^u But besides the foreign, though almost naturalized poets, such as Terpander, Thaletas, Nymphæus of Cydonia,^z and Simonides,^v there were also more native lyric poets at Sparta than in any other place;^z of whom we know by name, Spendon,^a Dionysodotus,^b Xenodamus,^c and Gitiadas, who sung the praises of the same deity to whom he built the brazen house.^d Notwithstanding which, there has not been preserved a single fragment of Spartan lyric poetry, with the exception of Alcman's; because, as

^a See above, ch. 6. § 4. and the τετραγώνοι χοροὶ of the Laconists, Ath. IV. pag. 181 C. from Timæus.

^t Ap. Plutarch. Lycurg. 21.

^u Ib. Fragm. incert. 110. Boeckh; above, p. 94, note ^o.

^z Ælian V. H. XII. 50.

^v Ælian V. H. IX. 41.

^z According to Athenæus XIV. p. 632 F.

^a Plutarch Lycurg. 28.

^b Sosibius ap. Athen. XV. p. 687 B.

^c Above, ch. 6. § 3. I will not add Philoxenus of Cythera in the time of Dionysius to the names in the text.

^d Pausan III. 17. 3. Chilon likewise, according to Diog. Laert. I. 3. 68, wrote ἐλεγεία to the number of about 200 verses. Likewise Areus the Laconian (Anton. Liber. 12.) was a lyric poet, and *different* from the epic poet Ἀρείος in Paus. III. 13. 5. if such a person ever existed. Also the μελοποιὸς Eurytus, who, according to J. Lydus de Ostent. p. 283. Hase, wrote an ode, beginning "Ἀγαλμοειδὲς Ἔρως," and Zarex, according to the conjecture of Paus. I. 38. 4, both Lacedæmonians.

we showed above, there was a certain uniformity and monotony in their productions, such as is perceivable in the early works of art, which prevented any single part from being prominent or distinguished. Something must also be attributed to the effects of a censorship, either of manners or of literary works; as the Spartans are said to have banished Archilochus from their city either on account of his cowardice, or of the licentiousness of his poems;^o while, on the other hand, Tyrtæus was held in the greatest honour, as animating and encouraging their youth.^f The generality of the use of the lyre at Sparta is proved by the fondness of the female sex for it.^g And besides several instances of lyric poetesses at Sparta,^h we know the names of some at Argosⁱ and Phlius.^k At the Isthmus of Corinth women were even allowed to strive in the musical contests.^l Of the number of lyric poets known only to their own age and country, we may form some notion from the circumstance that Pindar, celebrating a native of Ægina, incidentally mentions two minstrels of the same family, Timocritus and Euphanes the Theandridæ.^m Besides those already named, the following Doric poets are known to

^o Valer. Max. V. 3. Archiloch. Fragm. p. 147. Liebel.

^f Plutarch Cleom. 2. de Solert. Anim. I. Apophth. Lac. p. 244.

^g Alcman ap. Apollon. Dys. de Pron. p. 381. Bekker. Fragm. 73. Welcker.

^h Alcman ap. Athen. XIII. p. 600 F. Fragm. 27. Schol. Aristoph. Lys. 1239. Suidas in Κλειταγόρα. Olearus ap. Wolf. Fragm. Mul. 2. p. 62, 145. Fabric. Biblioth. Gr. vol. II.

p. 11, 157. vol. I. p. 883.

ⁱ In denying the truth of the report that Telesilla routed Cleomenes (vol. I. pag. 191, note ⁿ.) I did not mean to disparage the beautiful and genuine Doric character of that poetess and heroine.

^k Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vol. II. p. 135.

^l Plutarch Sympos. V. 2. p. 206.

^m Æginetica, p. 143. cf. Dissen. Expl. p. 381.

us: Lasus of Hermione, a poet and musician, who had improved the dithyramb after Arion, and the Æolian style of music before Pindar; Aripbron of Sicyon, a composer of pæans; Cleobulus of Rhodes, who was both a philosopher and a lyric poet; and the peculiar genius of Timocreon, who tuned the Doric lyre against Simonides and Themistocles, having been roused against the latter by the unjust conduct of Athens towards the islands." Later poets we shall pass over.

11. The above statements merely go to establish the *fact*, that the choral lyric poetry, chiefly and originally belonged to the Dorians. In what manner this fact is to be *accounted for*, what were the *causes* of this phenomenon, can only be explained in a general history of the lyric poetry of the Greeks, a subject at once the most attractive and most difficult which remains for the industry of the present age. In the absence of such an investigation, I may be permitted to offer on that question a few remarks, which the occasion prevents me from supporting with a detailed body of evidence.

In the first place then it will, I believe, be safe to give up the notion that the lyric was regularly and gradually developed from epic poetry. The epic poetry, beginning at a period when the Achæans were yet in possession of Peloponnesus,^o retaining till the latest times a peculiar dialect, and continued under

ⁿ See above, p. 151. note ^k, and Fabricius.

^o The assertion in the text makes it necessary for me to remark, that I do not consider either Homer or his language as originally Ionic; and the

Ionisms of his dialect appear to me to have been introduced by the prevailing schools of rhapsodists. To offer any proofs of these positions would be improper in this place.

its ancient form by Greeks of all races,^p does not show any tendency to produce an offspring so unlike itself; and what could be more different than the recitation of a single bard and the religious songs of a chorus? From the time that there were Greeks and a Greek language there were doubtless songs at processions, both at festivals and to the temples, as well as during the sacrifice; and these varying according to the mode of worship and attributes of the god. And in none were they so early reduced to rule as in the worship of Apollo; to which, as has been already shown,^q the ancient nomes, the pæans, and hyporchemes, and other varieties of lyric poetry, either in part or wholly, owed their origin. Now since this worship was originally Doric, and its chief temples were always in Doric countries, we can see a reason why in the ceremonial, that is the choral, poetry, the Doric dialect should have preponderated. Its form was, on the whole, originally a Doric variety of the epic hexameter; which was the rhythm of the ancient nomes composed by the minstrels Philammon, Olen, and Chrysothemis.^r Their ancient strains, which were sung and danced to, must have been very different from the delivery of the Homeric rhapsodists, a sort of chaunting recitation; for Terpander is said to have first set them, as well as the laws of Lycurgus,^s to a

^p The following epic poets were Dorians: Eumelus of Corinth, Cinæthon of Lacedæmon, Augeas of Trœzen, Pisander of Rhodes, Panyasis of Halicarnassus; and Empedocles of Agrigentum was the author of a philosophical didactic poem.

^q See b. II. ch. 8. §. 13.

^r Ibid.

^s B. I. ch. 7. §. 4. The laws of Lycurgus were doubtless reduced into epic or elegiac verse, possibly by Terpander himself, who was likewise an epic poet, and composed *πρῶσιμα* as introductions to the Homeric poems. He also wrote *scolia*, probably of the Doric kind,

regular tune; whereas these ancient religious hymns had such tunes from the beginning; while the mode to which they were set can hardly have been any other than the Doric. The attempt to vary the rhythm probably began by breaking the dactylic hexameters into shorter portions, in order to produce new combinations of less uniform verses, and thus gave rise to the antistrophic form of metre.[†] A different origin must, however, as is natural, be assigned to the anapaestic military songs; nor can we suppose that pæans and hyporchemes ever followed the laws of hexameters; the pæonian variety must have been earlier than Alcman, who made use of Cretic hexameters. Generally indeed Alcman, however early his age, made use of a great variety of metres; the reason of which probably is, that before his time Terpander had mixed the Greek and Asiatic music; besides which, Alcman had doubtless, from his Lydian origin, an inclination to the eastern style of music; for in this a large portion of his songs, in which the logæedic metre prevailed, were evidently composed:[‡] he was also acquainted with Phrygian melodies.[§] But the diversity of his metres was only to express the variety of his muse, which sometimes adored the gods in

Plutarch. Mus. 8. and spondaics in the Doric measure, as the splendid one in Clemens Alex. VI. p. 658. Ζεῦ πάντων ἀρχᾶ, πάντων ἡγήτορ Ζεῦ, Σοὶ πέμπω ταύτων ὕμνων ἀρχάν. His epic poems too, in part at least, were written in the Doric dialect, in which the earlier Orphic hymns were composed, according to Jamblichus, and many Delphic oracles, concerning which see Appendix VIII. ad fin.

[†] Although several broken dactyls of this kind were named after Alcman, he was doubtless not the first person who introduced them. It is to this that the expression "*numeros minuit in carmine*" (Welcker, p. 11.) refers.

[‡] See the beautiful fragment, No. 10, in Welcker.

[§] Fragm. 63.

solemn choruses (in which, when he danced himself, he implored the sweetly-singing virgins to be the supports of his age[‡]), now wrote bridal-hymns and drinking-songs; a sufficient refutation of the notion that life at Sparta was one unvaried scene of gloominess and melancholy; in which town these songs continued nevertheless to be popular until the time of Epaminondas.[§]

12. If the essence of art consists in investing an idea of the mind with a sensible and bodily form, and this in a corresponding and satisfactory manner, we must certainly ascribe great skill in art to the Dorians, for (as we have before remarked) they delighted more in imitation than in creation or action. This remark applies to the Greeks in general, and particularly to the Dorians, as distinguished from later times; hence the attention of that race to the beauty of form; "Give us what is good and what is beautiful" was the Spartan prayer.[¶] Whoever had enjoyed

[‡] See the beautiful lines of Alcman, fragm. 12.

Οὐ μ' ἔτι, παρθενικαὶ μελιγάρυες ἰερόφωνοι,
γυνῆ φέρειν δύναται. βάλε δὲ, βάλε, κηρύλλος εἴην,
ὅσσ' ἐπὶ πύματος ἄνθος ἄμ' ἀλκυόνισσι
ποτᾶται,
νηδεῖς ἦταρ ἔχων, ἀλιπόρφυρος εἶαρος ὄρνις.

[§] An ancient erotic poet was Ametor of Eleutherna in Crete, Athen. XIV. p. 638 B. from whom a family or clan of Citharistæ was there called Ἀμητορίδαι, Hesych. in v. whence correct Athenæus and Etymol. M. p. 83, 15. The author of the Εἰλωτες laments in Athenæus XIV. p. 638. E. that "it had become oldfashioned to sing "the songs of Stesichorus, Alc-

man, and Simonides: but "every one listened to Gnesippus, who had taught lovers "how to serenade their mistresses with harps and guitars." This fragment, which is written in logæedic metre, has little of the Doric dialect. The Εἰλωτες was a satyric drama, and its complete title was οἱ Εἰλωτες οἱ ἐπὶ Ταϊνάρῳ, Eustath. ad Il. p. 297. ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἡρωδιανοῦ. Perhaps in allusion to the ἄγος Ταϊνάριον. See vol. I. p. 208. note[¶]. Concerning the origin of this singular drama, see some remarks in Niebuhr's Rhein. Museum, vol. III. p. 488.

[¶] B. II. ch. 10. §. 9.

the benefits of the public education, participated in all that was beautiful in the city,^b their whole existence was influenced by a sense of beauty, which was expressed in the most ancient production of the people—in their religion.

We may here be permitted to annex a few remarks on the art of sculpture; and we will curtail them the more, as it does not bear so much upon national manners as music, which formed a part of the education of the people, while the former art was consigned to the care of a few. Although from what we have observed elsewhere, it would be difficult to describe all in the ancient sculpture that was peculiar to the Doric nation, and that originated from them, we may still draw some conclusions from what has been already stated. There was in the Doric character a certain healthy sensibility, and a delight in the unadorned and unveiled forms of nature. That this very much favoured and assisted the progress of the above art is obvious; and that the human form was accurately studied and understood in the Doric schools of art is shown in those specimens of their works which have been preserved. The physical beauty of this race, ennobled and exposed to view by gymnastic^c and warlike exercises, gave a right direction to the study of sculpture; and the prevailing religion, the worship of Apollo, by the energy of the figure and variety of the attributes of that god, shows not only the original talent of this people for sculpture, but it was fitted to lead them by a succession of compositions to the highest excellence. On the other hand, we may infer from some of the

^b Above, p. 308 notes ^h and ⁱ.

^c Above, ch. 4. § 1. ch. 5. § 7.

above remarks, that the Dorians considered the beauty of art to consist more in proportion, harmony, and regularity, than in a superabundance of glitter and ornament; and this is exemplified by the character of Doric architecture. Lastly, hence arises the composure and evenness of mind which so greatly distinguished the Dorians, who anxiously preserved the usages of their fathers as much in the art of sculpture as in music.

Although historical tradition does not extend so far as to prove and verify this view of the subject, still it agrees with all that is characteristic of the Dorians. In the first place then, we know that sculpture was diligently cultivated at an early time in several Doric cities; first perhaps in Crete, the most ancient abode of Doric civilisation;^d then in Ægina,^e Sicyon, Corinth, Argos,^f and Sparta; for that the latter city, particularly at the time of the Persian war, was distinguished by its active pursuit of the arts, has been sufficiently proved in a former part of this work.^g Sicyon produced the Apollo of Canachus, of which we have elsewhere endeavoured to give an idea;^h and about the same time the Æginetan artists appear to have produced those groups of heroes, the fragments of which are the only sure records which we possess of the peculiarities of that school. For the information which we receive from Pausanias and others goes no further than that in Ægina many statues of the most ancient kind were sculptured, and that a certain hardness of style was preserved there longer than in

^d B. II. ch. 8. § 18.

^e Æginetica, p. 96. sq.

^f Thiersch, *Epochen der Kunst*, vol. II. p. 27.

^g B. III. ch. 2. § 3.

^h B. II. ch. 8. § 18.

Attica. The fragments, however, which remain, attest a liveliness of conception, and a truth of imitation, which in many points may be called perfect, and which excite our admiration, and even astonishment. On the other hand, we may remark in the countenances of the heroes, who evidently bear a Greek national physiognomy, though rudely and unpleasingly conceived, that respect for ancient customs which was a fundamental principle of the early times. That this happened at a time when Athens had already cast off every shackle, is a strong characteristic trait of the Dorians. These works, however, possess many other singularities, which cannot be referred to any peculiar disposition of that race.

CHAP. VIII.

§ 1. History and rhetoric little cultivated by the Dorians. § 2. Apophthegmatic style of expression used by the Dorians. § 3. Apophthegms of the Seven Sages. § 4. Giphus invented by the Dorians. § 5. Symbolical language of the Pythagorean philosophy.

1. It has been shown in the preceding chapter that the national and original poetry of the Doric race was not the epic, but the lyric; which is occupied rather in expressing inward feelings, than in describing outward objects. If this predilection may be considered as natural to the whole race, it will enable us to explain why history neither originated among, nor was cultivated by the Dorians. For both its progress and invention we are indebted to the Ionians, who were

also the first to introduce prose-composition in general.^a The Dorians, however, did not always retain this incapacity; for we are told that the Spartans gladly listened to the sophist Hippias of Elis, speaking of the families of heroes and men, the settlements by which the cities had in ancient times been founded, and of ancient events in general.^b This naturally suggests the remark, that the Dorians paid more attention to the events of the past than of the present time; in which they are greatly opposed to the Ionians, who from their governments and geographical position were more thrown into society, and interested themselves more in the passing affairs of the day. Hence some of the early writers on mythical history were Dorians, as Acusilaus for example; but the contemporary historians were almost exclusively Ionians and Athenians;^c for Herodotus, who in his early years

^a It is only by this general proposition that we can explain why the physicians of Cos wrote in the Ionic dialect.

^b Plato Hipp. Maj. p. 285 C. Philostr. Vit. Soph. I. 11. p. 495. Olear. comp. Plutarch Lycurg. 23. So also the Πολιτεία Σπαρτιατῶν of Dicæarchus was annually read in the ephors' office at Sparta (Suidas in Δικαίπαρχος) and in early times Hecatæus of Miletus found there a favourable reception. Plutarch Lac. Apophth. p. 199.

^c This is only true of the more early times; for later we find many historians among the Dorians. Of the Lacedæmonians, Nicocles and Hippasus are mentioned by Athenæus (see Schweighæuser ad Athen. Ind. p. 129.), Aristocrates by Plu-

tarch and others, Pausanias by Suidas, Diophantus by Fulgentius, and Sosibius is frequently quoted. See Heeren de Font. Plutarchi p. 24. and Meursius Miscell. Lacon. IV. 17. Λαοκράτης, ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, in Plutarch de Malign. Herod. 35, is doubtful. I also mention Dercyllus the Argive, because he wrote in the dialect of his native city; see Valckenær ad Adonias. p. 274. et ad Eurip. Phœn. Schol. p. 7. and see Schol. Vrat. Pind. Olymp. VII. 49. This Dercylus or Dercylus is connected in a singular manner with another historian, the very same quotations being sometimes made from both. See Athen. III. p. 86 F. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. p. 39. Sylb. Schol. Vat. in Eurip. Tro. 14.

had lived for some time at Samos, and after his various travels wrote his History at Thurii, can hardly be considered as a genuine Dorian.^d Nor would it be difficult to account for the entire ignorance of the arts of rhetoric and logic in the Doric states (for the schools of rhetoricians and sophists in Sicily are evidently to be traced to the peculiar character of those islanders)^e, or to see why the perfection of these, both in theory and practice, as well as that of the regular drama, was left to the Athenians.

2. But instead of the pointed and logical reasoning, and the fervid declamation of the Athenians, the Doric race had a peculiar manner of expressing itself, viz. by apophthegms, and sententious and concise sayings.

Since in all these passages Agias and Dercylus are connected, we ought, in Schol. Vrat. Pind. Ol. VI. 4 g. p. 167. Boeckh., where the manuscript has *οἱ περὶ ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΥ* (with a mark of abbreviation) *καὶ Δέρκυλον*, to write: *οἱ περὶ Ἀγίαν* (not *Δερκίαν*). Probably a single work had been composed upon Argolic antiquities, with a mixture of various Argolic expressions, by Agias and Dercylus.

^d Unless his religious turn, and a certain infantine simplicity, which seems the more singular, when it is remembered that he wrote nearly at the same time as Thucydides, are considered as traces of a Doric character. He does not however appear to have the idea of government, which belonged to that race.

^e See b. III. ch. 9. § 7. besides which we may mention Gorgias of Leontini, and the great sums gained by Hippias

even in small towns of Sicily, as, e. g., Inycus. — Sparta, on the other hand, together with Argos (b. III. ch. 9. § 1. extr.), and Crete, had no orators (Cicero Brut. 13. Tacitus de Orat. 40.), and rhetoric, as being an art favouring untruth (*τέχνη ἀνεν ἀληθείας*, Plutarch et Apostol. XIII. 72.), was prohibited, Athen. XIII. p. 611 A. Cephisophon the *good speaker* (*ὁ ἀγαθὸς μυθήτας*) was banished (Plutarch Inst. Lac. p. 254. Apostol. XIX. 89.), and the ephors punished any person who introduced a foreign method of speaking; in the same manner as at Crete, those who made speeches of false display were driven from the island (*οἱ ἐν λόγοις ἀλαζονεύοντες*, Sextus Empiricus adv. Mathematic. p. 68 B.). Nor is there any better criticism of sophistical panegyrics, than the Lacedæmonian remark, *τίς αὐτὸν ψέγει*;

The object appears to have been, to convey as much meaning in as few words as possible, and to allude to, rather than express, the thoughts of the speaker. A habit of mind which might fit its possessor for such a mode of speaking, would best be generated by long and unbroken *silence*; which was enjoined to his scholars by Pythagoras, and by Sparta enforced on all youths during their education: 'it being intended that their thoughts should gain force and intensity by compression.^f Hence the great brevity of speech,^h which was the characteristic of all the genuine Dorians, especially of the Spartans,ⁱ Cretans,^k and Argives,^l forming a remarkable contrast with the copious and headlong torrent of eloquence which distinguished the Athenians. The antiquity of this characteristic of the Spartans is proved by the fact of Homer's attributing it to Menelaus,

When Atreus' son harangued the list'ning train,
Just was his sense, and his expression plain,
His words succinct, yet full, without a fault;
He spoke no more than just the thing he ought.^m

In which lines the poet evidently transfers the peculiarity of the Doric Laconians to the earlier inhabitants of that country.ⁿ In adopting this mode of expression,

^f Above, ch. 2. § 5.

^g Plutarch de Garrul. 17.

^h Ἡ βραχυλογία ἐγγὺς τῷ σιγαῖν, a saying of Lycurgus, according to Apostolius IX. 69.

ⁱ See particularly Demetrius de Elocut. VIII. p. 241 sqq.

^k Crete, according to Plat. Leg. I. p. 641. aimed more at *πολύνοια* than *πολυλογία*. Σύντομος ἦν ὁ ξεῖνος is said of a Cretan, Anthol. Palat. VII. 447.

^l Æsch. Suppl. 198. 270.

Pindar Isthm. V. 55. Sophocl. ap. Schol. Isthm. VI. 87. See also Sophocles in Stobæus Florileg. 74. p. 325.

^m Pope's translation of Iliad III. 213. This passage is referred by the Venetian Scholiast, Eustathius p. 406. ed. Rom. and Tzetzes Chil. V. 317. to the *βραχυλογία* of the Lacedæmonians.

ⁿ Above, p. 298 note p.

the Dorians may be conceived, in the first place, to have wished to avoid all ornament of speech, and to have contented themselves with the simplest manner of conveying their thoughts; as Stesimbrotus the Thasian opposes to the adroit and eloquent Athenian the openness and simplicity of the Peloponnesian, who was plain and unadorned, but of an honest and guileless disposition.^o Or, secondly, it was intended to have double force by the contrast of the richness of the thought, with the slight expense of words. Probably, however, both these motives had their weight; though the latter perhaps predominated. In a dialogue of Plato,^p Socrates says, half in joke and half in earnest, that "*of all the philosophical systems in Greece, that established in Crete and Lacedæmon was the most ancient and copious, and there the sophists were most numerous; but they concealed their skill, and pretended to be ignorant. And hence, on conversing with the meanest Lacedæmonian, at first indeed he would appear awkward in his language, but when he perceived the drift of the conversation, he would throw in, like a dexterous lancer, some short and nervous remark, so as to make the other look no better than a child. Nor in these cities is such a manner of speaking confined to the men, but it extends also to women.*"

That in this concise manner of speaking there was a kind of wit and epigrammatic point, may be easily seen from various examples; but it cannot be traced

^o Ap. Plutarch. Cimon. 4.

^p Protag. p. 342. Plutarch Lycurg. 20 extr. refers to this passage. When Thucydides IV. 84. says of Brasidas, that he was not, for a Lacedæmo-

nian, *unable to speak* (ἀδύνατος λέγειν), he probably does not mean literally that the Lacedæmonians were unable to speak, but only points to their peculiar mode of speaking.

to the principles which we have just laid down. Sometimes it arises from the simplicity of the Doric manners, as contrasted with the more polished customs of other nations; of which kind is the answer of the Spartan, who, taking a fish to be cooked, and being asked where the cheese, oil, and vinegar were, replied, "If I had all these things, I should not have bought a fish."^q Or it is a moral elevation, viewed from which, things appear in a different light; thus the saying of Dieneces, that "if the Persians darkened the air with their arrows, they should fight in the shade." Sometimes it is an ironical expression of bitterness and censure, which gains force by being concealed under a semblance of praise; as in the judgment of the Laconian on Athens, where every kind of trade and industry was tolerated, "Everything is beautiful there."^r Or it is the combination of various ridiculous ideas into one expression, as in the witty saying of a husband who found his wife, whom he detested, in the arms of an adulterer; "Unhappy man, who forced you to do this?"^s

At Sparta, however, an energetic, striking, and figurative mode of speaking must have been generally in use; which may be perceived in the style of all the Spartans who are mentioned by Herodotus.^t And

^q Plutarch Lac. Apophth. p. 242. Similarly the saying ἀντὶ τῆς ἄκουσα τήνας in Plutarch Lycurg. 20. cf. Reg. Apophth. p. 129.

^r Herod. VII. 226. Lac. Apophth. p. 245.

^s P. 244. Compare the apophthegm in Plutarch de Frat. Amor. 8. p. 44.

^t This figurative turn may be

particularly remarked in Cleomenes' address to Carius, in the speech of Bulis and Sperthis to Hydarnes, in which they say, "Would you then advise us to fight for freedom, not with lances, but with axes?" and the action of Amompharetus, who laid a block of stone at the feet of Pausanias, as if it were a pebble for voting.

this, I have no doubt, was one of the most ancient customs of the Doric race. In Crete it had been retained, according to the testimony of Sosicrates, a Cretan author, in the town of Phæstus, in which place the boys were early practised in joking; and the apophthegms of Phæstus were celebrated over the whole island.^u In Sparta too this peculiar mode of expression was implanted in boys; the youths (ἔφηβοι) proposing them questions, to which they were to give ready and pointed answers;^x and they were taught to impart a peculiar sharpness and also brilliancy to their sayings.^y Later in life this tendency was fostered and confirmed by the many occasions on which the public manners prescribed ridicule as a means of improvement:^z at the festival of the Gymnopædia in particular, full vent seems to have been allowed to wit and merriment.^a In common life, laughter and ridicule were not unfrequent at the public tables;^b to be able to endure ridicule was considered the mark of a Lacedæmonian spirit; yet any person who took it ill might ask his antagonist to desist, who was then forced to comply.^c In early times, similar customs existed in other places besides Sparta; thus the suitors of Agarriste, in the house of Cleisthenes the tyrant of Sicyon, contended after the meal in musical skill and conversation,^d with which we might perhaps compare the passage in the Hymn to Mercury, where it is said that

^u Athen. VI. p. 261 C.
^x Plutarch et Heracl. Pont. 2.
^y Plutarch Lycurg. 17. 19.
^z B. III. ch. 11. § 3.
^a This I infer from the passage of Pollux quoted above, p. 347. note ^b, compared with the joke (χλεύασμα) of Leoty-

chides at the gymnopædia in Herod. VI. 67.
^b Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 3. 5. and above, p. 288. note ^f.
^c Plutarch Lycurg. 12. comp. Macrobian Sat. VII. 3.
^d Τῶ λεγομένῳ εἰς τὸ μέσον, Herod. VI. 129.

youths at table attack one another in mutual jests,^e and the practice among the ancient Germans, of jesting with freedom at table, alluded to in a verse of the Niebelungen Lied.^f But this primitive custom having been retained longer in Sparta than elsewhere, it struck all foreigners as a peculiarity, of which the antique polish was sometimes rather offensive. Still, if we justly estimate the manners of that city, they do not deserve the name of needless austerity and strictness; it was the only Greek state in which a statue was erected to Laughter:^g in late times even Agesilaus^h and Cleomenes III.ⁱ amidst all the changes of their life, cheered their companions with wit and playfulness.

3. This national mode of expression had likewise a considerable effect on the progress of literature in Greece. Plato properly calls the Seven Sages, imitators and scholars of the Lacedæmonian system, and points out the resemblance between their sayings and the Laconian method of expression.^k Of these, three, or, if we reckon both Myson and Periander, four, were of Doric descent, and Cheilon was a Spartan;^l there were also perhaps at the same time others of the same character, as Aristodemus the Argive.^m The sayings at-

^e Θεὸς δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ᾄδειν
 Ἐξ αὐτοσχέδιος πειρώμενος, ἥντε
 κοῦροι Ἡβηταὶ θαλίῃσι παραι-
 βόλα κερτομέουσιν, v. 54.

^f Gämlicher Sprüche wart
 do niht verdeit, i. e. non absti-
 nebatur a sermonibus ludicris.
 Niebelungen Lied. v. 6707. p.
 345. ed. 1820.

^g Sosibius ap. Plutarch. Ly-
 curg. 25. It is worthy of re-
 mark, that the worship of ab-
 stract ideas, as of Death, of Fear

(b. III. ch. 7. § 7.), of Fortune
 (Plutarch Inst. Lac. p. 253.),
 existed among the Spartans, as
 among the Romans; see Plu-
 tarch Cleom. 9.

^h Plutarch Ages. 2.

ⁱ Plutarch Cleom. 13.

^k Protag. p. 342. see also
 Plutarch de Garrul. 17.

^l Hence this mode of expres-
 sion was called the Chilonian,
 Diog. Laert. I. 72.

^m Or Spartan, see the pas-

tributed to these sages were not so much the discoveries of particular individuals, as the indications of the general opinion of their contemporaries. And hence the Pythian Apollo, directed by the national ideas of the Dorians, particularly countenanced their philosophers, to whose sententious mode of expression his own oracles bore a certain resemblance.ⁿ It appears also that the Amphictyons caused some of their apophthegms to be inscribed on the temple of Delphi;^o and the story of the enumeration of the Seven Sages by the oracle, although fabulously embellished, is founded on a real fact.^p

4. Since in this apophthegmatic and concise style of speaking the object was not to express the meaning in a clear and intelligible manner, it was only one step further altogether to conceal it. Hence the *griphus* or riddle was invented by the Dorians, and, as well as the epigram, was much improved by Cleobulus the Rhodian,^q and his daughter Cleobulina.^r It was also a favourite amusement with the Spartans,^s and

sages quoted above, p. 8. note ^p. comp. Diog. Laert. I. 41. Others are mentioned by Hermippus, *ibid.* 42.

ⁿ Thus, for example, Apollo is said to have given the same answer to Gyges, as Solon to Cræsus, Valer. Maxim. VII. 1, 2.

^o Plutarch *ubi sup.*

^p The chief passage on this point is Demetr. Phaler. ap. Diog. Laert. I. 22. who places the event in the archonship of Damasias (Olymp. 49. 3.), the same year in which, according to the Parian Marble, which probably follows the same au-

thority, the second Pythian ἀγών γυμνικός, the first ἀγών στεφανίτης, fell. Also Branchus, the ancient prophet of Miletus, is mentioned as βραχυλόγος, Diog. Laert. I. 72.

^q Diog. Laert. I. 89. comp. Jacobs Comment. Anthol. tom. I. p. 194.

^r Athen. X. p. 448 B. Aristot. Rhet. III. 2. Plutarch Sept. Sap. Conviv. III. 10. Menage Hist. Mulier. Philos. 4. Hence the Κλεοβουλῖναι of Cratinus, concerning which see Schweighæuser ad Ind. Ath. p. 82.

^s Athen. X. p. 452 A.

in the ancient times of Greece was generally a common pastime.^t

5. This leads us to speak of the symbolical maxims of the Pythagoreans, which might be called riddles, if they had been proposed as such, and not put in that form merely to make them more striking and impressive. So attached indeed do these philosophers appear to have been to the symbolical method of expression, that not only their language, but even their actions acquired a symbolical character.^u The system of Pythagoras has by modern writers been correctly considered as the Doric philosophy: yet it is singular that it should have originated with a native of the Ionic Samos. It should, however, be remembered, that the family of Pythagoras, which seems to have lived with other Samians in the island of Samothrace, among the Tyrrhenians,^v originally came from Phlius in Peloponnesus,^w and always kept up a certain degree of communication with that city;^x and again, that although Pythagoras doubtless brought with him to Croton the form of his philosophy, its subsequent expansion and growth were in great part owing to the

^t Epicharmus called it λόγον ἐν λόγῳ, Eustathius ad Od. IX. p. 1634. 15. ed. Rom. Many ancient *griphi* are in the Doric dialect; though this is not always the case.

^u Thus for example, if they said, "Admit no swallows into your house," they not only avoided the company of talkative persons (Porphyrius, Vit. Pythag. 42.), but actually prevented swallows from building under their roofs. On this subject see the ancient writers

quoted by Fabricius Bibl. Græc. vol. I. p. 788 sq. comp. Creuzer's Symbolik, vol. I. p. 104.

^v Orchomenos, p. 438. note 2.

^w B. I. ch. 5. § 3.

^x There is an account of a dialogue between Pythagoras and Leon the tyrant of Phlius, Cicero Tusc. Quæst. V. 3. Diog. Laert. VIII. 8. According to Diogenes Laert. VII. 1. Pythagoras was the fourth from Cleonymus, who had fled from Phlius; and therefore he would be a Dorian.

character of the Dorians and Doric Achæans, among whom he lived. Its connexion with the chief branch of the Doric religion, the worship of Apollo,^a and his temple at Delphi,^b has been already pointed out; and it has been shown that the political institution of his league was founded on Doric principles.^c Other points of resemblance are the universal education of the female followers of Pythagoras, such as Theano, Phintys, and Arignote,^d the employment of music to appease passion, the public tables, the use of silence as a means of education, &c. It appears also, that the philosophers of this school always found a welcome reception at Sparta, as well as those whose character was somewhat similar, as the enthusiastic and religious sages, Abaris,^e Epimenides,^f and Pherecydes;^g Anaximander^h likewise and Anaximenesⁱ lived for some time in that city, and lastly, in the lists of the Pythagorean philosophers (which are not *entirely* devoid of credit), there are, besides Italian Greeks, generally Lacedæmonians, Argives, Sicyonians, Phliasians, and sometimes women of Sparta, Argos, and Phlius.^k

^a B. II. ch. 8. § 20.

^b See vol. I. p. 370. note ^m.

^c B. III. ch. 9. § 16.

^d Their silence is also worthy of remark, Timæus ap. Diog. Laert. VIII. 17. Gale Opusc. Mythol. vol. I. p. 739. On the use of music see b. II. ch. 8. § 20. A work of Philochorus is cited: *περὶ ἡρωϊδῶν ἦτοι Πυθαγορείων γυναικῶν*. See Siebel. Fragm. p. 9.

^e Pausan. III. 13. 2. See vol. I. p. 76. note ^l.

^f Sosibius ap. Diog. Laert. I. 10, 12. Pausan. II. 21. 4. III. 11. 8. III. 12. 9. Clem. Alex.

Strom. I. p. 399. ed. Potter. Heinrich's Epimenides, p. 128. Epimenides is said to have informed the Spartans of a defeat at Orchomenos, Diog. Laert. I. 117., of which nothing else is known.

^g Plutarch Agid. 10. Diog. Laert. I. 117. from Theopompus, Creuzer Init. Philos. Platon. vol. II. p. 164.

^h Vol. I. p. 208. note ^p.

ⁱ He erected the first sun-dial at Sparta, Plin. H. N. II. 66.

^k See, e. g., Jamblich. Vit. Pythag. 36.

And this is a fresh confirmation of the position, which we have frequently maintained, that up to the time of the Persian war all mental excellence, so far from being banished from Sparta, flourished there in the utmost perfection.

CHAP. IX.

§ 1. Difference between the life of the Dorians and Ionians. Domestic habits of the Spartans. § 2. Opinions of the Dorians respecting a future life. § 3. General character of the Dorians. § 4. Its varieties. § 5. Character of the Spartans. § 6. Character of the Cretans, Argives, Rhodians, Corinthians, Corcyraeans, Syracusans, Sicyonians, Phliasians, Megarians, Byzantians, Aeginetans, Cyrenæans, Crotoniats, Tarentines, Messenians, and Delphians.

1. After Anacharsis the Scythian had visited the different states of Greece, and lived among them all, he is reported to have said, that "all wanted leisure and tranquillity for wisdom, except the Lacedæmonians, for that these were the only persons with whom it was possible to hold a rational conversation."^a The life of all the other Greeks had doubtless appeared to him as a restless and unquiet existence, as a constant struggle and effort without any object. In addition to the love of ease, which belonged to the original constitution of the Dorians, there was a further cause for this mode of life, viz. the entire exemption from necessary labour which the Spartans enjoyed, their wants being supplied by the dependent and in-

^a Herod. IV. 77.

dustrious classes.^b Several writers have dwelt on the tedium and listlessness of such an existence; but the Spartans considered an immunity from labour an immunity from pain, and as constituting entire liberty.^c But, it may be asked, what was there to occupy the Spartan men from morning to night?^d In the first place, the gymnastic, military, and musical exercises; then the chase, which with men advanced in life was a substitute for other exercises;^e besides which, there was the management of public affairs, in which they might take an active part, together with the religious ceremonies, sacrifices, and choruses; and much time was also consumed in the places of public resort, or *λέσχαι*. Every small community had its *lesche*;^f and here the old men sat together in winter round the blazing fire, while the respect for old age gave an agreeable turn to the conversation. At Athens, too, these small societies or clubs were once in great vogue; but a democracy likes a large mass, and hates all divisions; and accordingly in later times the public porticoes and open market were generally attended, where every Athenian appeared once in the day. At Sparta, the youths were forbidden to enter the market-place;^g as well as the pylæa,^h which was in other

^b Ἀφθονία σχολῆς, Plutarch Lycurg. 24. Inst. Lac. p. 255.

^c Id. Lycurg. 24. Lac. Apophth. p. 207.

^d Manso, vol. I. 2, p. 201.

^e Xen. Rep. Lac. 4. 7. Hence the excellence of the Lacedæmonian hounds, Pind. Hyporch. fragm. 3. p. 599. Boeckh. Simonides ap. Plutarch Symp. IX. 15. 2. Meursius Misc. Lac. III. 1. The love of the Cretans

for the chase is well known, see above, ch. 4. § 7.

^f B. III. ch. 10. § 2. cf. Plutarch Lycurg. 25. Also in Cleomen. 30. I prefer ταῖς λέσχαῖς to the other reading, ταῖς σχολαῖς.

^g Plutarch Lycurg. 25.

^h Id. Inst. Lacon. p. 254. τὸν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου νεανίσκον ἐπερίμων ὅτι τὴν εἰς πυλαίαν ὁδὸν ἤπιστατο.

Doric towns besides Delphiⁱ a place for buying and selling.^k

2. Having now so fully investigated the manners and daily occupations of the Dorians, it would be interesting to know what were their opinions on death, or on the existence of a future state; but on these points there is no information to be gleaned from ancient writers. Nor can much more be said on their funeral ceremonies, if indeed they had any rites peculiar and universally belonging to the whole race. At Tarentum, the dead were, according to an ancient oracle, called the *majority* (οἱ πλείονες):^l they were buried within the walls, each family having in their house tombstones, with the names of the deceased, where funeral sacrifices were performed;^m at Sparta, it was doubtless the ancient custom to bury the dead in the city, and in the neighbourhood of the temples.ⁿ Monuments, with the names of the dead, were only erected to those who had fallen in battle,^o and many

ⁱ At Delphi it was a regular fair (Dio Chrys. Orat. 77. p. 414. Reisk.), and also a slave-market, as I infer from Plutarch Prov. Alex. p. 105. By means of it a considerable suburb, or new-town, called Pylæa, was formed at Delphi, Plutarch de Pyth. Orac. 29. p. 296. Perhaps this was the locality of the Πυλαία of Cratinus.

^k At Rhodes liars were called *πυλαιασταί*, Hesychius and Schol. ad Plutarch. Artaxerx. I. p. 387. ed. Hutten. compare Suidas in v. In Plutarch de Fac. Lunæ 8. jugglers of the Pylæa, in the Life of Pyrrhus, 29. *πυλαϊκή ὁχλαγωγία*, are

mentioned. But these expressions do not refer to the Pylæa of Delphi.

^l Polyb. VIII. 30.

^m See Athen. XII. p. 522 F.

ⁿ Plutarch Lycurg. 27. Inst. Lac. p. 251. The Laconian word for "to bury" was *τιθήμεναι*, Schol. Cantabr. II. ψ. 83. On the burial of the king, see b. III. ch. 6. § 6.

^o Plutarch Lycurg. 27. Thus Pausanias III. 14, 1. saw at Sparta the names of the 300 who died at Thermopylæ, and the same monument is, as it appears, referred to by Herodotus VII. 224.

other honours were also paid them.^p The sacrifice to Demeter, on the twelfth day after death, evidently denotes the reception of the soul in the infernal regions; the Argives likewise sacrificed on the 30th day to Hermes, as conductor of the souls of the dead;^q in the same manner that the Athenians called the dead *Δημητριάκοι*, i. e. returned to their mother earth. There was however a considerable difference between the Athenian and Doric modes of burying; for the former laid the body with the head to the west, the latter, at least the Megarians, to the east.^r

3. It now remains for us to collect into one point of view all that has been said in different parts of this work on the character of the Doric race, so as to furnish a complete and accurate idea of their nature and peculiarities. That this cannot be done in a few words is evident; but that it can be done *at all*, I consider equally clear; and by no means agree with those who deny that a whole nation, like an individual, can have one character; an error which is perhaps best refuted by consideration of the different tribes of Greece. And thus the word *Dorian* conveyed to the ancient Greeks a clear and definite, though indeed a complex idea.^s

^p What Ælian. V. H. VI. 6. says only of persons who had fallen in battle, Plutarch states of *all* who died.

^q B. II. ch. 6. § 2. At Argos the mourning was white, Plut. Quæst. Rom. 26.

^r Plutarch Solon. 9, 10. comp. Ælian. V. H. V. 14. and Minervæ Poliadis Sacra, p. 27.

^s It is remarkable, that among all the names for the races of the Greek nation, *Δωριεὺς* alone

is by itself a laudatory term (as in several passages of Pindar, Boeckh ad Pyth. VIII. 21. Dissen ad Nem. III. 3. and frequently in Plutarch. See likewise the epigram in Athen. V. p. 209 E. and Damagetus in the Palatine Anthology, VII. 231.), and expresses a national pride respected by the other Greeks, Thuc. VI. 77. Valckenær ad Adonias. p. 385 C.

The first feature in the character of the Dorians which we shall notice is one that has been pointed out in several places,^t viz. their endeavour to produce uniformity and unity in a numerous body. Every individual was to remain within those limits which were prescribed by the regulation of the whole body.^u Thus in the Doric form of government no individual was allowed to strive after personal independence, nor any class or order to move from its appointed place. The privileges of the aristocracy, and the subjection of the inferior orders, were maintained with greater strictness than in other tribes,^x and greater importance was attached to obedience, in whatever form, than to the assertion of individual freedom. The government, the army, and the public education, were managed on a most complicated, but most regular succession and alternation of commanding and obeying.^y Every one was to obey in his own place. All the smaller associations were also regulated on the same principle: always we find gradation of power, and never independent equality.^z But it was not sufficient that this system should be complete and perfect within; it was to be fortified without. The Dorians had little inclination to admit the customs of others, and a strong desire to disconnect themselves with foreigners.^a Hence in later times the blunt and harsh deportment of those Dorians who most scrupulously adhered to their national habits.^b This independence and seclusion would however sometimes be turned into hostility;

^t B. II. ch. 8. § 20. B. III. ch. 1. § 1. 10.

^u B. III. ch. 9. § 18.

^x Ib. ch. 4. § 6.

^y Ib. ch. 9. § 18. ch. 12. § 5. Above, ch. 5. § 2.

^z See, e. g., above, ch. 3. § 3.

^a See above, p. 4. note ^z.

^b B. III. ch. 9. ad fin.

and hence the *military* turn of the Dorians, which may also be traced in the development of the worship of Apollo.^c A calm and steady courage was the natural quality of the Dorian.^d As they were not ready to receive, neither were they to communicate outward impressions; and this, neither as individuals, nor as a body. Hence both in their poetry and prose, the narrative is often concealed by expressions of the feeling, and tinged with the colour of the mind.^e They endeavoured always to condense and concentrate their thoughts, which was the cause of the great brevity and obscurity of their language.^f Their desire of disconnecting themselves with the things and persons around them, naturally produced a love for past times; and hence their great attachment to the usages and manners of their ancestors, and to ancient institutions.^g The attention of the Doric race was turned to the past rather than to the future.^h And thus it came to pass that the Dorians preserved most rigidly, and represented most truly, the customs of the ancient Greeks.ⁱ Their advances were constant, not sudden; and all their changes imperceptible. With the desire to attain uniformity, their love for *measure* and *proportion* was also combined. Their works of art are distinguished by this attention to singleness of effect, and everything discordant or useless was pruned off with an unsparing hand.^k Their moral system also prescribed the observance of the proper mean; and it was in this that the temperance (*σωφροσύνη*)

^c B. II. ch. 6. § 2.^d B. III. ch. 12. § 9.^e Above, ch. 8. § 1.^f Ib. § 2.^g With which the *ἀτολμον* of

the Spartans was connected.

^h B. III. ch. 1. § 1.ⁱ Above, ch. 2. § 1. ch. 3.

§ 1. ch. 6. § 1.

^k Above, ch. 7. § 12.

which so distinguished them consisted.¹ One great object of the worship of Apollo was to maintain the even balance of the mind, and to remove everything that might disquiet the thoughts, rouse the mind to passion, or dim its purity and brightness.^m The Doric nature required an equal and regular harmony, and preserving that character in all its parts.ⁿ Dissonances, even if they combined into harmony, were not suited to the taste of that nation. The national tunes were doubtless not of a soft or pleasing melody; the general accent of the language had the character of command or dictation, not of question or entreaty. The Dorians were contented with themselves, with the powers to whom they owed their existence and happiness; and therefore they never complained. They looked not to future, but to present existence. To preserve this, and to preserve it in enjoyment, was their highest object. Everything beyond this boundary was mist and darkness, and everything dark they supposed the Deity to hate.^o They lived in themselves, and for themselves.^p Hence man was the chief and almost only object which attracted their attention. The same feelings may also be perceived in their religion, which was always unconnected with the worship of any natural object, and originated from their own reflection and conceptions.^q And to the same source may perhaps be traced their aversion to mechanical and agricultural labour.^r In short, the whole race bears generally the stamp and character of the *male sex*; the desire of assistance and connexion,

¹ B. III. ch. 1. § 10.^m B. II. ch. 8. § 2. 11. 20.ⁿ Ib. § 10. Above, ch. 6. § 2.^o B. II. ch. 6. § 7. ch. 8. § 7.^p Above, ch. 8. § 17.^q B. II. ch. 5. § 7. ch. 8.

§ 12. ch. 10. § 9.

^r B. III. ch. 4. § 1.

of novelty and of curiosity, the characteristics of the female sex, being directly opposed to the nature of the Dorians, which bears the mark of independence and subdued strength.

4. This description of the Doric character, to which many other features might be added, is sufficient for our present purpose; and will serve to prove that the worship of Apollo, the ancient constitution of Crete and that of Lycurgus, the manners, arts, and literature of the Dorians, were the productions of one and the same national individual. To what extent this character was influenced by external circumstances cannot be ascertained; but though its features were impressed by nature, they might not in all places have been developed, and would have been lost without the fostering assistance of an inland and mountainous region. The country is to a nation what the body is to the soul: it may influence it partially, and assist its growth and increase; but it cannot give strength and impulse, or imprint that original mark of the Deity which is set upon our minds.

But outward circumstances, such as locality, form of government, geographical position, and foreign intercourse, had in the several states a different effect on the Doric character, unequally developing its various features, by confirming some, repressing others, and some wholly obliterating. We shall thus be enabled to separate the particular character of each state from the ideal character of the whole race, and also to explain their deviations, particularly in a political and practical point of view.

5. The Dorians of SPARTA were influenced by their geographical position, which, with the exception of that of the Arcadians, was more inland than that of

any people in Peloponnesus; as well as by their supremacy, which they at first asserted with ease and dignity, and afterwards maintained by the devotion of all their forces to that one object. The independence and seclusion so desired by the Dorians were at Sparta most conspicuous, and thus the original spirit of the Doric race, and its ancient customs, were most rigidly, and sometimes even in trifles,* there preserved; though it was the mummy rather than the living body of the ancient institutions. This deterioration, however, did not manifest itself till later times; for (as we have more than once remarked) at an early period the mode of life at Sparta was diversified, cheerful, and by no means unattractive. At that time Sparta was the centre and metropolis of Greece. This love of seclusion took a singular turn in the reserve, and in the short and sententious mode of expression, practised by the Laconians. Indeed their silence was carried to a pitch which exceeded the bounds of intentional concealment. Even the artfulness of the Spartans is after the Persian war often mentioned with blame; and it is said to have been impossible to guess their intention.[†] Sometimes indeed the deception was

* According to Demetrius de Elocut. § 122. the ephors caused a person to be scourged who had made some innovation in the game of ball; a subject on which Timocrates, a Spartan, had written a treatise.

† Herod. IX. 54. Λακεδαιμόνιων ἄλλα φρονέοντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων. So also Eurip. Androm. 452. In this poet's attacks upon Sparta the date should always be attended to

(Markland ad Suppl. 187. Wüstemann Præf. ad Alcest. p. xv.) He calls the Spartans δόλια βουλευτήρια, ψευδῶν ἀνακτας in the Andromache, when the Athenians accused them of a breach of treaty, Olymp. 90. 2, according to Petit and Boeckh Trag. Princip. p. 190. In the Orestes (Olymp. 92. 4.) in reference to the proposals of the Spartans for peace after the disasters of Mindarus, which the Athenians had declined,

founded on patriotic principles, as in the answer of the ambassador, who being asked in whose name he came, replied, "In the name of the state, if we succeed; if we fail, in our own." Demostratus the son of Phæax said with great truth that the Spartans were better as members of a state, the Athenians as members of private society;" the latter indeed were more left to their individual care and exertions, whilst the former were guided by national custom. Hence when they once deserted this guide, they deviated not partially, but wholly and widely from the right path.

Yet the history of the Peloponnesian war and of the period immediately following, being that part of the history of Greece which is clearest to our view, presents several distinguished and genuine Lacedæmonians, who may be divided into two distinct classes. Of these the first is marked by a cunning and artful disposition, combined with great vigour of mind, and a patriotism sometimes attended with contempt of other Greeks. Such was Lysander,^x a powerful revolutionist; who, concentrating in his own person the

Philochorus ap. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 371. (cf. ad 772, 903), who states that these were made in Olymp. 92, 2. Diodorus XIII. 52, however, in Olymp. 92. 3. Aristophanes Lys. 1269. calls them αἰμύλας ἀλώπεκας (comp. the false Bacis Pac. 1068. Lycophr. 1124), in Olymp. 92. 1. at the time when the proverb arose, οἱκοὶ λέοντες, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δ' ἀλώπεκες, Meursius Misc. Lac. III. 2. However, similar charges of perfidy and treachery are made against them in the Acharneans v. 308, οἷσιν οὔτε βωμὸς

οὔτε πίστες οὔθ' ὄρκος μένει, in Olymp. 88. 3.

^u In Plutarch. Ages. 15, 37. it is said that the benefit of his country was the aim of a Spartan's actions. The Athenians say in Thuc. V. 105, that the Lacedæmonians, as far as respects themselves and their native institutions, are virtuous and well-principled; but that in their dealings with foreign states their own interest was their only standard.

^x B. III. ch. 11. § 11.

efforts of numerous oligarchical clubs and factions, by the strict consistency of his principles, and by his art in carrying them into effect, for some time swayed the destinies of Greece; until Agesilaus, whom he had himself improvidently raised to the throne, restored in place of his usurped power the legitimate authority of the Heraclide dynasty; this doubtless suggested to Lysander the idea of overthrowing the royal authority, and helped to bring on that deep melancholy which preyed upon his strong mind during his latter years.^y Similar in character to Lysander was Dercylidas, a man of extraordinary practical talent; who by his artfulness (which, however, was accompanied by uprightness of mind) obtained the nickname of Sisyphus.^z But Sparta had at the same time men of a contrary disposition, in whom, as Plutarch says of Callicratidas, the simple and genuine Doric manners of ancient times were alive and in vigour.^a This Callicratidas had at the very beginning of his career to contend with his partisans of Lysander, and resolutely resisted his club or association,^b being also directly opposed to them in disposition. He deplored the necessity which compelled him to beg for subsidies from the Persians; dealt uprightly and honestly with the allies; disdained all power and authority which did not emanate from the state; refused to do anything by private connexions or influence, and showed himself everywhere humane, magnanimous, and heroic; in short, he was a faultless hero, unless perhaps we

^y Plutarch. Lysand. 1.

^z Xen. Hell. III. 1. 8. Ephorus ap. Athen. XI. p. 500 C. says of Dercylidas, ἦν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ Λακωνικὸν οὐδ' ἀπλοῦ νέχων.

^a Lysand. 5.

^b Besides Xenophon, see Plutarch Lac. Apophth. p. 210. Diod. XIII. 76, 97. and Manso, vol. II. 327. sqq.

should blame him for his too hasty self-immolation at the battle of Arginusæ.^c We can easily understand how the Greeks of Asia should have admired the virtues and greatness of the youthful hero, like the beauty of an heroic statue,^d but were at the same time more pleased with the proceedings of Lysander, as being better suited to the times. In Brasidas we admire chiefly the manner in which the same elevation of mind was combined with a particular skill in controlling and availing itself of the circumstances of the times; but we must hurry on to Pedaritus the son of Teleutia, who is an instance that all the harmosts of Sparta did not yield to the many temptations of their situation.^e But a more singular character was Lichas, the son of Arcesilaus, of whom we will give a slight sketch. He was chiefly distinguished by his liberality: whence by means of great banquets at the Gymnopædia,^f and by his victories in the chariot race at Olympia,^g he increased the fame of his city; by his boldness, which was even shown in his conduct at Olympia, at a time when the Spartans were excluded from the contests;^h but which was still more conspicuous in his truly Spartan declaration to the satrap Tissaphernes;ⁱ and, lastly, by his policy in endeavouring to prevent the premature aggression of the Ionians against the Persians.^k

6. The flourishing age of CRETE, in manners as well as in power, is anterior to the historical period;

^c Plutarch Pelopid. 2.

^d Plutarch Lysand. 5.

^e Pedaritus has been sufficiently defended by Valckenær ad Adonias, pag. 261. against the charge of the exiles at Chios.

^f See Xenophon cited above, p. 4. note ^g.

^g Above, p. 218, note ^a.

^h Thuc. V. 50. Paus. VI. 2. 1.

ⁱ Thuc. VIII. 43.

^k Thuc. VIII. 84.

and the early corruption of her ancient institutions was accompanied with universal barbarism and degeneracy. Of her maritime sovereignty of the mythical age nothing but piracy remained; the different states were not combined under the supremacy of a single city; and, even in the reign of Alcamenes, Sparta attempted to settle the mutual dissensions of those very cities¹ which it had a century before taken for the models of its own constitution. The Cretans did not, however, confine their quarrelsome disposition to domestic feuds; but they began in early times to hire themselves as mercenaries to foreign states, which was certainly one cause of the internal corruption that made this once illustrious island act so ignoble a part in the history of Greece. If the verse of Epimenides (cited by St. Paul^m) is genuine, that prophet so early as about 600 B. C. accused his countrymen of being habitual liars, evil beasts, and indolent gluttons. Yet some particular cities (among which we may especially mention the Spartan town of Lyctus) retained with their ancient institutions the noble and pure customs of better times.ⁿ

We have already more than once had occasion to explain how about the time of the Persian war ARGOS, by the changes in its constitution, and the direction of its policy, succeeded in obliterating almost every trace of the Doric character:^o but one revolution only led to another, and none produced a stable and healthy

¹ Paus. III. 2. 8.

^m Tit. I. 12.

ⁿ B. III. ch. 8. § 2. Hence Polybius IV. 54. 6. calls the Lyctians the best men in Crete. They are also said to have driven the Epicureans from their

city, Suidas, vol. I. p. 815. who mentions a νόμος τῇ ἐπιχωρίᾳ φωνῇ, probably a forgery, like the decree against Timotheus, above, ch. 6. § 3.

^o B. I. ch. 8. § 7. b. III. ch. 9. § 1.

state of affairs. Argos indeed only adopted the worst part of the republican institutions of Athens; for their better parts could not be naturalized in a people of a race and nature totally different.^p

But that RHODES preserved to the latest period of Grecian independence many features of the Doric character we have already remarked.^q Still this island had, particularly in the time of Artemisia the Second, adopted many Asiatic customs; which, when mixed with those of a Greek origin, formed a peculiar compound; of which the Rhodian oratory, painting,^r and sculpture, should be considered as the products. The latter art had flourished there from ancient times; but later it took a particular turn towards the colossal, the imposing, and the grand style. The Laocoon and the Toro Farnese are in the number of its finest productions.^s Its manners are described by the saying that Rhodes was the *town of wooers*. There was also another proverb, that the Rhodians were "white Cyrenæans;" their luxury forming the point of resemblance, and their colour the difference.^t

The character of CORINTH likewise, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, was made up of rather discordant elements; for while there were still considerable remains of the Doric disposition, and its political conduct was some time guided by the principles of that race, there was also, the consequence of its situation and trade,^u a great bias to splendour and magnificence,

^p See also on the Ἀργεῖοι φῶρες Suidas in v. Prov. Vat. II. 49.

^q B. III. ch. 9. § 3.

^r The school of the ancient Coreggio, Protogenes. See also the Anacreontic Ode XXVIII.

3. of the Alexandrine or Roman age.

^s Meyer's Geschichte der Kunst, vol. I. p. 208, 218.

^t Meurs. Rhod. I. 20. cf. Anacreont. Od. XXXII. 16.

^u The hospitality of Corinth

which showed itself in the Corinthian order; but which, when abandoned by the graces and refinements of luxury, soon degenerated into debauchery and vice.^x

The character of CORCYRA we have attempted to delineate above.^y

SYRACUSE, though highly distinguished for its loyalty and affection to its mother-state, necessarily deviated widely from the character of Corinth. For while in the narrow and rocky territory of Corinth the crops were with difficulty extorted from the soil^z, in the colony, a large and fertile district, which was either held by the Syracusans, or was tributary to them, furnished to an over-peopled city a plentiful supply of provisions without foreign importation.^a In addition to this abundance, the early preponderance of democracy, and still more the levity, cunning, and address which were natural to the people of Sicily, tended to modify, or partly to destroy, the original Doric character. The Syracusans were, according to Thucydides, among all the adversaries of the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war, most like them in their customs and disposition.^b It is ever to be lamented that such remarkable talents, as showed themselves among the Syracusans between the 70th and

is confirmed by the proverb ἀεί τις ἐν Κύδωνος, Zenob. II. 42. Prov. Vat. IV. 19. Diogenian. VIII. 42. Suidas I. 86. ed. Schott. Plutarch Prov. Al. 129. Apostolius VIII. 66.

^x Corinthian ἄσωτοι occur so early as the 5th Olympiad (vol. I. p. 134.), and were restrained by ancient laws, ib. p. 189. and Lydus de Magistr. Rom. I. 42. According to Alciphron Ep. 60. Corinth itself was beautiful and

full of luxuries, but the inhabitants were ἀχάριστοι and ἀνεπαφρόδιτοι.

^y B. III. ch. 9. § 5.

^z In Corinth the husbandman was obliged ἐκλιθοβολεῖν, but not in Syracuse, Theophrast. de Caus. pluv. III. 20. But ἀμᾶν Κορινθικόν (Suidas in Κορινθ.) probably refers to τὰ μεταξὺ Κορίνθου καὶ Σικύωνος.

^a Thuc. VI. 20.

^b VIII. 96.

90th Olympiads, should have been without a regulating and guiding judgment: their most frequent error both in the state and army being a want of order^c; and their knowledge of this defect was the reason why they so frequently threw themselves blindly into the arms of single individuals.^d

The vicinity of Corinth had undoubtedly a great influence on SICYON; yet that city, though it had a navy, was nevertheless without any considerable foreign trade or colonies. The restraints and monotony of life were undoubtedly less than at Sparta,^e but there was greater severity of manners than at Corinth. Sicyon was one of the earliest cradles of the arts and literature of the Dorians,^f and enjoyed a high distinction among the cities of Peloponnesus.^g

PHLIUS, having no communication with the sea, was destitute of all resources except its fertile valley; but this sufficed to give it considerable importance and power.^h The loyalty and bravery of its inhabitantsⁱ deserved the partiality with which Xenophon has written the most distinguished period of its history.^k

MEGARA was unfortunately hemmed in between powerful neighbours; and on account of the scanty produce of its stony and mountainous, though well cultivated^l land, and the consequent deficiency of provisions, it was wholly dependent on the Athenian market, whither the Megarians were accustomed to

^c VI. 73.

^d Ib. above, B. III. ch. 9.

§ 7.

^e See B. I. ch. 8. § 2.

^f Above, page 300, note ^u.

^g b. IV. ch. 7. § 8, 12.

^h Thuc. I. 28.

ⁱ B. III. ch. 9. § 9.

^j Ib. and vol. I. pag. 197,

note ^d.

^k Hell. VI. 5. 45.

^l Theophrast. ubi sup. Strabo

IX. p. 393. Isocrat. de Pace,

p. 183. A. in whose time how-

ever Megara had rich families.

carry their manufactures^m and some few raw materials. The weakness of this state had early an influence on the manners and morals of the people; the tears and mirth of the Megarians were turned into ridicule by their Athenian neighbours,ⁿ who (according to the saying) would "rather be the ram than the son of a Megarian." And at last the oracle itself declared them an insignificant and worthless people.

Nor could the mother-city have derived much assistance from BYZANTIUM, had there even been a closer connexion between them than was actually the case; as this important colony was, for the most part, in distressed circumstances, and after the introduction of democracy involved in domestic confusion. We have reasons to consider the account of the mode of life at Byzantium above quoted from Theopompus^o as correct; though that historian is accused of too great a fondness for censure. Damon likewise relates, that the Byzantians were so addicted to the pleasures of the table, that the citizens took up their regular abode in the numerous public houses of the city, and let their houses with their wives to strangers. The sound of the flute put them immediately into a merry movement; but they fled from that of a trumpet: and a general had no other means of keeping them on the ramparts during a close siege, than by causing the public houses and cook-shops to be removed thither.^p Byzantium was full of foreign and native merchants, seamen, and fishermen,^q whom the excellent wine of that city, supplied by Maronea and other regions,

^m Above, p. 222, note ^u.

ⁿ Above, p. 371, note ^z.

^o Above, p. 174, note ^e.

^p *Περὶ Byzantior ap. Athen.*

X. p. 442 C. *Ælian*. V. H. III. 14.

^q See *Aristot. Pol.* III. 4. 1.

seldom permitted to return sober to their ships.^r The state of the government may be judged from the reply of a Byzantine demagogue, who being asked what the law enjoined, replied, "Whatever I please."^s

ÆGINA, on the other hand, lost its fame only with its political existence. Its situation near the great commercial road, which had taken this course chiefly in consequence of the danger of doubling the promontory of Malea, the renown of its mythical history, and the peculiar vigour of the inhabitants, had carried their activity to such a height, as to give their island an importance in the history of Greece which will ever be remarkable.

Though at Rhodes the amalgamation of the different nations produced an uniform and consistent whole, this does not seem to have been the case at CYRENE, which was corrupted by Ægyptian and Libyan influence. We have only to notice the character of Pheretime, who from a Doric lady became an eastern sultana. It is remarkable that another Doric female, viz. Artemisia (whose father was of Halicarnassus, her mother of Crete^t), obtained a similar situation. In the mother-country, however, there is after the fabulous times hardly any instance of women being at the head either of Doric or other cities.^u

We have already spoken as much as our object

^r Menander ap. Ælian. ubi sup. Athen. X. p. 442. Nicetas Acominatus Hist. p. 251. ed. Fabric.

^s Sextus Empiricus adv. Rhetor. § 37.

^t Herod. VII. 99.

^u I say *hardly*, on account of an exception which a fragment

of the Argolica of Dinias (ap. Herodian. περὶ μὲν λέξεως, p. 8. 14. emended by Dindorf) establishes, viz. that "Perimeda, queen of Tegea, generally called *Xoipa*, compelled the captured Lacedæmonians to cut a channel for the river Lachas across the plain."

required of the Doric town of CROTON^x in Italy; and several times touched on the decay of the Doric discipline and manners at TARENTUM. Their climate, which was very different from that of Greece,^y and the manners of the native tribes, must have had a very considerable share in changing the characters of these two cities; as the Tarentines did not subjugate only and slaughter the inhabitants (like the Carbinates), but received them within the limits of their large city, and gave them the rights of citizenship, by which means those words which we call Roman, but which were probably common to all the Sicilians,^z were introduced into the Tarentine dialect.

In the MESSENIAN state, as restored by Epaminondas, the ancient national manners were (according to Pausanias^a) still retained; and the dialect remained up to the time of that author the purest Doric that was spoken in Peloponnesus. The reason of this either was, that the Helots who remained in the country, and doubtless formed the larger part of the new nation, had obtained the Doric character, or that the exiles had during their long banishment really preserved their ancient language, as we know to have been the case with the Naupactians in more ancient times.^b This the Messenians, who dwelt among the Euesperitæ of Libya, might have done, as they resided among Dorians; but it was less easy for the

^x B. III. ch. 9. § 15. above, ch. 5. § 5.

^y Of this we have probably a trace in Hesychius, *μαριῆν*, *κακῶς ἔχειν*, in Tarentine; which probably refers to the Sirocco in the dog-days.

^z E. g. besides the names of

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^a IV. 27. 5.

^b Vol. I. p. 210, note c.

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^b Vol. I. p. 210, note c.

Messenians of Sicily,^e and wholly impossible for those of Rhegium. In the people of Rhegium in general there appears to have been little of the Doric character;^d nor probably in real truth among the later Messenians, however they might have endeavoured to bring back the ancient times.

Since we have frequently considered DELPHI as belonging to the number of the Doric cities, on a supposition that it was the seat of an ancient Doric nobility (although the people was chiefly formed of naturalized slaves of the temple), we have finally to observe on the character of the Delphians, that their early degeneracy (which even Æsop is said to have strongly reprov'd) is a phenomenon which has frequently taken place among the people residing in the immediate neighbourhood of national sanctuaries. The number and variety of strangers flocking together; the continual fumes of the altars, from which the natives were fed without labour or expense;^e the crowds of the market, in which jugglers and impostors of all kinds earned their subsistence,^f and the large donatives which Croesus, with other monarchs and wealthy men, had distributed among the Delphians, necessarily produced a lazy, ignorant, superstitious, and sensual people; and cast a shade over the few traces of a nobler character, which can be discovered in the events of earlier times.

^e The coins which Eckhel ascribes to the time of Anaxilaus have both MESSANION and MESSENION; but it is not improbable that the first was merely affectation, as the city appeared more illustrious if its origin was Doric: it cannot be doubted that the language of the Samian-Chalcidian

population preponderated in common life.

^d Both Xenarchus (ap. Phot. in 'Πηγ. Apostol. XVII. 15. cf. XI. 72.) and Nymphodorus (ap. Athen. I. p. 19 F.) reproach them with effeminacy.

^e See Athen. IV. p. 173.

^f Above, § 1.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX V.

On the Doric Dialect.

1. THE ancient grammarians divided the Greek language into four distinct branches — the Doric, Ionic, Attic, and Æolic; the latter including all dialects not comprised under the other three heads, because only one branch of it, the Lesbian, was the written language of one species of poetry: and yet this latter division must unquestionably have contained different species less connected with each other than with some branches of the other three dialects. It is, however, pretty well agreed that the several Æolic dialects together contained more remains of the primitive Grecian or (if we will so call it) Pelasgic language, than either the Doric, Ionic, or Attic; and that at the same time many forms of the latter were preserved with great fidelity in the Latin tongue; partly because the life of the Italian husbandmen bore a nearer resemblance to that of the ancient Greeks than that of the later Greeks themselves, and because neither their literature, nor any fastidious sense of euphony and rhythm, induced them to soften and refine their language. But of the more polished dialects, that of Homer, though differing in many points, yet in others doubtless closely resembled the original language, which must once have been spoken from Thessaly to Peloponnesus, and was variously metamorphosed in the Doric, Ionic, and Attic dialects. Thus, for example, the genitive case of the second declension, in the ancient form, was OIO, which was preserved in the Thessalian dialect,^a perhaps also in the Boeotian,^b and in Latin I or EI is also perceivable;

^a Eustath. ad Il. α'. p. 96. Rom. Etymol. M. and Gud. in many places. Phavorin. Ecl. p. 296. 305. Dindorf.

^b Πινδαρος occurs in the fragments of Corinna the Boeotian poetess, p. 51. Wolf.

whilst in the Doric Ω and the Attic ΟΥ this vowel was entirely lost. The nominative of masculines of the first declension in A belongs to the Latin, Homeric, Dryopian, Thessalian, Bœotian, Macedonian, and Elean dialects. In the Doric it was probably of rare occurrence, and more accidental.^c The Æolic dialect, which was spoken in Bœotia, likewise contains remarkable traces of an ancient Pelasgic language, and has striking coincidences with the Latin: thus in the ancient Bœotian inscriptions the dative of the first declension ends in AE. Gradually, however, it departed from this language, as the diphthongs AI and OI, which anciently were written AE and OE, were changed into H and Υ: and thus almost all the vowels and diphthongs received a new form. On the other hand, we must be cautious of supposing the Latin to be the ancient form, in cases where a transmutation of letters has already taken place. The following is a remarkable example to this effect. ΟΠΩ, from whence "the eye," ὅπηα in the Æolic dialect,^d ὄφθος in the Elean,^e ὀπιλος in the Spartan. In other dialect, ὀκκος, hence ὀκταλλος in the Bœotian, in the Latin *oculus*, where Π and Κ bear the same relation to each other as in the words *πέτυρες* (Æolic) *quatuor*, *πέμπτος*, *quintus*, *ποῖ*, *quo*, *πόθι*, *alicubi*. Moreover the Latin has a very large number of words derived from the Campanian and Doric Greeks, which must be distinguished from the primitive Greek dialect.

2. These remarks are merely premised in order to point out the authorities upon which all investigations into the form of the most ancient language of the Greeks should be founded. We have already intimated our dissent from those who, in opposition to Pausanias,^f suppose the Doric to have been the native dialect of Peloponnesus, not only disallowing the claim of the Dorians to its introduction, but even denying that they were the first to adopt it. This supposition would leave us without any means of explaining how the dialect of the Dorians of Peloponnesus agreed

^c Maittaire p. 173. ed. Sturz.

^d Gregor. Corinth. p. 580. Schæfer.

^e Hesychius in *πυμφοί*.

^f II. 37. 3.

in so many peculiar idioms with that of their fellow-countrymen in Crete, the close and general connexion between the two being of an earlier date than the Doric invasion of Peloponnesus. The ancient Peloponnesian dialect was certainly that language which may be recognized in the Latin and in Homer, many of the peculiarities of which occur indeed, but many of the most essential are not found, in the Doric dialect. This latter dialect was, however, very widely diffused over that peninsula by the preponderance of the Dorians, being not merely adopted by the Helots (who even at Naupactus spoke Doric), the Orneatæ,^g the Laconian Perieci, and the Attic inhabitants of Colonides;^h but even by the independent Arcadians, who, according to Strabo, used indeed the Æolic dialect, but were generally supposed to adopt the Doric (*δωρίζειν*), as also did Philopœmen.ⁱ Unfortunately we have little information respecting the dialect of the Arcadians, our chief guide being the names of their towns, in which several Dorisms occur; as, for instance, Καφυαί (from Κηφεύς), Νᾶσοι, Ἀνεμῶσα (*ἀνεμώεσσα*), and some anomalous forms, such as Λαδοκέα for Λαοδικέα, Θελποῦσα for Τιλφοῦσσα, Dor. Τιλφῶσσα, Κραρεῶτις, a tribe of Tegea, for Κλαρεῶτις.^k The Eleans, on the other hand, spoke nearly pure Doric; which is shown indeed by their use of the digamma,^l by their broad accent, and the Ω in the genitive case; but chiefly by the frequent use of P, which, besides the TOIP, TIP in the well-known treaty of the Eleans,^m is also proved by the Elean forms δίκαρ (for δίκας or δικαστής), οὔτορ, ἴππορ and similar forms, whence the Eleans were called βαρβαρόφωνοι.ⁿ Moreover, the Apollo Θέρμιος of the Eleans was the same as Apollo Θέσμιος, in Attic Greek.^o Eretria was founded by Eleans in conjunction with other Greeks, whence the frequent use of the P in that town;^p and from this city the neigh-

^g Herod. VIII. 73.

^h Pausan. IV. 34, 5. The Eleutherolacones likewise use many Dorisms in their decrees.

ⁱ Strabo VIII. p. 333. Plutarch Philopœmen. 2.

^k Corp. Inscript. N° 1513.

^l ΦΑΛΙΣ, FETEA, FENOΣ, FAP-
RON, FETAZ, βὰδν for γὰδν.

^m Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. N° 11.

ⁿ Hesych. in δίκας and βαρβαρό-
φωνος. Phavorinus p. 429. 21.

^o Vol. I. p. 271. note *.

^p Plat. Cratyl. p. 434. Strab. X.

bouring Chalcideans also adopted it;^a whilst among the Carystians another peculiarity of the Spartan Elean dialect prevailed, in the change of Θ into Σ.^r The Eretrians, however, received from the Eleans another peculiarity of the pure Doric, viz. the use of the aspirate in the place of Σ; and imparted it to the Oropians, their neighbours, and sometimes their subjects, on the other side of the strait.^s Thus it is evident that the dialect of the Eleans was very similar, nay, almost akin, to the Spartan. Now it is very improbable that this strict observance of the Doric dialect should have been learnt by mere intercourse, since on no side were they in immediate contact with Dorians. It is much more probable that the Ætolians, who conquered Elis, used, from their vicinity to the Dorians, the same dialect: that they spoke Doric in later times, is proved by the testimony of ancient authors and monuments extant;^t and the same was also the language of the inhabitants of the ancient Epirus Proper.^u It seems, therefore, that this dialect was formed in the northern and mountainous districts of Greece, particularly in the vicinity of mount Pindus, from whence the Dorians brought it in their migration to the more southern parts of the country, where they were in consequence commonly regarded as the race with whom it first originated.

3. To determine with any degree of precision how much climate and the nature of the soil contributed to the formation of this dialect, would be a matter of extreme difficulty; although the comparison of the corresponding dialects of different languages with the various localities in which each was formed may lead to several interesting observations. There can be no doubt that a mountain life is favourable to the formation of the pure, broad, and long vowels, such as A and Ω; as also that a residence in the lowlands and on

p. 448. Hesychius in 'Ερετριῶν γλῶσσῃ, Diogenian. IV. 57. Apostol. IX. 6.

^a Suidas in χαλκιδίσιον.

^r Koen ad Gregor. Cor. p. 300.

^s Etymol. M. p. 391. 13.

^t Stephanus of Byzantium in 'Ιωνία reckons the Ætolians generally as Dorians. Chishull Ant. As. p. 104.

^u Grammaticus Meermannianus ap. Gregor. Corinth. p. 642.

the coast produces rather modifications of the long vowels^x and short syllables. It should, however, be borne in mind, that the influence of these causes upon language was in full operation at one period only, when the organs generally evinced greater pliancy in adapting themselves to the various peculiarities of situation. In later times, Doric was spoken in maritime towns, as low German is now in mountains and highlands. We must likewise remember, that not only the country, but also the people, bore a distinct national character, the influence of which upon their language must have been full as great as of the former. The hypothesis that the ancient dialects were determined more by internal than external influence, more by the nature of the men than the influence of place, is confirmed by a remarkable passage of Jamblichus,^y who had probably derived this sentiment from the schools of the early Pythagoreans: he pronounces the Doric dialect to be the most ancient and best, comparing it, on account of the sounding vowels with which it abounded, to the enharmonic style of music, as he does the Ionic and Æolic dialects to the chromatic style. The only meaning of this remark can be, that the long vowels A and Ω were pronounced in as clear and marked a manner (particularly when, as was often the case, they were circumflexed) as a bar separated by a double bar in the tetrachord strung to the enharmonic pitch, so much used for music of the Doric style.^z Otherwise a manly character is always attributed to the Doric dialect:^a its fitness for solemn occasions and simple expression is shown by the literary remains which have come down to us.

4. It cannot be expected that we should here enter into a minute examination of all the peculiarities of the Doric dialect: the following brief remarks will, it is hoped, be received as an attempt rather to set forth the most remarkable features of the spoken language, than to explain the niceties

^x Such as ä, ö, and ü, which are not diphthongs, but (as it were) middle tones among the vowels.

^y Vit. Pythagor. 34.

^z As is particularly stated by Clem.

Alex. VI. p. 658. Compare book IV. c. 6. § 3.

^a Aristides Quintil. de Musica, vol. II. p. 93.

of the polished style used in writing and poetry. The frequent use of A prevailed indeed partially in the ancient dialect, and in most cases the use of H originated in the Ionic, which in this respect bore nearly the same relation to the ancient Greek as the English language does to the German.^b The broad pronunciation (*πλατειασμός*) of the Dorians frequently, however, exceeded that of the ancient language, as may be seen from the Latin. Thus *φαγός*, *fagus*—*φάμα*, *fama*—*μᾶλον*, *malum*—*ἀρχᾶς*, *terras* (genit.) *κᾶρυξ* (*caduceus*), and the like, are clearly the genuine ancient forms. On the other hand, the change from A to H in the temporal augment existed in the most ancient Greek, as is evident from *ἀγο*, *ἐγι*, *ἦγον*, *καρίο*, *κερί*, &c. The Doric dialect, however, here also used A in the place of H. I am not aware whether another change very nearly coinciding with the latter has ever been noticed, viz. the frequent use of the short A for H, especially in the enclitics, as *κᾶ* (which however is long) for *κε* or *ᾶν*, a form common to all the Dorians, and in the same manner *γα* for *γε*,^c *κα* for the correlative *τε* in *τόκα*, *πόκα*, *δοκα* in Sophron, Theocritus, and others, to which corresponds *θα* in *πρόσθα*, *ἐξύπισθα* (Alcman), *ἐμπροσθα*, *ἄνωθα*.^d The same change is also observable in *ἄτερος* for *ἐτερος*, *τράφω* for *τρέπω*,^e *Ἀρταμης* for *Ἄρταμης*, *τάως*, *παραιτέρω*, in the Cretan dialect,^f *τάμνω* in the Heracleian Tables and elsewhere, *σκιαρός*, *φρασίν*, in Pindar; and innumerable examples of a similar kind. H, either as a contraction of EE, or a lengthening of E, occurs in many instances in the place of EI in the other dialects (the reverse took place among the Boeotians), as in *ποίη*, *πλήων*, *μήων*,^h *ῥηος*, *Λύκηος* (Alcman), *κοσμῆν*, *κατοιχῆν* (Theocritus, and the Byzantine Decree in Demosthenesⁱ), *δήρας* for *δείρας* in

^b That is, the A, which is pronounced broad by the Germans (as in *father*), has in English generally the sound of their E.

^c See Welcker ad Alcman. fragm. 65. *ἰμίνγα* Sophron. *ἰγανγα* the Megarian in Aristoph. Acharn. 736. 764. 775.

^d Tab. Heracl. Comp. Apollon. de Adverb. p. 563.

^e Aristoph. Ach. 787.

^f Vol. I. p. 375. note f.

^g Hesychius in v. Inscript. and see Koen ad Greg. C. p. 305.

^h Aristoph. Lysist. 1174, 1320. and Phavorinus Ecl. p. 156. Dindorf.

ⁱ De Corona p. 255.

the treaty of the Latians in Crete,^k *χῆρες* in Cretan, and also used by Alcman, *κῆνος* or *τῆνος* in Alcman and others; *πεπόνθης*, *ἀπολώλη* Theocritus and the Heracleian tables: and thus in contractions from AEI, H has frequently preponderated over A, as in the pure Doric form *ῥῆν*,^l *ἡ καρδία* *παδῆ* Sophron;^m although it must also be allowed that the diphthong AE was contracted into H, as in *ῥη*, &c. *ῆραι* for *ἄραι*,ⁿ and *ἐνίκη* for *ἐνίκας* in a Laconian inscription in Leake's Morea, vol. III. Inscript. n. 71. to which instances we should probably add the following cases of crasis, *κῆν*, *κῆπι*, *κῆκ*. The reverse of this, which we find in the words *παι* in Sophron,^p and *ῥπει* in a Coreyean inscription,^q for *πη* and *ῥπη*, is a remarkable variety. The Dorians, consistently with their love for the pure and long A, were equally partial to the Ω. This letter frequently forms the original sound, as in the accusative case *Ἀργείως*, *Argivos*; and hence the abbreviated form *δεός* for *δεώς* in Cretan and Coan^r inscriptions, and in Theocritus, was probably formed by an elision of the characteristic vowel, as *δεσποτᾶς* in the first declension. We frequently also find use made of the vowel Ω as a prolongation of O, instead of the common form OΥ, produced by the elision of consonants: thus in the form of the participle

^k Chishull Ant. Asiat. p. 134.

^l Koen ad Greg. C. p. 229.

^m Ap. Apollon. de Pronom. p. 343. C. Mus. Crit. vol. II. p. 563. Compare Maittaire p. 227.

ⁿ Etymol. M. p. 434, 51. Koen ubi sup. p. 185.

^o *Ἐνίκη* for *ἐνίκας* also occurs in a poetical inscription, which was contained in Boeckh's Corp. Inscript. N° 17, but can now be safely amended from a better copy in Ross Inscript. Grec. Ined. fascic. I. n. 55. It runs as follows, with a few supplements.

... ΟΟΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ
[TE]NTEAΙΣΧΥΤΑΛΟ[ς]
ΘΙΟΠΟΣΤΟΙΣΔΑΜ
ΟΣΙΟΙΣΕΝΑΕΘΛΟ
ΙΣ: ΤΕΤΡΑΚΙΤΕ[ς]
ΠΑΔΙΟΝΝΙΚΕΚΑΙ
ΔΙΣΤΟΝΟΠΑΙΤΑ[ς]

It should be read as follows:

... θων ἀνέθηκε τῆν τετα.

Ἰσχυλλος θίωτες τοῖς δαμοσίαις ἐν αἰθλαῖς,
Τετράκις ἐν σπαδίον νίκη καὶ δις τὸν ὀπλίταν.

"So and so (probably Ischylus himself) has offered up the arms. Ischylus, the son of Theops, was conqueror in the public games (of Argos), four times in the stadion, and twice in the hoplite race." *θίωψ* is Doric for *θίωψ*; and *σπάδιον* for *στάδιον* is cited as Doric, as well as *Æolic*.

^p Ap. Ammon. p. 122. Mus. Crit. vol. II. p. 566.

^q Dodwell's Travels vol. II. p. 503. Mustoxidi pp. 188. 193—7.

^r An inscription of the island of Cos in the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions tom. XLVII. p. 325. has *τὸς θίος. τὸς ἀνθρώπος, τὸς ἄλλος*, Epicharmus as corrected by Hermann, ap. Diog. Laert. III. 11, 17.

feminine in *ωσα*, used in Crete and Peloponnesus, and also in the Heracleian Tables, whilst the softer form in *οισα*, where *οι* was also derived from *οντ* (as in the third person plural *ναίοισιν*, and in the masculine participle *τύψαις*), was perhaps peculiar to Sicily. O also, when followed by E, overpowers the latter letter, and is changed into Ω, as for instance in *Κοιλῶσσα* (a mountain near Phlius), *λωτρὸν, ὑπῶν* for *ὑπνόεν*, Laconian forms in Aristophanes, *παμῶχος*, and similar words in the Heracleian Tables; though whether this is the case when the E precedes the O is doubtful, for in *εὐορκῶσι* and similar forms in Cretan inscriptions, it is EΩ, not EO, which is contracted into Ω. In this case EO is generally contracted into EΥ, or it is changed into IO, as EΩ into IΩ; thus *μογίομες, λυχνοφορίοντες* in the Lysistrata of Aristophanes (according to the old reading), *ἐπαινῶ, ὁμιώμεθα* ib., *ανιοχίων* for *ἡνιοχέων* in the Laconian inscription in Leake, No. 71. with which compare *ἐμμενιῶ* in the oath of the Latians, *πραξίόμεν* in the decree of the Istionians, and *παμωχιῶ* in the Heracleian Tables.* In the above cases there is no reason for assuming any other changes, than from EO into IO and EΩ into IΩ, as the Dorians appear to have been very unwilling to tolerate E with O; the short I, however, before the lengthened O must have been particularly suited to their ears. The long A in *Ἀλκμάν, Ἀτρεΐδα, Ἀγησίλας, πρᾶτος* was without doubt a thick sound between A and O, for which there was no distinct character. The Spartan dialect frequently has OΥ for Υ (which change regularly occurs in the Boeotian dialect), as *δίφουρα* for *γέφυρα* (Hesychius in v.), *φούιξ* for *φυσίγξ* (Valck. ad Adonias, p. 276.), *μουσιδδω* for *μυθίζω* (ibid. p. 279.), *φούαξις* (vol. I. p. 384. note f.), *μουῦκος* for *μυχός* (Koen p. 343.), *καμπούληρ*, a species of olive-tree (in Hesychius), derived, I believe, from *κάμπτων ὕλην, κάρουα* for *κάρυα* (Hesych. in v.); *οὐδραίνει, περικαθαρίζει* according to Hesych. for *ὕδραίνει, τούννη* for *οὐ* (Hesych.), *ἀπεσσούα* for *ἀπεσύνη* in the letter of Hippocrates (compare Coray ad Plut. Alcib. 28.). OI for Υ is only found in *Ποίθιοι*, according to Photius.

* Chishull Ant. As. Compare Koen ad Greg. C. p. 220.

5. The consonants in the Doric dialect were in some cases so brought together as to give the words a roughness which was avoided in other dialects, and consequently it possessed more of that ancient fulness of consonants which was preserved with greater fidelity in the Latin language than in the Greek; partly from the neglect of that law, which was so constantly observed by all the dialects of the Greek, that every word should end either with a vowel or semi-vowel. The Doric has at least the ancient form of the participle *τιθέης* (Lat. *ns*, in ancient Gothic *ants*), which is quoted as a Cretan and Argive form;† and the preposition *ἐνς* for *in* with the accusative (*into*), which in other dialects was changed into *εἰς*; but in the Doric it became, by the omission of the final Σ, *ἐν* in the sense of *into*, as in Crete and in Pindar,‡ although Cretan inscriptions of considerable antiquity have *εἰς*, which appears to have been the usual Laconian form. Thus also the Cretans and Argives formed the future in *σπένσω*, merely throwing out δ, as a τ is properly omitted in *τιθέης*.§ The Rhegians adopted the same usage from the Messenians.¶ It is clear that the organs of the ancient Doric race were better fitted for this rough pronunciation than the more delicate ones of the other Greeks, who even changed the Roman *Hortensius* into *Ὁρτήσιος*. The same remark may be applied to the word *μάκαρς* in Alcman (fragm. 66.), and some similar forms.

Another more striking characteristic of the Doric dialect is the aversion to Σ, the *σάν κίβδαλον*; hence the Doric lyric poets, Lasus and others, wrote poems without that letter; a practice in direct contradiction with the partiality shown by the Ionians for that sound. To this principle may be traced various other peculiarities: first, the interchange of Σ and Τ, which, however, is on the whole merely a relic of the original dialect, as in the adjectives *ἐνιαύτιος* and *πλούτιος*,‡

† Herodianus in the Hortus Adon. p. 209.

‡ Phavorinus p. 283. Dindorf. Eustath. ad Il. 6. p. 722. 60. Gregorius p. 355. Koen ad l. Maittaire p. 330.

§ Herodian et Eustath. ubi sup. Etym. M. p. 302. 2 where for *σπένσω*

and *σπένσω* the sense everywhere requires *σπένσω* and *σπένσω*.

¶ Etymol. M. p. 135. 45. Etymol. Gud. p. 73. 44. where the same correction should be made.

‡ Etym. M. p. 156. 17.

in τὸ or τοῦ, *tu*, in τέσσαρες, *quatuor*, in the third persons δίδωτι, φατὶ, which still retain this form in Sanscrit (while in the Latin and German languages T is always the last letter of this third person). Also in the name of Neptune the Doric was doubtless the original form, having the same root as πόντος, ποταμός; the original form was Ποτίδας (in Epicharmus and Sophron^a), and the Megarian in Aristophanes says Ποτειδας; so also the Corinthians; and hence their colony Ποτειδαία,^b Ποτειδᾶν (from Ποτειδάων) was the Spartan and the Rhodian form.^c It is singular that in some cases the Dorians also used Σ for Τ, as σᾶτες for τῆτες,^d corresponding to which we find σάμερον in Pindar, Theocritus, and the Tarentine dialect (a word, according to Hesychius, synonymous with νῦν); the σά for τὰ of the Megarians, and this latter for τίνα is the same change.^e It was this aversion to Σ, noticed above, which led the Spartans in the double consonants ΣΤ, ΣΚ, ΣΠ, to reject the Σ and double the other consonant; hence the Laconian forms κτίτταρ for κτίστης, ἐττάν for ἐς τὰν, ἀμπίτταρ for ἀμφιστάς,^f ἀκκὸρ for ἀσκός.^g Valckenær lays down the following rule: "*literam Σ Lacones in sequentem consonantem non liquidam mutant;*" and of this change he finds traces in the Tarentine dialect, to which we may add, that Hecate, according to Hesychius, was there called ἄφραττος, i. e. ἄφραστος. The most interesting example of this change in the Spartan dialect is the form ἄττασι for ἀνάστηθι (derived from ANT-TΑΣΙ), in which word more than three Laconisms are discernible. With this point is immediately connected the change of Ζ, i. e. ΣΔ into ΔΔ, for instance in verbs in ζῶ, *Laconice*—δδῶ, many instances of which occur in the Lysistrata and Acharneans of Aristophanes. There is no evidence of the same change occurring in verbs whose

^a Herodian. p. 10. ed. Dindorf.

^b See Thiersch Act. Monac. II. 3. p. 393. In the town of Ποτειδωνία ΠΑΙΣΤΟΝ, Achæans of Sybaris joined the Troezenians, and hence the common form of the name.

^c Xenoph. Hell. III. 3. 2. Aristid. Or. Rhod. vol. II. p. 346.

^d Maittaire p. 349.; and compare the inscription of Gela in Castelli p. 84.

^e Etymol. M. p. 157. 48. p. 167. 37.

^f Vol. II. p. 35, note ^a.

^g Valckenær ad Adonias. p. 287. cf. ad Eurip. Phœn. 1671.

characteristic is Γ; although the Dorians were induced by analogy and a partiality to the letter Ξ to introduce the termination ξω, where the characteristic letter was not Γ but Δ, which is evident by the formation of the substantive καθίπαξις (as should be read in Hesychius for καθίπαξις), δεικηνλίκτας, &c.^h Even in the Laconian dialect, however, the soft sound of ΣΔ is used instead of ΔΔ, as ἀγίσδεο, μελισδόμενος, τράπεσσα in Alcman, and in the pretended apophthegm of Lycurgus, ἂν πτωχοὶ μένητε καὶ μὴ μέεσδω (i. e. μείζω) ἄτερος θατέρω ἐράη κτήμεν.ⁱ It would however be erroneous to suppose, with regard to the mode in which this transition was effected, that the sound of Ζ, when already formed, passed into ΔΔ or ΣΔ. The ancient dialect appears to have had a separate Δ, pronounced with a peculiar compression of the mouth; the Dorians in several cases, agreeing with the Ionians, added the Σ, and formed either Ζ, where the sounds were more combined, or ΣΔ. In other cases the Dorians merely gave additional force to the Δ. With the Æolians there was scarce any distinction between the harsh and the common Δ, as in Δεὺς for Ζεὺς, δυγὸς for ζυγὸς &c.; in the same manner Ζεὺς in the Latin became *Deus*, ῥίζα *radix*, ὄζω *odor*,^k and hence the long Ζ was wanting in that language; but the peculiarity of the original sounds of this consonant is evident from the circumstance that the Latins substituted for it I; for example in *jugum* from ζυγὸς, *major* from μείζων, &c.; in like manner the Æolic dialect interchanged δια and ζα, καρζὰ, καρδία.^l The change of the last letters of verbs ending in -σσω into -ζω in the Tarentine dialect, instead of ττω like the other Dorians, as ἀνάζω for ἀνάσσω, is quite peculiar to that town.^m

^h Above, p. 349, note ^a. Compare Buttman Gr. Gr. vol. I. p. 382.

ⁱ Ap. Plutarch. Lyc. 19. less correctly in Apophth. Lacon. p. 226. For the common reading ἰωνήμην Valckenær ad Adonias. p. 258. conjectures κατῆν, Haitinger in Act. Monac. vol. III. 3. pag. 311. μίρδων—ἰωνῆσιν ἡμῖν.

^k See Schneider's Latin Grammar, vol. I. p. 385.

^l On the other hand the High German dialect changed the Greek sound of Δ into Ζ; e. g. δία, *ziehen*, δύω, *zwei*, δέπνυλος, *zähe*, δέκνυ, *zähre*, δεικνύναι *zeigen*, dis—zer—&c. See Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik, vol. I. p. 586.

^m Etym. M. p. 605. 43. Heraclides ap. Eustath. ad Od. ^π. p. 1654. Phavorinus p. 444. Dindorf. Koen ad Greg. p. 613.

6. Another mode of avoiding the sound of Σ was to omit it altogether. This suppression was made at an early date in the third person plural, which consequently retained a nearer resemblance to the original form in the Doric than in the Ionico-Attic dialect, in which the preservation of Σ soon caused the NT to be dropped. Examples of this, as *πεινῶντι, ἀποδίδωντι, κεχάναντι, αἰνέοντι* (*bhavanti*, in Sanscrit, corresponding to the ancient high German *ant*; the Boeotians wrote *-ωνθι, -ανθι*) are found in all the Doric inscriptions; yet Alcman uses the termination *-ουσι* as well as the ancient form. Sometimes this elision of σ lengthened the preceding vowel, as in *Πηρεφονεία* Lacon. for *Περσεφονεία*, according to Hesychius, with which we may compare *πῆριξ* for *πέρδιξ* in the Cretan dialect (*ibid.*); also *πρειγεύτας, πρεῖγιστος, πρειγνία* in Cretan inscriptions for *πρεσβεύτης*, &c.; the Argives also used Γ for Β in *πέργεις*. (See Hesychius.) Concerning the omission of Σ before Φ, e. g., *φιν* for *σφιν*, in the Laconic dialect, see Koen p. 254.; the Syracusans changed the place of the Σ, and converted ΣΦΙΝ into ΦΣΙΝ, i. e. *ψιν*. This aversion to Σ also appeared in the substitution of the aspirate for this consonant, in which change the pure Doric dialect is directly at variance with the Latin, in which the aspirate was often replaced by Σ, for example, *ἄλς, sal, ἡμι, semi, ὕλφη, sylva*,ⁿ &c. The Laconians, on the other hand, used *μῶᾶ*, instead of *μῶσα*, and on the same principle *μωῖκά, music*, as also in the participles *κλεῶᾶ, ἐκλιπῶᾶ*, &c., to which we may add *ῥμαῶν* for *ῥμησηον*, as in Aristophanes; also *ποιῆᾶς, πᾶᾶ, βιώρ* for *ῖσως*,^o *βουᾶ* for *βουσόα*;^p the same usage also prevailed among the Argives, as we learn from Dercyllus, among the Eretrians, who borrowed it from the Eleans, and also among the Pamphylians; with whom several Argive and Rhodian peculiarities of dialect appear to have been preserved.^q Lastly, with this aversion to Σ is

ⁿ The same tendency may be traced in the German, as in *Salz, Süss, Sitz* for *ἄλς, ἡδύς, ἴδος*.

^o Valckenær ad Adon. p. 277.

^p Vol. II. p. 310, note ^t. This explains the *Κυνοουρίων φυλή* in recent Laconian inscriptions (Corp. Inscript. vol. I. p. 609.); it stands for *Κυνοῦν-*

ρίων, i. e. *Κυνοουρίων*. For the same reason Hesych. in *Εὐτρησίους* calls this form Doric for *Εὐτρησίους*; the word was pronounced *Εὐτρησίον*.

^q Etymol. M. pag. 391. 13. Eustath. ad II. λ'. pag. 844. 7. Maittaire p. 199.

connected the rhotacismus, which we have already observed in the Spartan and Elean dialect, and of which the interpreters of the decree against Timotheus,^r particularly Casaubon, have collected many examples. Of these I will only cite *ἐπιγελαστήρ, the mocker*; *καλλίαρ, an ape* (Hesych. in vv. comp. Boeckh Exp. Pind. Pyth. II. p. 251.); *κιλλακτήρ, an ass-driver* (Pollux VII. 13. 56.); *σάριρ, a palm-branch* (Hesych.); *τίρ, τίς*, (*ib.* and in the Elean Rhētra), *παλαιὸρ* (Aristoph. Lys. 988.), *σιὸρ θεὸς, πὸρ ποῦς, νέκυρ νέκυσ*, *βόμβυρ a kind of flute* (Hesych. in vv.). Whether in the oblique cases Σ could always be changed into Π is uncertain, since, besides the Elean Rhētra, no genuine monument, and only a few and obscure glosses, afford any information on the point. However, *ἀμ' ἀρχᾶρ* for *ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς* (according to Koen's conjecture ad Gregor. p. 283.) is an instance, as also the Cretan *τέορ* for *σοῦ* (Hesych.), where the pronoun is declined, as *ἐμοῦς, ἐμέος, ἐμεῦς* in Epicharmus.^s We may observe that generally the Latin is in this respect very different from the pure Doric; though it resembles it in some words. Thus the Laconian *ἄκτῆρ* is the Latin *actor*, and in *gubernator* we see the Doric form *κυβερνατήρ*, and so in other instances.^t

7. Notwithstanding this *fuga sibili* — this aversion to the Σ — to which almost all the changes mentioned in the last two sections may be traced — yet the Doric dialects always retained in the first person plural the final Σ from the ancient language (as is proved by the Latin *-mus*);^u and Laconians, Megarians, and Doric Sicilians said *ἤκομες, ἀπορέομες*, &c. It does not appear that in the Doric dialect any original consonant passed into Σ, except Θ; and this change probably arose from a desire to soften the harsh sound of the aspirate. Instances of this Laconism in Alcman (*Ἀσᾶναι, ἔσηκε, σάλλεν, σαλασσομέδοισαν*), in the Lysistrata (*ἦνσε,*

^r Book IV. ch. 6. § 3.

^s Apollon. de Pronom. pag. 355. A. Buttman Gr. Gr. vol. I. p. 294.

^t In High German Rhotacism is very prevalent, although, according to Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, vol. I. pp. 802, 825, it succeeded in the

place of the S; and the German article *der* clearly corresponds with that which must have been the original Doric article, viz. *σός*.

^u The ancient High German likewise always has *-mēs* in the same person.

ἔλση, σιγεῖν, μουσιδδεν, &c.), and the grammarians (e. g. σιν-
κασεύδει, κασαιζήδον, for καθαίρησον, according to Koen, κασα-
ρεύειν, according to Valckenær) are well known, and par-
ticularly σεῖος ἀνήρ; comp. Valckenær, p. 277, sqq. who has
treated this point with great ability. Also in Hesychius,
συμβουαδεῖ, ὑπερμαχεῖ (for συμβουθεῖ) we should probably
write συμβουασεῖ (otherwise Hemsterhuis), and κασελατίσαι,
καθίσαι, ibid. is from ἔλλα, ἔλα, κέθεδρα, sella; whence ἔλα-
τίζειν, καθελατίζειν, sedere facio. In this respect the colonists
of Sparta at Tarentum did not follow the idiom of their
mother city; as they said θυλακίζειν, not συλακίζειν, to beg:²
the Rhodians also retained the original Θ in ἐρυθίβη (Strabo
XIII. p. 613. Eustath. ad Il. ε. 34.): in Cretan this change
only occurs in σεῖναι for θεῖναι in Hesychius, and in σίος in
the treaty of the Olontians: for Corinth may be cited Σίσυ-
φος for Θεόσοφος, according to Phavorinus, p. 403. Dindorf;
for Sicyon perhaps σεῖρον, θέριστρον, Hesych. and also στίαι
for θριαί, Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 1172. That the Eleans
were acquainted with this variety has been shown above.

8. In general the Dorians had less inclination to aspirated
consonants than the other tribes of Greece, and therefore in
many respects their dialect remained nearer to the primitive
language. Thus the Lacedæmonians and Cretans said ἀμπὶ
for ἀμφὶ (Koen ad Greg. p. 344), the latter in the derivative
ἀμπέτιξ, the former in ἀμπέσαι, (above, p. 332, note f.) in
ἀμπίτταρ (p. 35, note a.) ἀμπίθυρον in Hesychius; ἀμφαρ-
μένη, δίκελλα, Hesych. utrinque aptata, makes an exception.
So also the Thessalians called the river Ἀμφίρρυσος, Ἀμ-
βίρρυσος (Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 51); and the same, accord-
ing to the general rule (vol. I. p. 3, note e.), must be Mace-
donian and Latin. Some instances of K for X in the Cretan,
Laconian, and Sicilian dialect, see in Koen p. 340, sqq.;
Pindar's δέκεσθαι is probably also Doric, as well as in the
Heracleian Tables. According to Hesychius in εὐπλουτον,
the Dorians called the baskets in which the οὐλοχύται were
carried ὀλβακήια, where ὀλβὰ is οὐλῆ, and the termination
-κήια is probably formed from χέω, unless (as is probable)

² θυλακίζειν, Blomfield, Classical Journal, vol. IV. p. 387.

we should correct -χήια here and in the word ὀλβάχιοι,
where Deinolochus (the Sicilian) is quoted as authority.
(Compare Suidas in δερβιστήρ.) The aspirate by itself is
absent from the words ἀγέομαι,⁷ ἀγροίχορος, and the names
Ἄγρις, Ἀγήσανδρος, Ἀγροίπολις, and Ἀγροίλαος (Ion. Ἥγη-
σίλωσ); originally perhaps all these names had the di-
gamma, as βαγός, a general, Lacon. in Hesychius. The
aspirate was also neglected by the Lacedæmonians in the
pronoun ἀμῆς, ἀμῶν;⁸ as well as by the Cretans, as is evident
from the words ΠΟΡΤΑΜΕ, i. e. πορτί ἀμῆ, in an inscrip-
tion (Chishull, p. 115. 10.), and by the Dorians. In the
word ἰάλλω likewise the lene breathing is Doric, as is shown
by ἀπιάλλειν in Thucyd. V. 77: and the Syracusan name
Ἐπιάλης (Demetrius περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, § 157. Eustath. ad Il.
ε. p. 571. Rom.). On the other hand the digamma was
retained nearly as much among the Lacedæmonians and
other Dorians, as by most of the Æolians; among the Do-
rians, however, it generally assumed the form of B. See
Etymol. M. p. 308. 26. Gudian. p. 104. 12. I will only
cite a few examples. The Laconian word for "splendour"
was βέλα, Féλα (Hesychius), i. e. ἔλη, whence by the prefix
α, signifying an union or number, the word ἀβέλιος (AFE-
ΛΙΟΣ) was formed, literally "a collection or mass of bright-
ness;" the Cretan and Pamphylian name for the sun
(Hesychius; compare Hemsterhuis ad Hesych. in θάβα-
κον).⁹ The Greek or Æolic word for the "ear" was αὔας,
in Latin auris, in Doric ᾠFας (like καππώτας for καταπαύ-
της), whence the Laconian word ἐξωβάδια (i. e. ἐξωFάτια)
ἐνώτια, in Hesychius. In ὠατωθήσω, ἀκούσομαι, Doric ac-
cording to Photius, the digamma is lost, as well as in the
Tarentine contraction ᾠτα, Hesychius. From the root

⁷ ἀγῆται is the best reading in
Aristoph. Lysist. 1314.

⁸ See Reiaig. Synt. Critic. p. 14.

⁹ I feel now considerable doubt
whether ἀβέλιος, ἀβίλιος really comes
from ἔλη, Féλα. The original form was,
without doubt, ᾠFEΛΙΟΣ, whence
Sol in Latin, Söl in Icelandic, Saule
in Lithuanian (a language which
has a remarkable resemblance to the

Greek). Hence in Greek ᾠFEΛΙΟΣ,
in Homer softened into ἥλιος, after-
wards among the Dorians ἄλιος, in
Attic ἥλιος. Now it seems doubtful
whether this ᾠ or ᾠα can be con-
sidered as the α conjunctionis, as in
ἀδελφεός, or whether ᾠFEΛΙΟΣ should
not rather be considered as a separate
root.

ΔΑΙΦΩ, to burn, are derived the Laconian forms δάβει, καύεται (vulg. κάθηται, otherwise Hemsterhuis), ἐκδάβη, ἐκκύθε; δάβελος, δαλός in Hesychius; also πῦρ δάφιον in Alcman, fragm. 76. ed. Welcker. In Crete also we find the forms ἀβηδών for ἀνηδών, βαλικιώτης for ἡλικιώτης, βαίκα for αἶκα or εἶαν (Hesychius and Koen ad Greg. p. 251.); according to the same grammarian the Cretans called their shields λαῖβαι, i. e. LÆVÆ, the left; thus by a reverse analogy the Greeks said παρ' ἀσπίδα for "to the left." The Laconian word for "the dawn," was ΑΦΩΣ (also retained in μινγάβωρ, λυκόφως, Hesych. i. e. μισγ-άφως), among the other Greeks ΗΩΣ: and as from the latter form the name of the east-wind εὔρος was derived (answering to ζέφυρος, ὃς ἐκ ζόφου πνεῖ), so from the Doric ἄφως came the word αὔρα, which had in this dialect the peculiar sense of "morning;" hence ἐναύρω πρῶτ', Κρήτες, and ἀβῶν, Λάκωνες, Hesychius. At Argos the digamma occurs in ὤβεα for ὦα (οῦα) Hesych.; at Hermione a double digamma in βευδος for ἔδος, ἀγαλμα, Etymol. M. p. 195. 52.; at Syracuse in ἔβασον for ἔασον, which was also a Laconian form, ib. p. 308. 26. Hesych.

9. If we except the changes of the vowels, semivowels, and aspirates, there are not many others peculiar to the Doric dialect, since the *mediae* and *tenues* were seldom inverted, and not often letters which are not cognate. It is worthy of remark that the Dorians frequently changed both B and Γ into Δ, the former in δέλτον, good, compared with βέλτιον, and ὀδελός for ὀβελός; ^b the latter in δᾶ for γᾶ, δένος for γένος, δίφουρα for γέφυρα in Laconian, δεῦκος for γλυκὺς in Ætolian, which likewise was preserved in the Latin *dulcis*.^c I should also remark that πέδα for μετὰ is pure Doric, as is proved by Alcman ap. Athen. X. p. 416 A. the Laconian word πέδευρα, ὕστερον, in Hesychius, πεδάφικοι for μέτοικοι in an Argive inscription (Boeckh. N°. 14.), and the

^b Ptolem. Hephest. ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 486.; comp. Toup. ad Hesych. vol. IV. pag. 165. Gregor. Corinth. p. 235.; the Megarian in Aristoph. Ach. 796.; the Delphian Inscription in Boeckh N°. 1690.;

Epicharmus ap. Athen. VIII. p. 362 B. C. ὀδολοί a Cretan form according to Hesychius.

^c Schol. Æschyl. Theb. 367. Schol. Nicand. Ther. 625.

Coreyæan inscription in Mustoxidi, tom. II. p. 70. (as it appears.)

The Doric dialect is also marked by a strong tendency to the omission of letters both in composition and flexion. In composition the prepositions κατὰ, ἀνά, ποτὶ become monosyllables by the suppression of the last vowel: and even with the first syllable short in καβαίνων, Alcman. fragm. 34. κάπετον, Pindar. Olymp. VIII. 48. compare Hesychius in κάβλημα and κάβασι. The Venus ἀμβολογήρα of Sparta (Pausan. III. 18. 1.) has been already explained from ἀναβάλλειν τὸ γῆρας, as also Ζεὺς καππώτας (ib. III. 22. 1.) as Ζεὺς καταπαύτης. Κάκκη, κάθευδε, Laconice in Hesychius, shortened by apocope from κάκκησι i. e. κατάκειθι, as ἔμβη for ἔμβησι in Aristoph. Lys. 1303. In conjugation the Dorians frequently shortened the ancient longer forms by apocope, and not, like the other cases, by contraction; as in the infinitives δόμεν for δόμεναι, εἴμεν or ἦμεν for ἔμεναι, &c. the uncontracted form being seldom used, as ἦμεναι Aristoph. Ach. 775., ἀλεξέμεναι, Thucyd. V. 77., or the contracted, as σκιρωθῆναι in Sophron, ap. Etym. M. p. 717. ext. and in Alcman. fragm. 23 Welcker is probably right in changing χαρῆθαι into χαρῆναι. Also the shortened third persons of the aorists, διέγνον in the Heracleian Tables, ἔδον (Corp. Inscript. N°. 1511.), ἀνέθεν (ib. N°. 29.), διελέγεν in the decree of the Oaxians, διελέγην in that of the Istronians; as well as the infinitives in εν and the second persons in ες, for ειν and εις, and many other similar changes. The forms εἴμειν, γεγόνειν are not merely Agrigentine; the former also occurs in an inscription (probably of Rhodes) in Chandler, p. 14. N°. 38: the Sicilian adverbs πῶ, τουτῶ (τουτῶ θάμεθα Sophron. fragm. 34. Mus. Crit. vol. II. p. 347.) for πόθεν, τουτόθεν, also come under this head. Ammonius adds πῶς for πόσε and ποῖ for πόθε.

10. With regard to the differences of syntax, we may remark that the article was much used by the Dorians; as is evident from several passages in the Spartan choruses in the Lysistrata of Aristophanes.^e It may be also observed

^e See Reisig. Synt. Critic. p. 16.

that the article occurs very frequently in all the early monuments of Doric nations;^d and that in the Doric poetry, particularly of Alcman, it was first introduced into the literature of Greece; the earlier language having been quite destitute of it. Hence perhaps it may be inferred that it was the Dorians who introduced the general use of the article; which would afford some idea of the changes which the Greek language experienced in consequence of the revolution caused by the Doric invasion.

Every dialect has peculiar words; but it is remarkable when these are radical forms, expressing very common ideas, and when they are quite foreign to the other dialects of the same language. This at least is true of the Laconian word *χάος*, *χάϊος*, *ἀχάϊος*, "good" (Aristoph. Lys. 90, 1157. Hesychius in *ἀχαία*, where Heinsius would without reason omit the *α*, Theocrit. VII. 4.), of *κόος*, "large" (Etymol. M. p. 396. 29.), which words stand quite isolated in the common language: also *λῆν*, "to wish" (Koen p. 252. Maittaire p. 278.), and *μάω*, "I think," "I seek," are pure Doric forms; the latter a Laconian and Sicilian word, see Toup Emend. in Suid. vol. I. p. 462. Meineke Euphorion. p. 162.^e

11. As yet we have considered the Doric dialect in general, as spoken by the whole race, only marking out the Laconian as its purest variety; we will now annex a brief list of those shades of difference which can be perceived in the language of the several states. The broad peculiarities of the Doric dialect of *Laconia* are partly known from the remains of Alcman (who however avoided in his poetry such harsh forms as *μῶά* for *μῶσα*, *λιπῶά* for *λιπῶσα* or

^d For instance *ἡ ἑστία τοῖς ἑσπέραις*, *ἡ ἑστία τοῖς ἑσπέραις*, &c.: among the treaties in Thucydides the Doric documents always *οἱ Ἀργεῖοι*, the Athenian *Ἀργεῖοι*, &c. — also the form *ἡ Σπάρτα* which so frequently occurs (*οὐ γὰρ πάντες οἱ Σπάρτας*, Tyrtaeus; *ἡ Σπάρτα*, Thuc. I. 86. &c.), belongs to the same class.

^e I may incidentally remark that

the consideration of the word *μάω*, and its derivatives, shows how little ground there is for the notion that the Muses were originally *Ionian* deities: does not the word *μῶσα*, incorrectly formed from *μῶσα*, the feminine participle of *μάω*, distinctly prove that the word, and also the idea, were transferred from a different branch of the Greek language and nation?

λιπῶσα, and never uses *Σ* for *P*, &c.); and more fully from the Spartans in the *Lysistrata*. On comparing these with the Spartan and Argive treaty in Thucydides V. 77., there is indeed a general agreement; yet in this document the contractions *ἀναιροῦντας*, *πεντηκονταέτη*, *δοκῇ*, *πόλει* (but *πολίεσι* and *αὐτοπόλις*), also *ἐρίζοι* and *δικάζεσθαι*, together with *ως* in the accusative of the substantives, but *ους* of the adjectives, can hardly be considered as pure Doric; nor is there any instance of the change of *Σ* into the aspirate, and *Σ* for *Θ* only in the word *σιῶ*. With regard to the indiscriminate use of *Ω* and *ΟΥ* our copies of Thucydides are not much authority: for these two sounds were not distinguished in the writing of the time, being both expressed by *Ο*; and it is probable that some forms have been modified either by Thucydides or his copyists, or both. On the whole, however, it is probable that the popular dialect of Peloponnesus, which is preserved in all its harshness in the famous treaty of the Eleans, was about the time of the Peloponnesian war softened down in public documents and treaties. Thus in a Lacedæmonian inscription of later date, we still find the ancient forms *στατερας*, *αἰγιναιος*, *αργυριο*, *ἑκατι*, *δαρικοι οκτακατιος*, from a restoration, but also *χιλιους* *δαρ[ικους]*, Corp. Inscript. No. 1511. In the Spartan decree preserved by Plutarch in his Life of Lysander c. 14., we should probably write, *ταῦτα ΚΑ δρῶντες τὰν εἰράναν ἔχοιτε, ἡ χρὴ ΔΟΝΤΕΣ καὶ τὰς φυγάδας ἀνέντες. περὶ τὰν ναῶν τῶ πλήθεος δοκῶν τι ΚΑΘΝΕΙ δοκῶν, ταῦτα ποιέετε*, as has been partly emended by Haitinger Act. Monac. vol. III. p. 311. In the time of Pyrrhus much of the ancient peculiarity of the dialect was still in existence, although in the following saying all the forms are not those of the ancient Laconian language, *αἱ μὲν ἔσοι τύ γε θεός, οὐδὲν μὴ πάθωμεν, οὐ γὰρ, ἀδικεῖμεν· αἱ δ' ἄνθρωπος, ἔσεται καὶ τεῦ κάρραν ἄλλος*, Plutarch. Pyrrh. 26. The remains of it in the decrees of the Eleutherolacones and Spartans in the time of the emperors are less considerable. That the *Messenians* retained the ancient idiom, from ancient recollections, or perhaps from affectation, was remarked above, p. 414, note^c. The *Argive*

dialect has been more than once observed to agree with the Cretan, a correspondence which may be even traced in unimportant particulars; thus the name of the Argive βαλλα-
 χράδαι (above, p. 355. note ⁿ), was derived from ἀχράς, which Hermonax ap. Schol. Nicand. Ther. 512. calls a Cretan, and Hesychius a Laconian word. The grammarians likewise particularly remark that in the Argive dialect I was frequently changed into N, as in μέντον for μέντοι (Argive and Cretan, Maittaire p. 255), αἰέν, ἔννατος (Etymol. M. p. 402, 2.) φαεννός (see Boeckh Not. crit. ad Pind. Olymp. I. 6.); the Sicilians in many cases made the contrary change—the Rhegini, however, the same as the Argives (Etymol. M. p. 135, 45. Gud. 73, 44.); which peculiarity they had evidently borrowed from the Messenians. Dercyllus wrote in the ancient Argive dialect; see Etymol. M. p. 391, 20. above, p. 385, note ^c. The Cretan has a singularity which does not appear to have been observed in any other dialect of Greece, viz. of changing λ before a consonant and after ε or α into υ (analogous to the French forms *aumône*, *haubergeon*, &c. from the German *Almosen*, *Halsberge*, &c.); thus αὔσος for ἄλσος, αὔμα for ἄλμα, likewise αὔκονα, αὔκαν; θεύγεσθαι and εὔθειν for θέλγεσθαι and ἐλθειν, according to Hesychius, Koen. p. 354. The Ætolian word δεῦκος also shows the same formation, as it comes from the ancient root δέλκυσ, *dulcis*. There is an analogous change in the Cretan forms Πεῖσος from Πεῖανσος, and γεροῖταν, πάππον (Hesych.) i. e. for γερόντας from γέρων, and directly the reverse of that observed above in the termination of the participles τιθέης, &c. where the Cretans retained the ancient form τιθέης, which other Greeks softened into τιθείς, &c. The Cretan βέντιον for βέλτιον is paralleled by the Sicilian forms ἔνδον and φίντατος. The words peculiar to the Cretan town Polyrrenia, such as σέρτης “a crane,” ἄμαλλα “a partridge,” κόμβα “a crow,” (see also Hesychius in κάρα and λάττα) are probably remains of an ancient Cydonian language, having no affinity with the Greek. See Hoeck’s Kreta, vol. I. p. 146, note ^b. In the Cretan inscriptions of the beginning of the second century before Christ, the ancient dialect is still pre-

served in some words, but not regularly and constantly; peculiarities such as αὔσος no longer appear: and if they were found in a writer named Cypselas, he must have been of a much earlier date (Joann. Gramm. ad calc. H. Steph. Thes. Gr. p. 13.). Some peculiarities of the Doric dialect of *Corinth* and *Sicyon* have been noticed above; in general, however, we know little of these dialects; but of the *Megarian* we are better informed by means of the *Acharneans* of Aristophanes, and this probably gives a tolerably correct notion of the Doric of Peloponnesus, except Sparta. The Dryopians of *Hermione* also spoke Doric; at least an *Hermionean* inscription contains such Dorisms as ἐπιδαμῶντι, ποττάν πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ λαίναν δόμεν στάλαν, Boeckh No. 1193. and see others cited vol. I. p. 399, note ^v. The *Rhodians* still spoke Doric in the time of Tiberius (Sueton. Tiber. 56.), and indeed, as Aristides de Conc. boasts, in great purity (see Meurs. Rhod. II. 3.). Inscriptions of *Cos* (in Spon), *Calymna* (Chandler. Inscript. p. 21. No. 58.), *Asty-palæa*, and *Anaphæ* (in Villosion’s papers) are written in a Doric style, common in such monuments. The same was also adopted by the *Æginetans* after their re-establishment; see the inscription in *Æginetica*, p. 136, and the remarks on it in p. 160. Among the inscriptions of *Corcyra*, collected by Mustoxidi, a series might be arranged according to the greater and less traces of the Doric dialect; the large one in Boeckh’s Staatshaushaltung, vol. II. p. 400. contains several peculiarities, as, e. g. the imperative δόντω. In a *Theræan* inscription, containing the will of a certain Epicteta (Boeckh, No. 2448.), several pure Dorisms occur, as, e. g., the accusative plural in ος, the infinitives ἀγαγέν, θύεν, (Eustathius ad Od. τ. p. 706. 49. quotes λέγες for λέγεις as *Theræan*); at the same time several peculiar forms, such as ἐστάκεια, συναγαγόχεια; and upon the whole there is little archaic in the language. But the *Byzantine* dialect was in the time of Philip, as we know from the decree in Demosthenes, rich in Dorisms: not so many occur in the more recent inscription in Chandler Inscript. App. p. 95. No. 10. How much of the language of the surrounding nations had

been introduced into the *Cyrenæan* dialect cannot be determined: according to Hesychius βείκος was the *Cyrenæan* word for "ass;" which resembles the Spanish word *borrico*; both probably were derived from Africans. All that we know of the *Tarentine* dialect appears to have been taken from the Phlyaces of Rhinthon, who lived in the time of Ptolemy the First; although very different from the ancient *Laconian* dialect, it has many peculiarities:^f but besides the vulgar language of Tarentum there was also spoken a polished (*Attic*) dialect, which was alone used in public transactions. See Dionys. Hal. Exc. p. 2239. ed. Reiske. With regard to the exchange of words with the neighbouring Italian nations (above, p. 413, note *), it is sometimes doubtful which party borrowed from the other. Thus Alcman uses πόλτος for *puls*; are we to suppose that this word was so early brought over from Italy? Κάραρον is used for "prison" by Sophron, for "stall" by Rhinthon: it is the same word as the Latin *carcer*; but possibly both are derived from the *Laconian* word γέργυρα in Alcman. That the Italian *Heracleans* should have preserved the ancient language and writing to the fifth century after the building of Rome so faithfully as the famous *Heracleian Tables* show us, is very remarkable. At *Syracuse* the dialect was nearly the same as that in which Epicharmus and Sophron wrote: the laws of Diocles too were probably drawn up in this dialect, but the circumstance of their requiring an interpreter in the time of Timoleon is a proof of the rapid preponderance of the *Attic* language in this city (B. III. ch. 9. § 7.). The language of Sophron is also nearer to the common dialect, and less strictly *Doric* than that spoken in Peloponnesus in his time; e. g., he always says τούς and not τῶς. On the spreading of the *Doric* dialect in Sicily see Castelli Proleg. p. 25. We have not as yet touched on the *Delphic* dialect, the strong *Doric* character of which is proved

^f A remarkable agreement of *Tarentine*, *Lacedæmonian*, and *Cretan* words is ἀμαρίς ἀραξ *Tarent.*, ἀμα-
ρίν *Lacon.*, ἀμαρίς *Cret.* in Hesychius.

by an inscription (Boeckh No. 1690.) in which ὀδελαί and τέτορες occur, and still more, as I believe, by a monument of Olymp. 100. 1, which has futures such as ὀρκιζέω &c., the infinitives ἀπογράφειν, φέρεν, and θύειν, αἶκα for εἶαν, πάντεσσι, ἱερομανιμόνεσσι, διακᾶτισι, ἐπικοσμήσωντι, ἐν for ἐς *adverbialiter*, καττάν, ἐνιαύτιος, πέμπωντι, ποττὸν (Boeckh No. 1688.). Besides this, all the prose oracles given at Delphi were doubtless written in *Doric*; as e. g. that in Demosth. in Mid. p. 531, and in Macart. p. 1072, that in Thuc. V. 16. (—ἀργυρέα εὐλάκκ εὐλάζειν, is, according to the scholiast, a *Laconian* expression), and the oracle quoted in vol. I. p. 199. note P, ποῖ τὸ λαβὼν καὶ ποῖ τὸ καθίζων καὶ ποῖ τὸ οἶκῃσιν (here the sense requires ἀσφαλέως ἔξεις, ἐρωτᾷς, κελεύω) ἀλῖέα τε κεκληῖσθαι, which, however, was probably written in hexameters, since the epic oracles sometimes show traces of *Dorisms* (Herod. IV. 155, 157; compare that given to the *Lacedæmonians*, ἀ φιλοχρηματία &c.). Plutarch (Pyth. Orac. 24. p. 289.) quotes from ancient oracles the expression πυρίκασι (i. e. πυρκόσι, as the Delphians themselves were called, vol. I. p. 254. note^h), ὀρεάνας for ἄνδρας, ὀρεμπότας for ποτάμους; likewise κραταίπους (Schol. Pind. Olymp. XIII. 114.) is probably from an oracle: from the *Dorisms* of the vulgar dialect we have Γυγάδας for the treasure of Gyges, Herod. I. 14, a half-adjective form in -ας, which occurs frequently in *Doric*, and ἄρμα for ἀρμή, "love," Plutarch Amator, 23. The name of the month Βύσιος (ap. Plutarch. Quæst. Gr. 9. and in *Delphian* inscriptions) was derived by some from Φύσιος, as being a spring-month; it is, however, far more probable that this sacred oracular month received its name from Pytho, as Πύθιος. In that case the change of θ into σ corresponds with the *Laconian* dialect; but that of π into β is peculiar to the *Delphians*, among whom, according to Plutarch, it also occurred in βικρὸς for πικρὸς, and other words. A newly discovered honorary decree of Delphi (Ross, Inscript. Græc. ined. Fasc. I. No. 67.) points to a closer affinity of the *Delphian* and *Ætolian*

^h See Lobeck, Aglaoph. vol. 11. p. 846.

dialects. We find in it the datives *ἀγώνοις*, *ἐντυγχανόντοισι*, and therefore the same metaplasm of declination as among the Ætolians, to whom the grammarians attribute such forms as *γερόντοισι*, *παθημάτοισι*. The *Phoceans* appear from the inscriptions to have spoken an Æolic dialect, nearly akin to the Doric. A remarkable peculiarity, which occurs in inscriptions both of Steiris and Daulis, in the territory of the Phoceans, is that the radical vowel of *τίθημι* and *ἵημι* remains unlengthened in the active and passive perfect; as in *ἀνατεδεκαντι*, *ἀνατεδεμένους*, *ἀφεμένα* for *ἀνατεδείκασι*, *ἀνατεδειμένους*, *ἀφειμένη*.

APPENDIX VI.

Chronological Tables.

1. AN attempt to ascertain the precise date of mythical events would at the present time be considered unreasonable, nor would it be better to arrange them according to generations. It must however be allowed that the mutual dependence of events recorded by mythology can be proved, and by this means, to a certain degree, their succession may be satisfactorily traced. We shall give a specimen from the work before us.

The Dorians in Hestiaotis. Worship of Apollo at Tempe
b. I. ch. 1. b. II. ch. 1.

The Dorians at war with the Lapithæ. Taking of Æchalia, b. I. ch. 1. § 7. b. II. ch. 2. § 1.

The Dorians in Crete. Worship of Apollo at Cnosus,
b. I. ch. 1. § 9. b. II. ch. 1. § 5.

Teucrian Pelagones (Encheleans) in the north of Thessaly,
b. I. ch. 1. § 10.

Dorians at the foot of Æta and Parnassus. Worship of Apollo at Lycorea and Pytho, b. I. ch. 2. b. II. ch. 1. § 8.

The Dorians in alliance with the Trachinians and Ætolians, b. I. ch. 2. § 5.

Taking of Ephyra in Thesprotia. Origin of the Geryonia, b. II. ch. 2. § 3.

War with the Dryopians and transportation of this nation to Pytho, b. I. ch. 2. § 4. b. II. ch. 3. § 3.

Cretan sovereignty of the sea; Cretans in Crisa, Lycia and the Troad, b. II. ch. 1. § 6. ch. 2. § 2, 3.

Worship of Apollo in Bæotia; origin of the Theban traditions respecting Hercules, b. II. ch. 3. § 2. ch. 2. § 7.

Introduction of the mythology of Hercules into Attica by

the Ionians. Institution of the Pythian Theoriae, b. II. ch. 3. § 14.

Cretans in Megara and Attica. Connection of the religious worship of Athens with that of Crete, Delos, and Naxos, *ibid.*

Cretan fortress of Miletus in Caria; temples at Didymi and Claros, *ibid.* § 6.

Union of the Dorians and Ætolians, b. I. ch. 3. § 9.

Thessalians and Thesprotians in Pelasgic Argos, Orchomenos, p. 476.

The expelled Magnetes become subjects of the Pythian Apollo, b. II. ch. 3. § 4.

The Boeotians found a new Arne in Boeotia, Orchomenos, *ubi sup.*

Cadmean Ephyræans and Ægidæ in Athens and Amyclæ, *ibid.*

Partial emigration of the Dorians from the Tetrapolis, b. I. ch. 3.

Emigration of the Ænians from the Inachus to the district of Ceta, b. I. ch. 2. § 6.

2. In reckoning from the migration of the Heraclidæ downwards, we follow the Alexandrine chronology, of which it should be observed, that our materials only enable us to restore it to its original state, not to examine its correctness. That it was chiefly founded upon original records and monuments preserved in Peloponnesus, which gave even the years of the kings, has been shown above, b. I. ch. 7. § 3. The dates which Syncellus has preserved from Eusebius, Eusebius from Diodorus, and Diodorus from Apollodorus, could not have been calculated merely by generations; and Larcher's criticism and rejection of the Alexandrine Chronologists may perhaps be found as groundless as they are presumptuous.

B.C.

1104. Migration of the Dorians into Peloponnesus, 80 years after the fall of Troy,^a 328 years before the first Olympiad.^b

^a This date must have been fixed by the logographers. p. 145, note q, from whom Tzetzes, *Chil.* XII. 193, gives the same statement (with the exception of what he

^b According to Apollodorus, vol. I.

B.C.

Temenus in Argos, Aristodemus in Sparta, Cresphontes in Messenia, Oxyllus the Ætolian in Elis, Cypselus at Basilis. Resistance of the Achæans in Amyclæ. The Nelidæ go from Pylos to Athens.

Birth of Eurysthenes and Procles, and death of Aristodemus king of Sparta. Theras protector of the twin-brothers.^{bb}

1074. 30. Eurysthenes and Procles governors of Sparta. Aletes reduces Corinth.^c Ceisus the son of Temenus reigns at Argos, Phalces at Sicyon, Agæus at Træzen (b. I. ch. 5. § 4.), Deiphontes at Epidaurus, Triacon in Ægina, Thersander at Cleonæ (b. I. ch. 5. § 4. b. III. ch. 6. § 10.),

says on the age of Homer, which must be a misunderstanding). Apollodorus is followed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Solinus: see Larcher, *Chronologie d'Hérodote*, p. 373. The calculation of Timæus only differed by nine years, vol. I. p. 131, note t, who is nearly followed by Velleius Paterculus. The date of Apollodorus can now be completely restored from the Armenian Eusebius p. 166; from which we see that, according to Apollodorus, the first Olympiad coincided with the 10th year of Alcámenes. The Canons of Eusebius place the first Olympiad at the 37th and last year of Alcámenes; an error which appears to have arisen from Eusebius having taken the first year of Eurysthenes as identical with the epoch of the return of the Heraclidæ. Apollodorus however appears to have allowed thirty years for the minority of the brothers, see vol. II. p. 90, note u. And he seems not to have reckoned the time from the entrance of the Heraclidæ into Sparta until the birth of the brothers, which Herod. VII. 52. calls *χρόνος ἐπὶ πολλόν*. Now the canons have 324 years from the return of the Heraclidæ to Olymp. I. (916 to 1240); if from this we deduct 26 years for Alcámenes, in whose 37th year the first Olympiad falls, according to the calculation of the canons, and add 30 years for the minority, we obtain 328, the number of Apollodorus.

Apollodorus apparently took the 10 years of Alcámenes before Olymp. I. as complete; whereas Eratosthenes probably placed Olymp. I. at the beginning of this 10th year; hence the difference of 327 and 328 years. See however Clinton F. H. vol. I. p. 124. 330.

^{bb} If the years of the minority are included in those of the reign, (as the Spartans used to do in reckoning the reigns of their kings;) the 30 years of the guardianship of Theras must be given to Eurysthenes and Procles. But since this guardianship for the heads of both the royal houses was something peculiar, it is possible that the Spartan lists, and the Alexandrine chronologists who followed them, reckoned these 30 years separately. — For a defence of the opinion that the Spartan *ἀνυπαρμίαι* contained chronological statements, and for an explanation of their character in reference to the remarks of Mr. Lewis (*Philol. Museum*, vol. II. p. 46.) and Mr. Clinton (F. H. vol. I. p. 334), see the *Gottingen Gel. Anz.* 1837. p. 893.

^c Vol. I. p. 147, note b. The line of the Corinthian princes is arranged after Diodorus, who evidently followed the Alexandrine chronologists; but committed an error similar to that just pointed out in Eusebius. It has been corrected by Wesseling from Didymus.

- Laias the Cypselid, in Arcadia. Pityreus the Ionian goes from Epidaurus to Athens.
1072. 32. Theras colonizes Thera with Minyæ and Ægidæ from the district of Amyclæ. Corinthian Dorians conquer Megara. Æpytus, son of Cresphontes, re-established in Messenia.
1051. 53. The Thessalian Magnetes found Magnesia in Asia Minor.^d Advance of the Dorians in the direction of Attica. Medon, son of Ceisus, at Argos, b. III. ch. 6. § 10. Althæmenes, son of Ceisus, goes to Crete. Amyclæan Laconians settle in Melos and Gortyna. Migration of the Argives and Epidaurians to Rhodes and Cos, of the Træzenians to Halicarnassus.
1040. 60. Migration of the Ionians to Asia. Procles, son of Pityreus of Epidaurus, goes to Samos with carvers in wood from Ægina.^e The Phliasians, driven out by Rhegnidas the son of Phalces, withdraw to Samos and Clazomenæ, b. I. ch. 5. § 3.
1038. 68. Ixion king of Corinth.
1033. 71. Sôis, the Proclid, at Sparta.^f
1032. 72. Agis the Eurysthenid.^g Achæans from Laconia colonize Patræ.
1031. 73. Echestratus the Agid.
1006. 100*.^h Eurypon the Proclid. Echestratus and Eurypon subdue Cynuria, b. I. ch. 7. § 15.

^d According to Eusebius. Compare b. II. ch. 3. § 4.

^e Æginetica, p. 98.

^f The Armenian Eusebius p. 166. in the extract from Diodorus, assigns 51 years to Procles, for which I correct 41; see b. I. ch. 5. § 14. But the list of the Proclidæ in that extract is very imperfect; and therefore only gives certain dates *before* Sôis and *after* Charilaus

^g Larcher will not allow that Agis only reigned one year, as in that case he could not have been so famous. But (to reason in his own manner) may he not have obtained his renown when regent, and may not the regret for the king, whom the nation so soon lost, have even increased the fame of his reign?

^h This date and others followed

1000. 106. Agelas at Corinth.
996. 108. Labotas the Agid.
978. 126. Prytanis the Eurypontid.
963. 143. Prumnis at Corinth.
959. 145. Doryssus the Agid.
929. 175. Polydectes (Eunomus) the Eurypontid.
* Megara separates itself from Corinth, b. I. ch. 5. § 10.
930. 174. Agesilaus the Agid.
926. 178. Bacchis at Corinth.
924. 180*. Pompos the Cypselid in Arcadia supports the commerce of the Æginetans.
917. 187. Rhodes enjoys the sovereignty of the sea (Eusebius).
891. 213. Agelas at Corinth.
886. 218. Archelaus the Agid.
884. 220. Polydectes dies. Birth of Charilaus. Lycurgus regent.
Lycurgus in conjunction with Iphitus the Elean and Cleosthenes, the son of Cleonicus of Pisa, arranges the Olympic games.ⁱ
Lycurgus gives laws to Sparta.
861. 243. Eudemus at Corinth.
854. 250. Charilaus, the Eurypontid, king of Sparta. In this office he with Archelaus conquers Ægys (b. I. ch. 5. § 13.), lays waste the territory of Argos (ib. ch. 7. § 14.), and is defeated by the Tegeates (ib. § 12.). Polymestor, the Cypselid, in Arcadia.

by an asterisk are merely approximations to the truth.

ⁱ On this epoch see vol. I. p. 145. note q. Eratosthenes, who fixed the first Olympiad 407 years after the fall of Troy, placed Lycurgus 219 years after the return of the Heraclidæ; so also Porphyrius ap. Euseb. Armen. p. 139 Scalig. p. 27. Apollodorus and Eratosthenes both reckoned twenty-seven Olympiads from Iphitus to Coræbus, which number is testified by Aristodemus of Elis and Polybius, ap. Euseb.

Armen. p. 141. Scalig. p. 39. Callimachus, however, only reckons thirteen Olympiads between these two eras. Perhaps this is to be explained by supposing that the Olympiad of Coræbus was the first of *four years*, whereas the former Olympiads had contained *eight years* (book II. ch. 3. § 2.); in which case we have $13 \times 8 + 4 = 108$. On this Cleosthenes, see Phlegon Trallianus apud Meurs. Op. vol. VII. p. 128. et Schol. Plat. Rep. V. p. 246. 7.

B.C.

836. 268. Aristomedes at Corinth.^k
 826. 278. Teleclus the Agid. He conquers Amyclæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ, b. I. ch. 5. § 13, and destroys Nedon, ib. ch. 7. § 10.
 824. 280. [Nicander the Eurypontid, according to Eusebius.]
 810. 294. Nicander the Eurypontid (according to Sosibius^l). He ravages the territory of Argos, in alliance with Asine, ib. § 14.
 801. 303. Agemon the Bacchiad.
 786. 318. Alcamenes the Agid. He conquers Helos^m and defeats the Argives. Charmides, the son of Euthys, is sent to quiet the troubles of Crete. [Theopompus the Eurysthenid, according to Eusebius,]
 785. 319. Alexander at Corinth.
 776. 328. Coræbus obtains the prize at the Olympic games at the full moon (according to the original institution), on the 13th or 14th day of the first Olympic month (Apollonius), if the Ennaëteris began with this Olympiad; of the second month (Parthenius), if the Olympiad fell in the middle of the period. The month began with the new moon after the summer solstice, on the 8th of July (according to Delalande, see *l'Art de vérifier les Dates*, tom. III. p. 170.) 776. B. C. the distribution of the prizes therefore took place the 21st or 22nd of July.

3. Reckoning according to Olympiads.

B.C. Ol.

776. 1. Coræbus of Elis.

^k Aristomedes reigned thirty-five years, according to the Armenian Eusebius, and Syncellus, in the list in p. 165; and not thirty years, as is stated in Syncellus, ib. p. 164.

^l Sosibius ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 327. gives sixty-four years for the reign of Charilaus and thirty-nine for that of Nicander, and places the first Olympiad in the thirty-

fourth year of Nicander; and this appears also to be the computation of Pausanias, who therefore carries the reign of Theopompus six Olympiads lower than Eusebius. In Pausanias likewise the successor of Polymestor, the contemporary of Charilaus, is the contemporary of the first Messenian war.

^m Vol. I. p. 104. note e.

B.C.

774. 3. Metapontum founded by Achæans and Crissæans according to Eusebius, book II. ch. 3. § 7.
 * Eratus, king of Argos, expels the Asinæans from their town, b. I. ch. 7, § 14. above, p. 112. note e.
 772. 2. Antimachus of Elis.
 1. Theopompus the Eurypontid according to Sositheus.
 768. 3. Androcles of Messenia.
 Cinæthon the epic poet of Laconia flourishes, according to Eusebius.
 * Pheidon, prince of Argos, attempts to conquer Corinth.
 764. 4. Polychares of Messenia.
 4. Telestas at Corinth.
 760. 5. Æschines of Elis.
 2. The Chalcidians erect an altar to Apollo Archegetas in Sicily (b. II. ch. 3. § 7.) and, together with some Naxians, found Naxos.
 3. Archias at Corinth founds Syracuse,ⁿ Chersicrates Corcyra (b. I. ch. 6. § 8.). Eumelus, also a Bacchiad, who composed an ode (προσόδιον) for

ⁿ Those who with Eusebius place the foundation of Syracuse in Olymp. 11. 4. and that of Leontini in Olymp. 13. 1. must assume that Lamis the Megarian founded Trotilus and Thapsus in the same year, and went from Thapsus to Megara. Why then, it must be asked, does not Thucydides (VI. 4.) say that Lamis went to the Chalcideans at Leontini ἰλίου ἱερὸν that he had founded Trotilus, as he states that he remained ἰλίου χεῖρον at Leontini, if Thucydides meant that all these events should be understood to follow in so very rapid a succession? At the same time the author acknowledges that though the arguments of Clinton, Fast. Hell. vol. II. p. 265. ed. 2, for the founding of Syracuse in Olymp. 11. 4. have not convinced him, they have shaken his former conviction: and he adds the following remark in favour of that opposite opinion. If Syracuse was founded in Olymp. 5. 3., the founding

of Camarina must be placed in Olymp. 39. 2. (Thuc. VI. 5.) Camarina, according to Scymnus v. 293, was destroyed forty-six years afterwards, i. e. in Olymp. 50. 4. Now it appears from the authentic catalogues of the conquerors at the Olympic games, that Parmenides of Camarina was victorious in the stadium in Olymp. 63. Camarina had not at that time been rebuilt; he could therefore only have been so called from his native place; which would (according to the assumed dates) have been then destroyed forty-nine years. It must, however, have been uncommon for men of fifty to be victorious in running. If, however, we place the foundation of Camarina in Olymp. 45. 1. and the destruction in Olymp. 56 (with the Schol. Pind. Ol. V. 16.), the whole receives a greater degree of probability. This argument, however, is not conclusive.

the Messenians, to be sung at the procession to Delos, and had contended at the Ithomæa, lives with Archias at Syracuse. Phintas the Æpytid reigns in Messenia.

4. Ephors in Sparta (Euseb.).

Croton founded by Myscellus (the Heraclid) and some Achæans, and Locri shortly after (according to Strabo, with whom Pausanias nearly agrees with respect to time).

756. 6. *Æbotas of Dyme*.

4. The Chalcidians found Leontini. Lamis the Megarian lands and founds Trotilus.

752. 7. *Daicles the Messenian*, the first conqueror in the ἀγὼν στεφανίτης, b. IV. ch. 5. § 5.

3. Death of Alcamenes,^o succeeded by Polydorus the Agid. Polydorus and Theopompus limit the power of the popular assembly, b. III. ch. 5. § 8.

4. Automenes at Corinth.

748. 8. *Anticles the Messenian*. Pheidon the Argive president of the games with the Pisatans. Metal wares and silver coins at Ægina.

1. Yearly Prytanes at Corinth.

744. 9. *Xenocles the Messenian*.

1. The Androclidæ, banished from Messenia, fly to Sparta. Euphaes, son of Antiochus, the Æpytid, king of Messenia.

2. Beginning of the first Messenian war, according to Pausanias and Eusebius.

740. 10. *Dotadas the Messenian*.

1. [Death of Theopompus the Eurypontid,^p according to Eusebius.]

^o This is the date of Eusebius. Pausanias, however, makes Alcamenes live till the 10th Olympiad, but without much authority, as the date is given in the romantic narrative of Myron.

^p Euseb. Armen. p. 167. Pausanias represents Theopompus as still alive in the 15th Olympiad; as he follows Tyrtæus, who calls this

prince the conqueror of Messenia, b. I. ch. 7. § 10. Yet it is not absolutely impossible that Tyrtæus might have used this expression as meaning that Theopompus contributed largely to the final result, without having actually completed the subjugation. The chronologists followed by Eusebius appear to have adopted the Messenian tradition, that

B.C. ol.

736. 11. *Leochares the Messenian*.

732. 12. *Oxythemis of Coronea*.

728. 13. *Diocles of Corinth*, the favourite of Philolaus the Bacchiad, legislator of Thebes.

1. Hyblean Megara founded, vol. I. p. 135. note ^r.

724. 14. *Dasmon of Corinth*. *Hypenus of Pisa* the first conqueror in the δίαυλος.

1. The Spartans reduce Ithome, and finish the first Messenian war. The Dryopes build a new Asine, the Androclidæ receive Hyamia from Sparta. Messenians at Rhegium, b. I. ch. 7. § 11.

720. 15. *Orsippus of Megara* is the first who runs naked in the stadium, and *Acanthus the Lacedæmonian* in the δίαυλος, see above, p. 272. note ^a.

War of Megara against Corinth, b. I. ch. 5. § 10.

The war between the Spartans and Argives respecting the possession of Cynuria breaks out afresh, b. I. ch. 7. § 16.

716. 16. *Pythagoras the Laconian*.

4. Gela founded by Rhodians and Cretans.^q

* Theopompus dies (Euseb.), succeeded by Zeuxidamus the Eurypontid.

712. 17. *Polus of Epidaurus*.

1. Megara founded by Astacus (according to Memnon; Olymp. 17. 3. according to Hieron. Scal.; Olymp. 18. 2. Cod. Arm.), b. I. ch. 6. § 9.

3. Croton founded according to Dion. Halicar. and Eusebius, Cod. Arm. (Olymp. 18. 1. according to Euseb. Cod. Arm. Olymp. 19. 2. according to Scaliger.)

* Polydorus killed by Polemarchus;^r succeeded by Eurycrates the Agid

Theopompus was killed during the war (according to Myron in the last year but one), vol. I. p. 159. note ^b, at the sacrifice of a ἱκατομόριον, according to Clemens of Alexandria (Protr. p. 36. Sylburg. Euseb. Præp. Evang. IV. p. 126 C.), who, however, has a very confused notion of this sacrifice; from which, and from the

testimony of Sosibius the Lacedæmonian mentioned above, in p. 446, note ^l, I infer that the authorities of Eusebius in this part of the history no longer followed the public register of Sparta.

^q According to Thucydides, with reference to the date Olymp. 5. 3.

^r Polydorus was honoured as a

B.C. ol.

708. 18. *Tellis of Sicyon*. Eurybatus, the Laconian, first conqueror in the wrestling match: Lampis the Laconian in the Pentathlon.
1. The Partheniæ at Tarentum, Eusebius.
 4. * Ameinocles, the Corinthian, builds the Samian triremes (Thucyd.).
704. 19. *Menon of Megara*.
700. 20. *Atheradas of Laconia*.
696. 21. *Pantacles of Athens*.
692. 22. *Pantacles* a second time.
688. 23. *Icarius of Hyperesia*. Onomastus of Smyrna the first conqueror in the pugilistic contest.
1. Acræ and Enna founded from Syracuse.*
 4. [Commencement of the second Messenian war, according to Pausanias; but, according to Corsini, Fast. Att. II. 1. p. 37. this date should be altered to Olymp. 24. 4.]
- Anaxander the Agid, Anaxidamus the Eurypontid, kings of Sparta.
684. 24. *Cleoptolemus the Laconian*.
2. Locri founded, according to Eusebius (Ol. 26. 4. Cod. Arm.) above, b. I. ch. 6. § 12.
680. 25. *Thalpis the Laconian*. Pagondas of Thebes the first conqueror in the chariot race.
676. 26. *Callisthenes the Laconian*.
The Pisatans render themselves independent of Elis (Strabo).
2. Megara founds Chalcedon, b. I. ch. 6. § 9.
- The musical contests at the Carnea are first introduced (Africanus and Sosibius, above, p. 324. note^e), and Terpander is victorious as a harp-player. The same musician is four times victorious in the musical contests at Pytho, at that time still celebrated every nine years; from about Olymp. 27. to Olymp. 33. Doric, Phrygian, and Lydian styles of music.

hero by posterity, as his *εἰκών* (Pausan. II. 3. 2.), the use of his portrait as the state seal ib. (II. 8.), and his

house being bought by the state (ib. 12. 2.) sufficiently prove.
* B. I. ch. 6. § 7.

B.C. ol.

- Orthagoras, tyrant of Sicyon.^f
672. 27. *Eurybates of Athens*.
4. Victory of the Argives over the Spartans at Hysia, b. I. ch. 7. § 16.
 - * Megalostrata, b. IV. ch. 7. § 10.
668. 28. *Chionis the Laconian* (Corsini Fast. Hell. II. 1. pag. 44.). The Pisatans preside at the games, whilst Elis is at war with Dyme (Euseb.).
1. Syracuse founds Casmenæ.
- End of the second Messenian war, according to Pausanias. Aristomenes goes to Damagetus the Eratid, prince of Ialysus; the Lacedæmonians give Mothone to the expelled Nauplians. Damocratidas king of Argos (above, p. 112. note^g).
4. Gymnopædia at Sparta (Euseb.).
 - * Sea-fight between the Corinthians and Corcyraeans.^h
664. 29. *Chionis* for the second time.
660. 30. *Chionis* for the third time. [The Pisatans, according to Eusebius, celebrate this and the twenty-two following Olympiads.]
1. Zaleucus legislator of Locri (Euseb.).
 2. Phigalia captured by Sparta, b. I. ch. 7. § 12.
 3. Byzantium founded from Megara, b. I. ch. 6. § 9.
- Cypselus expels the Bacchiadæ from Corinth,ⁱ and becomes king.
- * Second Messenian war (b. I. ch. 7. § 10.). Pantaleon, tyrant of Pisa, Aristocrates of Trapezus, king of Orchomenus (vol. I. p. 185 note^j). Tyræus of Aphidna at Sparta.

^f B. I. ch. 8. § 2. Plutarch, de sera Num. vind. 7. p. 231, errs greatly in placing the victory of Teletias the Cleonæan at the Pythia (after Olymp. 47.) before the reign of Orthagoras.

^g B. I. ch. 6. § 8.

^h Who also took refuge in Sparta, the protectress of aristocracy, Plutarch Lysand. 1. Some Heracidae, however, still remained in Corinth. b. I.

ch. 6. § 8. With regard to the epoch, the dates from Diodorus of the kings and ninety prytanes of Corinth, agree completely with the best testimony as to the time of the Cypselidæ. Strabo's 200 prytanes have arisen from a confusion with the number of males in the clan of the Bacchiadæ. See vol. I. p. 181, note^k.

B.C. ol.

656. 31. *Chionis* for the fourth time.652. 32. *Cratinus the Megarian*, (above, p. 272. note^a).

4. Himera founded by Chalcidians and Syracusans (Diod. XIII. 62.).

* Eurycratidas (Eurycrates II.) the Agid, Archidamus the Eurypontid.

648. 33. *Gyges the Laconian*. Lygdamis of Syracuse is the first conqueror in the Pancratium, Crauxidas the Crannonian victorious *κέρντι*. Myron, son of Andreas, tyrant of Sicyon, in the quadriga, b. I. ch. 8. § 2.

4. Terpander's musical legislation at Sparta.

644. 34. *Stomas of Athens*. Pantaleon, son of Omphalion, tyrant of Pisa, president of the games, b. I. ch. 7. § 11.640. 35. *Sphærus the Laconian*. Cylon of Athens victorious in the *δίαυλος*.3. Beginning of the second Messenian war according to Diodorus and Eusebius. Compare Justin, cited vol. I. p. 161. note^a.

The Theræans found the first settlement in Libya on the island of Platea. Orchomenos, p. 344. Chionis, the conqueror at Olympia, among the adventurers.

* Procles tyrant of Epidaurus, Aristodemus king of Orchomenus, vol. I. p. 185. note^a.636. 36. *Phrynon of Athens*.632. 37. *Eurycleidas the Laconian*. Hipposthenes the Laconian first conqueror in the boys' wrestling match, Polyneites of Elis in the stadium as a boy.

Founding of Cyrene. Reign of Battus I.

Peisander, the epic poet of Rhodes.

628. 38. *Olynthus the Laconian*. Eutelidas the Laconian victorious in the boys' pentathlon.

1. Pammilus of Megara on the Isthmus, with some Sicilian Megarians, founds Selinus, b. I. ch. 6. § 10. (Olymp. 32. 2. according to Diodorus.)

Periander, tyrant of Corinth, vol. I. p. 185. note^a.

B.C. ol.

2. Corinthians and Corcyraeans found Epidamnus, b. I. ch. 6. § 8.

* Gorgus, son of Cypselus, tyrant of Ambracia, ibid. b. III. ch. 9. § 6.

* Thaletas, the Elyrian musician, in Sparta. b. IV. ch. 6. § 3.

624. 79. *Rhipsolcus the Laconian*.2. Camarina founded by the Syracusans.^y620. 40. *Olyntheus the Laconian*, for the second time.

* Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, b. I. ch. 8. § 4.

Arion of Methymna, in Peloponnesus.

616. 41. *Cleondas of Thebes*. Philotas of Sybaris, first conqueror in the boxing match of the boys.612. 42. *Lycotas the Laconian*.

1. Cylon, son-in-law of Theagenes, aims at the tyranny of Athens, Corsini Fast. Att. II. 1. p. 64.

Alcman, lyric poet at Sparta, above, p. 328. note^a.608. 43. *Cleon of Epidaurus*.

2. Phrynon of Athens, the conqueror at Olympia, and Pittacus of Mytilene, contend for the possession of Sigeum. (Euseb.)

* Periander decides the subject of dispute, vol. I. p. 191. note^a.4. The inhabitants of Gela found Agrigentum.^z604. 44. *Gelon the Laconian*.

* Agasicles, the Eurypontid, at Sparta.

Solon conquers Salamis from the Megarians.

600. 45. *Anticrates of Epidaurus*.* Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, at war with Argos, vol. I. p. 179. note^k.Pheidon II. king of Argos, above, p. 112. note^e.596. 46. *Chrysamachus the Laconian*.

The Megarians reconquer Salamis and Nisaea, b. I. ch. 8. § 8.

^y Thuc. VI. 5. Compare the date of Syracuse, Olymp. 5. 3. The Scholiast to Pindar. Olymp. V. 16, who places the foundation in Olymp. 45. and Eusebius, reckon from Olymp. 11. 4.^z According to Thucydides, with the date Olymp. 16. 4.

- Epimenides in Athens, according to Diogenes Laertius.
- * Leon the Agid at Sparta unsuccessful in a war against Tegea.
592. 47. *Eurycles the Laconian*.
3. The Amphictyons under Eurylochos the Aleuad, and Cleisthenes of Sicyon, conquer Cirrha, and institute prizes for the gymnastic contest at Pytho. Gylidas Archon (Prytanis) at Delphi, b. I. ch. 8. § 2.
Nebrus and Chrysus the Asclepiadæ of Cos.
Sacadas, the Argive flute-player, victorious in this and the two following Pythian games. Hierax, also an Argive flute-player, probably his contemporary, b. IV. ch. 6. § 8. Second epoch of music at Sparta, b. IV. ch. 6. § 3.
Arcesilaus I. king of Cyrene.
588. 48. *Glaucias of Croton*.
4. Death of Periander, b. I. ch. 8. § 3.
Damophon, son of Pantaleon, tyrant of Pisa, makes war upon Elis.
584. 49. *Lycinus of Croton*. Cleisthenes of Sicyon victorious in the chariot race; he invites the suitors of his daughter Agariste.^a
2. Megacles, son of Alcmaeon, marries Agariste.
3. Second Pythian games, first ἀγών στεφανίτης. Diodorus Archon (Prytanis) at Delphi. Cleisthenes victorious with the quadriga.^b

^a This victory cannot well be placed earlier, because Megacles, who was a party leader at Athens, from about the 54th to the 60th Olympiad, could have hardly come forward as a suitor before this time, (the other Athenian suitor, Hippocles, was archon in Olymp. 53. 3.); nor later, because the Cypselidæ were not then in power, as is evident from Herod. VI. 128.

^b On the computation of the Pythiads, see Boeckh. Expl. Pindar. Olymp. XII. p. 206. It does not

however seem probable, as Boeckh supposes, that the ἀγών χειμασίτης took place in Olymp. 48. 3.: but I suspect that Pausanias, knowing practically that the Pythiads were to be counted from Ol. 48. 3, placed the first Pythiad in this year; not perceiving that the first Pythiad was an *ιναίστης*, or octennial period, as is evident from the Parian marble; whence in the argument to the Pythians, for μετὰ χρόνον ἱεαίτην, I would correct *ιναίτην*; although the fault, if it be a fault, is of old standing.

B.C. ol.

- The Cypselidæ expelled from Corinth, b. I. ch. 8. § 3.
Restoration of the Isthmian games, according to Solinus.
- * Lacedes king of Argos, b. III. ch. 6. § 10.
580. 50. *Epitelidas the Laconian*.
Lipara peopled from Cnidos, b. I. ch. 6.
* Periander, tyrant of Ambracia, banished, b. III. ch. 9. § 6.
Conquest of Orneæ by Argos, b. I. ch. 7. ad fin.
Pyrrhus, son of Pantaleon, tyrant of Pisa, at war with Elis. The victorious Eleans destroy Pisa, Scillus, Macistus, Dyspontium, and extend their dominion towards Triphylia.^c
Dipœnus and Scyllis the Cretan descendants of Dædalus, in Peloponnesus.
Cleobulus, son of Evagoras, a Heraclide, governor of Lindus, a lyric poet and seer.^d Riddles of Cleobulina, b. IV. ch. 8. § 4.
576. 51. *Eratosthenes of Croton*.
3. Pythocritus of Sicyon victorious in flute-playing at this and the five following Pythiads, b. IV. ch. 6. § 5.

^c Orchomenos, p. 374, where for 60 write 50. As some misapprehensions have arisen on the passages relating to this event, I may be permitted to make the following remarks. 1. The three passages of Pausanias, V. 63. V. 10. 2. VI. 22. 2. on the ἀνάστασις of the Pisans, evidently refer to the same event; and consequently the second of them should be interpreted thus: "the statue of Jupiter is made from the plunder gained at the time when the Eleans overcame Pisa." This is the explanation of Dodwell, Annal. Thuc. p. 137. otherwise Voelckel, Ueber den Tempel des Olympischen Jupiters, p. 6. Krueger de Xenoph. Vita. II. In Strabo VIII. p. 355, C. the ἱσχάτη κατάλοιποι τῶν Μεσσηνίων cannot be the war of Olymp. 81; since the Pisans could neither have had the

management of the games at that time, nor any Nestoridæ been in existence at Pylus. But he must mean the subjugation of Messenia after the 30th Olympiad, after which time the Lacedæmonians perhaps assisted the Eleans in gradually weakening Pisa, until in the 50th Olympiad it became completely subject. A more precise date for the distinction of Pisa may be gathered from the strange statement of the catalogue of the Olympiad in Eusebius according to Africanus, that the Pisans celebrated the 30th and the 22 following Olympiads (vid. ad Ol. 30); if we understand it to mean that the Pisans had a share in the celebration of the Olympiads until their destruction. According to this, Pisa was destroyed in Olymp. 52.

^d Diog. Laert. I. 98.

- The family of the tyrants banished from Sicyon, b. I. ch. 8. § 2.
Battus II. king of Cyrene. Enlargement of the Cyrenæan territory.
* Susarion of Tripodiscus, a comic poet in the Attic Icaria. (Marm. Par.)
572. 52. *Agis of Elis*.
568. 53. *Agnon of Peparethus*.
2. Argos conquers Nemea, and celebrates the first winter festival of the Nemean games noticed by chronologists.
3. Eugammon, the epic poet, in Cyrene. (Euseb.)
4. Phalaris of Astypalæa, tyrant of Agrigentum, (Euseb. Hieron; Olymp. 52. 3. Cod. Arm.) b. III. ch. 9. § 8.
4. Stesichorus, the lyric poet of Himera flourishes.
564. 54. *Hippostratus of Croton*.
Æsop of Cotyæ, pursuant to the sentence of the court of the temple at Delphi, is precipitated from the Phædriadian rocks of Hyampeia. (Suidas.)
* Anaxandridas the Agid.
560. 55. *Hippostratus* for the second time.
2. Death of Stesichorus, Euseb. according to Suidas, Olymp. 56.
* Meltas, son of Lacedes, king of Argos, deposed. The family of the Heraclides expires,* and Ægon, of another family, obtains the royal dignity, b. III. ch. 6. § 7.
556. 56. *Phædrus of Pharsalus*.
1. Cheilon Ephor at Lacedæmon, (above, p. 115. note ^g.)
3. Camarina destroyed by the Syracusans.
552. 57. *Ladromus the Laconian*.

* In later times, however, a certain T. Statilius Lamprias, the son of Timocrates Memmianus derives his origin from Perseus (through Hercules) and the Dioscuri, Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. No. 1124; as also a M. Aurelius Aristocrates, the son of

Damænetus, hereditary priest of Hercules and the Dioscuri at Sparta, declares that he is descended from Hercules in the 48th, and from the Dioscuri in the 44th generation, ibid. No. 1353, and see Boeckh on No. 1340.

B.C. ol.

3. Phalaris overthrown by Telemachus the Emmenide. Orchomenos, p. 338.
Alcmanes becomes king of Agrigentum.
* *Ariston the Eurypontid*.
548. 58. *Diognetus of Croton*.
1. The temple at Pytho burnt, (Pausan. Euseb.)
The Amphictyons appoint the Alcmaeonidæ to rebuild it: Spintharus the Corinthian is the architect.
The Spartans find the bones of Orestes, (Solinus I. 90.) and defeat the Tegeates, b. I. ch. 7. § 12.
* Battle of the 300 at Thyrea.^f
544. 59. *Archilochus of Corcyra*. Praxidamas of Ægina conquers in the boxing match, and dedicates the first statue of a wrestler at Olympia. The Æginetan school of brass-founders begins to flourish (Callon); contemporary we find the Spartan artists Dorycleidas, Dontas, Chartas, Syadras, Gitiadas, &c.
540. 60. *Apellæus of Elis*.
* Victory of the Megarians and Argives over Corinth.^g vol. I. p. 98, note ^h.
Pythagoras at Croton. Aristocleia, Pythian priestess. Leo tyrant of Phlius.
536. 61. *Agatharchus of Corcyra*.
532. 62. *Eryxias of Chalcis*. Milo of Croton victorious in wrestling, perhaps the first of his six victories.
528. 63. *Parmenides of Camarina*. (This town was however at this time in ruins.)

^f That Pausanias (III. 7. 5.) errs greatly in assigning this battle to the reign of Theopompus (about Olymp. 2—16.) is proved by his own statement that Perilaus, the son of the Argive warrior Alcenor, was a conqueror at the Nemean games (b. I. ch. 7. § 16); for no conquerors at those games are mentioned before Olymp. 53. Plutarch Lac. Apophth. p. 233, states that the battle took place in the reign of Polydorus

(about Olymp. 7—17.), Solinus VII. 9. in Olymp. 10. 4. 737 B.C.

^g To this war, which must be placed about Olymp. 60, should probably be referred the inscription on the helmet found at Olympia, which formed part of a trophy, Corp. Inscript. 20. 29. cf. Addend. p. 885.

TAPT[α] OI ANEΘEN TOI ΔΙΠΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΘΕΝ.

- The family of the tyrants banished from Sicyon, b. I. ch. 8. § 2.
Battus II. king of Cyrene. Enlargement of the Cyrenæan territory.
* Susarion of Tripodiscus, a comic poet in the Attic Icaria. (Marm. Par.)
572. 52. *Agis of Elis*.
568. 53. *Agnon of Peparethus*.
2. Argos conquers Nemea, and celebrates the first winter festival of the Nemean games noticed by chronologists.
3. Eugammon, the epic poet, in Cyrene. (Euseb.)
4. Phalaris of Astypalæa, tyrant of Agrigentum, (Euseb. Hieron; Olymp. 52. 3. Cod. Arm.) b. III. ch. 9. § 8.
4. Stesichorus, the lyric poet of Himera flourishes.
564. 54. *Hippostratus of Croton*.
Æsop of Cotyæ, pursuant to the sentence of the court of the temple at Delphi, is precipitated from the Phædriadian rocks of Hyampeia. (Suidas.)
* Anaxandridas the Agid.
560. 55. *Hippostratus* for the second time.
2. Death of Stesichorus, Euseb. according to Suidas, Olymp. 56.
* Meltas, son of Lacedes, king of Argos, deposed. The family of the Heraclides expires,^e and Ægon, of another family, obtains the royal dignity, b. III. ch. 6. § 7.
556. 56. *Phædrus of Pharsalus*.
1. Cheilon Ephor at Lacedæmon, (above, p. 115. note 8.)
3. Camarina destroyed by the Syracusans.
552. 57. *Ladromus the Laconian*.

^e In later times, however, a certain T. Statilius Lamprias, the son of Timocrates Memmianus derives his origin from Perseus (through Hercules) and the Dioscuri, Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. No. 1124; as also a M. Aurelius Aristocrates, the son of

Damænetus, hereditary priest of Hercules and the Dioscuri at Sparta, declares that he is descended from Hercules in the 48th, and from the Dioscuri in the 44th generation, ibid. No. 1353, and see Boeckh on No. 1340.

- B.C. ol.
3. Phalaris overthrown by Telemachus the Emmenide. Orchomenos, p. 338.
Alcmanes becomes king of Agrigentum.
* *Ariston the Eurypontid*.
548. 58. *Diognetus of Croton*.
1. The temple at Pytho burnt, (Pausan. Euseb.)
The Amphictyons appoint the Alcmaeonidæ to rebuild it: Spintharus the Corinthian is the architect.
The Spartans find the bones of Orestes, (Solinus I. 90.) and defeat the Tegeates, b. I. ch. 7. § 12.
* Battle of the 300 at Thyrea.^f
544. 59. *Archilochus of Corcyra*. Praxidamas of Ægina conquers in the boxing match, and dedicates the first statue of a wrestler at Olympia. The Æginetan school of brass-founders begins to flourish (Callon); contemporary we find the Spartan artists Dorycleidas, Dontas, Chartas, Syadras, Gitiadas, &c.
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(about Olymp. 7—17.), Solinus VII. 9. in Olymp. 10. 4. 737 B.C.

^g To this war, which must be placed about Olymp. 60, should probably be referred the inscription on the helmet found at Olympia, which formed part of a trophy, Corp. Inscript. 20. 29. cf. Addend. p. 885.

TAPT[u]OI ANEΘEN TOI ΔΙΠΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΘΕΝ.

- * Naval expedition of the Peloponnesians against Polycrates of Samos, b. I. ch. 8. § 5.
524. 64. *Evander the Thessalian*.
Cleomenes the Agid. Dorieus goes to Libya. The great victory of Cleomenes over Argos, (according to Pausanias, see b. I. ch. 8. § 6; but comp. b. III. ch. 4. § 2.)
520. 65. *Acochas* (read *Anochus*) of *Tarentum*. Demaretus of Heræa the first conqueror as a heavy-armed runner (*Hoplitodromeus*); Eutelidas and Chrysothemis the Argives make statues of him and his son Theopompus.
1. Cleomenes refers the Platæans to Athens, (vol. I. p. 190, note ^b, B. I. ch. 9. § 5.)
 2. The Æginetans colonize Cydonia.
Dorieus goes to Sicily, and founds Heraclea, but falls in a battle against the Carthaginians and Egestæans. Euryleon of Sparta succeeds Peithagoras on the throne of Selinus.^b
- * The ancient constitution of Sicyon restored, b. I. ch. 8. § 5.
516. 66. *Ischyrius of Himera*. Cleosthenes of Epidamnus conquers in the chariot race. Ageladas of Argos makes a statue of the latter and Anochus, victorious in Olymp. 65.
Aristophylidas tyrant of Tarentum, b. I. ch. 8. § 15.
512. 67. *Phanas of Pellene*.
1. Pretended maritime sovereignty of the Lacedæmonians. Eusebius.
 3. Cleomenes expels the Peisistratidæ from Athens. (Thuc. VI. 59.)
Lygdamis of Naxos is deposed at the same time, b. I. ch. 8. § 5.¹

^b Herod. V. 46. cf. Plutarch. Lycurg. 20. That Dorieus did not fight against Sybaris may also be proved chronologically.

¹ Lacedæmonian envoys to this tyrant are mentioned by Plutarch, Lac. Apophth. p. 245.

B.C. ol.

- The Crotoniats under Milo defeat the Sybarites, and destroy Sybaris.
Dissension at Croton respecting the division of the territory.
- * Demaratus the Eurypontid.
508. 68. *Ischomachus of Croton*.
1. Cleomenes expels Cleisthenes and supports the aristocracy of Athens; Isagoras archon. Insurrection at Athens, and recall of Cleisthenes.
 3. Third expedition of Cleomenes against Athens; dispute with Demaratus.
 4. Cleandrus tyrant at Gela, b. III. ch. 9. § 8.
League of Ægina and Thebes against Athens.
504. 69. *Ischomachus* for the second time.
1. Ionia revolts.
Overthrow of the Pythagorean league, b. III. ch. 9. § 15.
Cleinius tyrant of Croton. Dion. Hal. Exc. p. 2358. ed. Reiske.
500. 70. *Nicias of Opus*. Thersias the Thessalian the first conqueror with the ἀπὸν.
1. Pratinas of Phlius, a satyric poet at Athens.
 2. Death of Pythagoras, according to Eusebius. Cod. Arm.
 3. Conquest of Miletus (according to Petavius, Olymp. 71. 2.; according to Corsini), compare Thucyd. IV. 102. with Herod. V. 126.
Hippocrates tyrant of Gela, b. III. ch. 9. § 8.
 4. The Samians, at the invitation of Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium, conquer Zancle. Sythes of Zancle goes to Persia, and receives the sovereignty of Cos from the king, vol. I. p. 187. note ^a. b. III. ch. 9. § 2.
The Byzantians found Mesambria.^k
Lasus of Hermione flourishes as a lyric poet.
496. 71. *Tisicrates of Croton*. Pataecus of Dyme first con-
- ^k According to Herod. VI. 33. See b. I. ch. 6. § 9.

quers in the *καλπη*; the elder Empedocles, son of Exænetus of Agrigentum, *κέλητι*.

4. The Æginetans give earth and water to Darius.

* The Geomori expelled from Syracuse, b. III. ch. 9. § 7.

Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium, subdues Zancle, and changes its name to Messana.¹

492.72. *Tisicrates of Croton* for the second time.

1. * Hippocrates of Gela defeats the Syracusans on the river Helorus, and restores Camarina.

Cleomenes, king of Sparta, at Ægina.

Leotychidas king in the room of Demaratus; Cleomenes with him in Ægina a second time.

2. Gelon, tyrant of Gela.

Cleomenes banished from Sparta; returns, and dies raving mad; succeeded by Leonidas.

Demaratus goes, after the Gymnopædia, in the beginning of summer, to Persia.

War between Ægina and Athens.

3. Battle of Marathon.

The Spartans arrive at Athens on the 19th of Metageitnion (Carneius), immediately after the battle.

4. Panyasis of Rhodes, the epic poet. (Euseb.)¹¹

488.73. *Astylus of Croton*. Gelon victorious in the chariot race: Hieron *κέλητι*.

1. Theron tyrant of Agrigentum.

4. Gelon takes Syracuse, b. III. ch. 9. § 7.^m

¹ Perhaps in Olymp. 71. 3. in which case Diodorus XI. 48. has confounded Anaxilas' government of Messana with his government of Rhegium.

¹¹ The oration of the supposed Thessalus, in Epist. Hippocrat. p. 1294. ed. Foës. states, that "the king of Persia demanded earth and water (493 B. C.), which the Coans refused (contrary to Herod. VI. 49.); that upon this he gave the island of Cos to Artemisia to be wasted.

"Artemisia was shipwrecked, but afterwards conquered the island. During the first war (490 B. C.), Cadmus and Hippolochus governed the city; which the former quitted when Artemisia took the island."

^m The fall of this town was preceded by a great plague, according to Diomedes, p. 484. ed. Putsch, who mentions Hiero instead of Gelo. It is to this time that Corsini, Fast. Att. II. 1. p. 110, refers the elegy of Theognis to those who had escaped the

* Cadmus, son of Sythes, tyrant of Cos, returns to Messana, accompanied by Epicharmus.

Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis, takes Cos, and reigns at Halicarnassus, Nisyrus, and Calydna.ⁿ

Canachus, brass-founder of Sicyon, flourishes.

484.74. *Astylus as a Syracusan*.

1. Herodotus born, according to Pamphila.

Gelon destroys Camarina, Herod. VII. 156. Schol. Pind. Ol. V. 19.

2. Gelon conquers Megara, (vol. I. p. 135 note^r.) and strengthens Syracuse with the population of the ruined cities. On this occasion Epicharmus, who had formerly lived at Megara, appears to have come to Syracuse.

Theognis, the elegiac poet, still composes at an advanced age.

4. From the beginning of the year to summer, Xerxes' march from Sardis to Thermopylæ. Formation of a Grecian confederacy. Embassy of the Greeks to Gelon. (See Appendix IV.)

480.75. *Astylus as a Syracusan* for the second time.

1. Battle of Thermopylæ at the same time with the Olympic festival.

Pleistarchus the Agid, Cleombrotus his *πρόδικος*.

After the Carnean festival, the Spartans, with the rest of the Peloponnesians, encamp at the Isthmus.

Battle of Salamis on the 20th of Boëdromion.

Gelon and Theron defeat the Carthaginians on the Himéras.

Cleombrotus leads the army back from the Isthmus after the eclipse of the sun (2d Octob.), and dies not long after, Herod. IX. 10.

Pausanias succeeds as regent, and with Euryanax^o

siege of the Syracusans, mentioned in Suidas in *Θίγγη*. It appears probable that in the words *σις τοῖς σωθίνας τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ*, a slight transposition should be made, (viz. *ἐν τῇ τῶν Συρακουσίων πολιορκίᾳ*),

as at this time Syracuse was only the besieging and never the besieged party.

ⁿ B. IV. ch. 7. § 2.

^o Euryanax was the son of Doriaeus, according to Herod. IX. 10.

B.C. ol.

the Agid advances to meet Mardonius in the month Thargelion or Scirophorion.

2. Battles of Plataea and Mycale (in Metageitnion^p). Pausanias's Greek confederacy. Surrender of Thebes.

Chrysis priestess of Juno at Argos.

3. Hieron at Syracuse.

* Pausanias in the north of Greece.

4. Hieron defends Locri against Anaxilaus, b. IV. ch. 7. § 4.

Pausanias, on his return, brings the bones of Leonidas to Sparta.^q

Timocreon of Rhodes a lyric and comic poet.

476. 76. *Scamander of Mytilene*. Theron victorious in the chariot race.

1. Death of Anaxilaus. Pausanias commander of the Greeks in Cyprus.

3. Great victory of the Iapygians over Tarentum, b. III. ch. 9. § 15.

Victory of Hieron over the Etruscans at Cuma, and at the Pythian games in the chariot race.

* Pausanias takes Byzantium.

4. Death of Theron. Thrasydæus expelled from Syracuse, b. III. ch. 9. § 8.

472. 77. *Dates of Argos*. Hieron victorious κέλντι.

2. The population of Elis collected into one town. Diodor. XI. 54. Strabo VIII. 336. B. III. ch. 4. § 8.

The allies in Asia refuse to follow Pausanias, according to Dodwell's Ann. Thucyd.

3. Expedition of Leotychidas against the Aleuadæ. Dorcis commander of the Spartans in Asia. Assessment of Aristides.

But why was he not king before Leonidas, if Dorcius was the eldest son of Anaxandridas? Perhaps because a Heraclide who left his native country lost his right to the throne. Plut. Agesil. 11.

^p On the unfortunate skirmish of the Megarians and Phliasians with

the Theban cavalry (Herod. IX. 69.), see the splendid eulogium contained in the Megarian epigram. Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. N°. 1050. Mus. Crit. Cant. vol. II. p. 616.

^q In Pausan. III. 14. 1. I correct *τίσσεσσι* for *τίσσεσσι*, which I cannot reconcile with the time

B.C. ol.

4. Leotychidas goes into exile at Tegea, vol. I. p. 189. note ¹. p. 207. note ¹. Archidamus the Eurypontid.^r

The Spartans determine to send no more commanders into Asia. Pausanias goes in his own trireme to Byzantium, and there meditates treason. War in Peloponnesus between Sparta and the Arcadians.

Epicharmus the comic poet flourishes.

468. 78. *Parmenides of Poseidonia*. Hieron victorious in the chariot race.

* Pausanias dies in the temple of Minerva Chalciæcus.

Death of Hieron.

* Arcesilaus IV. of Cyrene conquers in the chariot race of Pytho.

Thrasybulus expelled from Syracuse. Democracy established there, b. III. ch. 9. § 7.

* The ἄγος Ταυάριον.^s

4. Earthquake at Sparta; revolt of the Messenian helots.

* Lygdamis, son of Pisindelis, uncle of Artemisia, tyrant of Halicarnassus, kills Panyasis. Herodotus leaves his native town.

Onatas, the head of the Æginetan school of sculpture, flourishes.

464. 79. *Xenophon of Corinth*. Diagoras of Rhodes in the boxing match.

1. Battle of Ithome, and siege of the fortress, to which the Spartans summon the allies.

The Argives destroy Mycenæ, and other adjacent places, b. I. ch. 8. § 7.

^r The statements of Diodorus XI. 48. on the length of both these princes' reigns are quite correct; but are inserted in a wrong place. According to Plutarch, Cimon. c. 6. the earthquake was in the 4th year of Archi-

damus (Olymp. 78. 3. 466 B. C.). Pausanias, IV. 24. 2. places it, pretty accurately, in the 79th Olympiad. Diodorus incorrectly in Olymp. 77. 4. the first year of Archidamus.

^s Vol. I. p. 208, note ¹.

B.C. ol.

Re-establishment of the ancient government in the towns of Sicily, b. III. ch. 9. § 7.

3. After the termination of the Thasian war (Thuc. I. 101. Plutarch Cimon. 14.) Cimon leads Athenian auxiliaries to Sparta; which however are soon dismissed; on which Athens dissolves the alliance with Sparta, and forms one with Argos.

4. The Geloans restore Camarina. (Diodorus.)

* Megara withdraws from the Peloponnesian alliance, and joins that of Athens.

Pleistarchus dies about this time. Pleistoanax the Agid; Nicomedes his *πρόδικος*.[†]

460. 80. *Torymbas the Thessalian*. Arcesilaus of Cyrene in the chariot race.

3. Sparta undertakes an expedition against Phocis in behalf of the Doric Tetrapolis.

In the spring, war of Athens with the maritime powers of Peloponnesus. Battles at Haliaë and Cecryphalea.

In Munychion. The Pythian games. Aristomenes of Ægina victorious.

Pindar's eighth Pythian ode may be referred to this time.

The Æginetans are defeated by the Athenians, and Ægina besieged.

The Peloponnesians attempt to relieve the island, and encounter the Athenians in the Megarid.

4. League of the Spartans on their return with Thebes.

Victory of the Spartans and Thebans over the Athenians and Argives at Tanagra.

Four months' truce between Sparta and Athens.

[†] Pleistarchus, according to Paus. III 5. 1., died a short time after he had become king, and therefore not much above the age of 30. His mother Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas,

was a girl of 8 or 9 years, when Aristagoras attempted to induce Sparta to join the Ionic revolt. Herod. V. 51.

B.C. ol.

Expedition of Myronides (sixty days after the battle of Tanagra) and victory at Coronea.

Ægina surrenders in the spring, after a siege of nine months.

The race of the princes of Cyrene becomes extinct after the 80th Olympiad, b. III. ch. 9. § 13.

456. 81. *Polymnastus of Cyrene*.

1. Expedition of Tolmides against the coasts of Peloponnesus.

2. Ithome surrenders; treaty between Sparta and the Arcadians; Messenians at Naupactus.

Proceedings of Pericles in the Crisæan gulph.

* 3. Petalismus established at Syracuse, b. III. ch. 9. § 7.

552. 82. *Lycus the Thessalian*.

Thirty years' truce between Sparta and Argos (Thuc. V. 14.); five years' truce with Athens.[†]

4. The Lacedæmonians restore the independence of Delphi; the Athenians again reduce it under the yoke of the Phocians.

448. 83. *Crison of Himera*.

3. The Megarians throw off their dependence upon Athens, and defeat the Athenians at Nisæa, b. III. ch. 9. § 10.^u Pleistonax invades Attica, but retreats without any reason.

The elder Andocides and nine other ambassadors from Athens at Sparta.

Thirty years' truce between Athens and Sparta in the winter of this year. Colony of the allied Greeks at Thurii.

4. Pleistonax leaves Sparta. He is succeeded by his son Pausanias, still an infant, and Cleomenes is appointed regent.

444. 84. *Crison* for the second time.

* The younger Empedocles, grandson of the elder,

[†] According to the calculation of Thucydides. See Corsini Fast. Att. II. 1. p. 207.

^u It is to this that the offerings of the Megarians are referred, mentioned in vol. I. p. 195, note k.

- and son of Meton, presides over the state of Agrigentum, b. III. ch. 9. § 8.
Lygdamis, tyrant of Halicarnassus, overthrown by Herodotus and the Samians, Suidas.
440. 85. *Crison* for the third time.
436. 86. Theopompus the Thessalian.
1. Epidamnus applies to Corinth for assistance against its banished citizens.
 2. The Corinthians defeated by the Corcyraeans.
 3. and 4. Preparations of Corinth. Defensive league of Corcyra with Athens.
 4. Cleandridas exiled from Sparta, founds Heraclea with Tarentines, b. III. ch. 10. § 11.
- Second sea-fight between Corinth and Corcyra.
Defection of Potidæa from the alliance of Athens.
432. 87. *Sophon of Ambracia*. Dorieus, son of Diagoras, victorious in the Pancration.
1. Ænesias Ephor Eponymus at Sparta, Sthenelaidas one of the others.
- Lacedæmon with its confederates determines upon war with Athens.
- In the beginning of the spring the Thebans attempt to surprise Plataea.
- The Peloponnesians before Cenoë.
- Brasidas Ephor. The Peloponnesians (in the middle of June) invade the territory of Eleusis and the Thriasian plain.

INDEX.

When the Roman numeral is omitted the first volume is meant.

- | | |
|--|--|
| ABDERA, 244 | Alcman, date of, ii. 328. ii. 380 |
| Abia, nurse of Glenus, 58 | Aletes, 94 |
| Acanthus of Lacedæmon, ii. 272 | ἀληθεία, 343 |
| Achæans, 12. retire to the coast of the Peloponnese and Attica, 71 | Aletiadæ, 9 |
| Achæan Phratia at Sparta, 52 | Aleuadæ, 121 |
| Achaia described, 80 | ἀλία, ii. 88 |
| Acosmia, ii. 136 | Almopia, 458. 469 |
| Acrisius, 397 | Alpenus, 42 |
| Acte, 90 | Alpheus, 74. 379 |
| Acyphas, 40. 43 | Althamenes, 98. |
| Admetus, 224. 327 | Altis, 271 |
| Adonis, 406 | Amazons, 390 |
| Æacidæ, 20 | Ambracia, constitution of, ii. 158 |
| Ægidæ, 102. 362 | Ambracian bay, 7 |
| Ægys, 104 | Ametor, ii. 381 |
| Ægimius of Hesiod, 31. ii. 12 | Amnisus, 227 |
| Ægina, constitution, ii. 150. | Amphanæa, 42 |
| money, ii. 222. character, ii. 412 | Amphicæa, 38 |
| Æginetan drachma, ii. 109. | Amphictyonic league, 279 |
| Ægoneia, 42 | Amphilochus, 125 |
| Æneas, 242. founder of Rome, 243 | Amphipolus, 394. ii. 166 |
| Ænians, 48. 278 | ἀμπίτταρες, ii. 35 |
| Æolis, ii. 65 | Amyclæ, 101 |
| Æpytus, 110, 111 | Anactorium, 130 |
| Æpytidæ, ib. | Anaphe, 116 |
| Æsculapius, 297. 328. 407. | Anaxilas, 164 |
| worship of, 114 | Andania, religious ceremonies of, restored by Epaminondas, 111 |
| Ætolians, 234. connected with the Eleans, 68 | Angites, 453 |
| Agæus, 90 | Antæus, 442 |
| Agrigentum, constitution of, ii. 168 | Anthes, 118 |
| ἀγρης, 5. ii. 301. | Antiphemus, 122 |
| Alcæus, 285 | Antiphus, 419 |
| Alceatis, 414 | Apaturia, festival of, 91 |
| | ἀπειναντισμός, 341 |
| | Aphamiotæ, ii. 51 |
| | Aphidnæ, 167. 431 |
| | Ἀπέλλων, 312 |
| | Aphrodite, 322. 405 |

- Apollo, etymology of the name, 311
 — ἀγνιεύς, 310. 363
 — ἀκήσιος, 307
 — ἀλεξίκακος, 307
 — ἀποτροπαῖος, 308
 — of Belvidere, 368
 — of Calamis, 366
 — of Canachus, *ibid.* ii. 383
 — Citharædus, 368
 — γενέτωρ, 302
 — δεκατηφόρος, 247
 — Delphinus, 227. 245
 — ἐλεεύς, 309
 — ἐπικούριος, 307
 — ἐρέσιος, 248
 — Erythibius, 238. 299
 — Gryneus, 247
 — ἱατρὸς, 308
 — Καρνείος, 360
 — Κισσεύς, 361
 — καταβασίος, 307
 — λεσχηνόριος, 263
 — λεπιτύμιος, 248
 — λοίμιος, 308
 — of the Lycæum, 368
 — Lycius, 240. 313
 — Malloeis, 248
 — ναπαῖος, *ibid.*
 — νεομήνιος, 299
 — Nomius, 295
 — of Onatas, 366
 — πασπάριος, 240
 — πατρῷος, 257. 263
 — Philesius, 245
 — προσάτης, 308
 — προστατήριος, *ibid.*
 — Pythæus, 93. 267
 — Σμίνθειος, 240. 298
 — Thyrsæus, 238
 Apollonia, 131. in Crete, 227.
 283. constitution of, ii. 160
 Apophthegms, ii. 386
 Arcadia, 75
 Arcadians, 197
 Architecture, Doric, style of, ii.
 269
 Areopagus, 340
 Ares, 406
 Arethusa, 380
 Argos, colonies, 112. constitu-
 tion, ii. 145. courts of justice,
 ii. 229. history, 169. 172.
 175. 190. 197. kings, ii. 111.
 slaves, ii. 54. tribes, ii. 76.
 character, ii. 407. dialect, ii.
 435, 436
 Ἀργεῖοι, a name of the Helots,
 ii. 43
 Argolis described, 78
 Argura, 26
 Arion, ii. 372. ii. 375
 Ariphron, ii. 378
 Aristæus, 295
 Aristæas, 290
 Aristocrates, 165
 Aristodemus, 99. ii. 443
 Aristomachus, 65
 Aristomenes, 157. 165. 168
 Artemia, 374. Ætolian, 374.
 Arcadian, 376. Attic, 383.
 Doric, 372. Ephesian, 389.
 Leucophrynè, 392. Orthia,
 383. ποταμία, 380. Pergæan,
 393. of Sipylus, 392.
 Asine, 46
 Asopus, 89
 Aspendus, 124
 Astæus, 133
 Asteria, 321
 Astypalæa, 116. ii. 177.
 Athamane, 7
 Athenè ὀπτιλέτις, 397. ὀξυδέ-
 ρης, *ibid.* ἀκρία, *ibid.*
 Atintanes, 457
 Atrax, 26. 29
 Attica, 256
 Axius, 451
 Azorum, 23. 25. 30
 Babyca, ii. 90
 Bacchiadæ, ii. 138. ii. 451
 Βαλλήν, 10
 Barnus, 453
 Baths of Lacedæmon, ii. 283
 Bermius, 453.
 Bessi, 10
 Bibasis, ii. 345
 Bidæi, ii. 131. ii. 228

- Bisaltia, 454
 Black broth of Sparta, ii. 285
 Blæsus, ii. 369
 Boeotia, 262
 Boeum, 39. 44
 Bottia, 455
 Βούαι, ii. 310
 Branchidæ, 246
 Brasidas, 218. ii. 406
 Brass, pound of, unit of the
 Italian money system, ii.
 224
 Bryallicha, ii. 346
 Brygians, 8. 481
 Buagi, ii. 131
 Bucolic poetry, ii. 350
 Busiris, 442
 Bulis, 49
 Byzantium, 133. 250. slaves,
 ii. 62. constitution, ii. 174.
 character, ii. 411. dialect, ii.
 437
 Cadmus, 255
 — of Cos, 187
 Cænidæ, 97
 Callicratidas, ii. 405
 Callisto, 377
 Calydna, 114. 116
 Camarina, 129
 κάναθρα, ii. 292
 Carmanor, 228. 234. 350
 Carnean games, list of con-
 querors at, 144
 Carnus, 66
 Carpathus, 116. 120
 Carphæa, 44
 Caryatides, ii. 348
 Carystus, 47
 Casmene, 129
 καστόριον, ii. 341
 Casus, 120
 Ceadas, 157
 Celts, 2
 Centaurs, 417
 Cephalus, 251
 Cephissus, 38
 Cercopes, 422. 447
 Ceronia, 139
 Ceyx, 59. 416
 Chalcedon, 133. 250
 Chalcidians, 278
 Chalcis in Ætolia, 130
 Chaonians, 6
 Charadra, 39
 Charinus, ii. 361
 Charites, 407
 Charondas, laws of, ii. 230.
 234. 241
 Χιτών, ii. 274. ii. 277
 Χλαῖνα, ii. 277
 Chlamys, 478
 Chones, 6
 Choral poetry, ii. 374
 Χωρίτης, ii. 22
 Chorus, ii. 262. 334
 Chronology and history, early
 materials for, 142
 Chryse, 386
 Chrysothemis, 228. 350. 355.
 ii. 379
 Cimon, treaty of, 205
 Cinadon, ii. 232
 Cinæthon, 156
 Cirrha, 272. 276
 Claros, 246
 κλεινός, ii. 302
 Cleisthenes of Sicyon, 178
 Cleobulus, ii. 378
 Cleodæus, 65
 Cleonæ, 79. 90
 Cleosthenes, 153. ii. 445
 κλήρος, ii. 32
 Clytiadæ, 272
 Cnacion, ii. 90
 Cnidos, 137. constitution of,
 ii. 177
 Cnosus, 493. ii. 137
 Comedy, ii. 354. introduction
 of at Athens, ii. 355
 — Sicilian, ii. 356
 Community of property in
 Sparta, ii. 197
 — of husbands, ii. 201
 Congress of the Greeks, 203
 Conquest of the Peloponnese,
 85
 Contoporia, 79
 Corcyra, 130

- Coreyra, Black, 138
 Corybas, 229
 Corinth, history, 94, 95. 181.
 colonies, 127. slaves, ii. 58.
 kings, ii. 112. courtesans, ii.
 300. character, ii. 408. pry-
 tanes, ii. 138. constitution, ii.
 150. ii. 155
 Cos, 114. 120
 Cosmus, ii. 2
 Craugallidæ, 47. 276
 Cresphontes, 70
 Crestonica, 454
 Crete, character, ii. 406. Cos-
 mi, ii. 134. Doric migration
 to, 34. later migrations, 36.
 education, ii. 311. gerusia,
 ii. 98. laws, ii. 237. music,
 ii. 333. princes, ii. 113. pub-
 lic assembly, ii. 92. slaves,
 ii. 50. dialect, ii. 436
 Crissa, or Cirrha, 230. 281
 Crissæans, 47
 Croesus, 347
 Crotona, 140. 281. 286. 439.
 constitution, ii. 184. cha-
 racter, ii. 413
 Cryassa, 116
 Cultivation, proofs of in the
 Peloponnese, 81. carried on
 by the conquered races, 83
 Curetes, 229
 Curium, 124
 Cyclopiæan hall, 87
 Cygnus, 225. 414
 Cynosura, ii. 48
 Cynuria, 171. 174. 190
 Cyphus, 28. 31
 Cypselus, 97. 181
 Cyrene, 136. 283. constitution,
 ii. 178. ephors, ii. 114. tribes,
 62. character, 412. dialect,
 438
 Cytinium, 40. 44
 Damastes, 291
 Δαμοσία, ii. 251
 Daphne, 302
 Daphnephorus, 223
 Decelea, 431
 Deianira, 68. 416
 Δεικηλίκται, ii. 348
 Deimalea, ii. 348
 Deipnias, 224
 Deiphontes, 90. 119
 Delians, 207
 Delos, 229. 287. 320. 343
 Delphi, temple of, 225. 231
 constitution, ii. 274. 372
 188. kings, ii. 114. ii. 138
 laws, ii. 237. character, ii.
 414. dialect, ii. 439
 Delphine, 324
 Delphinia, 262
 Demeter, 398. Cabirian worship
 of at Andania, 111. Syra-
 cusan, 401. Triopian, 115.
 Χθονία, 402. worship of, ii.
 339
 Demiurgi, ii. 144
 Democracy, ii. 9
 Δημος, ii. 8
 Dercylidas, ii. 405
 Deucalion, 20
 Deuriopus, 459
 Dexamenus, 417
 Diagoridæ, 119
 Dionysus, 403
 Dioscuri, tombs of, 103. 408
 Dipæa, battle of, 207
 Dipodia, ii. 345
 Dirges, 354
 Dithyramb, 405
 Dium, 24
 Doberus, 460
 Dodona, 6. 28
 δόκανα, 408
 Doliche, 23. 25
 Dorians, migration of to dif-
 ferent parts of the north of
 Greece, 36. to the Pelopon-
 nese, 58. to Crete, 34. 493.
 probable number at the in-
 vasion, 84. jocularity of, ii.
 370
 Doric constitution, ii. 11. epic
 poets, ii. 378. dialect, 417
 Doridas, 96
 Dorieus, 141. ii. 151

- Doris, or Doric Tetrapolis, 38.
 43
 Dorium, 43
 Dorus, 43. 490
 Dowry of Spartan women, ii.
 204
 Drymea, 38
 Dryope, 44
 Dryopians, 45. 93
 Dymanes, ii. 76
 Ἐβδόμοι, 338
 Echemus, 63
 Edessa, 479
 Edonians, 465
 Ἐλως, derivation of, ii. 30
 Eilythia, 262
 Eion, 46
 εἰσπνήλας, ii. 300
 ἐκκλητοί, 201
 Eleusinia, 402
 Eleutherolacones, ii. 19
 Elis, hollow, 80. 202. pericæci
 of, ii. 57. ii. 74. gerusia of,
 ii. 99
 Ἐλωδες, 319
 Elymea, 457
 Elyrus, 228
 Emathia, 473. 479
 Ἐμβατήριον, ii. 342
 Empelori, ii. 131
 Ἐμφρουρος, ii. 243
 Encheleans, 7. 37
 ἐνιαυτός, 329. 341. 429
 ἐνναετηρίς, 261. 337. 429. ii.
 103
 Enomoty, ii. 245
 Ἡοῖαι of Hesiod, 58. 491
 Eordians, 459. 468. 482
 ἐπεισνακταί, ii. 44
 Ephetae, 340
 Ephors, ii. 114
 Ephyra, when changed to Co-
 rinth, 96. in Thesprotia, 96.
 121. 417. 419
 Epicharmus, ii. 356. ii. 358.
 360—363
 Epidamnus, 131. ii. 217. con-
 stitution of, ii. 159
 Epidaurus, 79. 91. constitution
 of, ii. 149. kings of, ii. 113.
 slaves of, ii. 57
 Epidemiurgi of Corinth, ii.
 144
 Epigenes of Sicyon, ii. 371
 Epimenides, 355. ii. 394
 Epirus, 6. 477.
 Epitadeus, law of, ii. 202
 Equals, ὅμοιοι, ii. 84
 Eratidæ, 113
 Erigon, 451
 Erineus, 40. 43
 Eros, 407
 ἐρυκτήρ, ii. 35. 43
 Erysichthon, 400
 Erytheia, 420
 ἐστιοπάμων, ii. 199
 Euæchme, 58
 Eumelus, 129. 156
 Eurotas, 76. 81. plain of, 76
 Euryanax, ii. 461
 Eurysthenes and Procles, 100.
 107. 144
 Eurystheus, 59. tomb of, 61
 Eurytus, 411.
 Expiations, 332. 342
 Families, preservation of, in
 Sparta, ii. 198
 Fate, 330. 345
 Flute, 351
 Gagæ, 122
 Gargettus, 60
 Gela, 122. ii. 168
 Geography of the Peloponnese,
 73
 Geomori of Samos, ii. 7
 Γέρανος, 358
 Gergis, 242
 Gerusia in Doric states, ii. 93.
 ii. 156. ii. 228
 Geryoneus, 420
 Glaucus, 111
 Goat, a symbol of Apollo, 325
 Gomphi, 27
 Gonnocondylum, 22
 Gonnus, 22, 23
 Gortyna, 136. 227
 Government, ancient notion of,
 ii. 1

- Gryneum, 280
 Gylippus, 218
 Gymnastic exercises, ii. 313
 Gymnesii, 191. ii. 54
 Hair, Spartan mode of wearing the, ii. 281
 Haliacmon, 452
 Halicarnassus, 115. by whom colonized, 115. 118
 Harma, 259
 Harmosyni, ii. 131
 Hecataeus of Abdera, 293
 Hecatus, 268
 Heiresses, Athenian and Spartan laws respecting, ii. 205
 Helice, 71
 Hellen, 20. 490
 Hellenes, 11. 20. 471
 Helos, 100
 Helots, ii. 29. dress of, ii. 37. indecent dances of, ii. 39. military service of, ii. 34. number of, ii. 44. rent of, ii. 31. treatment of, ii. 43
 Hephaestus, 406
 Heraclea on the Pontus, 49. 140. constitution, ii. 176. public offices, ii. 120. slaves, ii. 62
 ——— Sciritis, constitution, ii. 183. ephors, ii. 115. dialect, ii. 438
 Heraclidæ, whether Dorians or not, 54. defeated at Tegea, 63. their final expedition, 65. ii. 443
 Hercules, account of in Homer, 51. ἀλεξίκακος, 445. costume, 434. ἱποκτόνος, 445. κορυοπίων, ibid. labours, 433. fabulous right to the Peloponnese, 51. 275. 410. purification of, 436. Sardon, 440. servitude of, 414. 429. subdues the Dryopians, 46
 Here, 395
 Hermes, 307. 311
 Hermione, 46. 193. dialect, ii. 437
 Herodotus, ii. 385
 Heroic age, constitution of, ii. 6
 Hexapolis, Doric, 115
 Hieromnamon, ii. 173
 Hierapytna, 398
 ἱεροτραγῳδία, ii. 368
 ἱμάτιον, ii. 274
 Himera, 129
 Hippodamus of Miletus, ii. 266
 Hippotes, 66. 94
 Historians, Doric, ii. 385
 Homer, dialect of, ii. 378
 ὁμόκαποι, ii. 199
 ὁμοσίπνοι, ibid.
 Horæo-castro, 22
 Horus, 300
 Hyacinthus, worship of, 139. 360
 Hyamia, 163
 Hybla, 135
 Hydra of Lerna, 434
 Hylas, 361. 441
 Hylleas, 13. 53. ii. 76
 Hyllus, 53. 59. at Thebes, 62. slain by Echemus, 63. 413
 Hyperboreans, 230. 262. 271. 284. 298. 323. 329. 337. 373
 Hyporchema, 357. ii. 337
 Iambists, choruses of, ii. 339
 Iamidæ, 128. 272. 380
 Iasians, 118
 Ichnæ, 455
 Ἴλη, ii. 310
 Illyrian Athamaneæ, 48
 Illyrians, 471
 Inachus, 79
 Inalienability of land, ii. 208
 Inferiors, ὑπομείονες, ii. 84
 Iolaus, 57
 Ion, 258. 264. of Euripides, 265
 Ione, 124
 Ionians, 256. degeneracy of, ii. 5
 Iphigenia, 383
 Iphitus, 153. 155. 270. 413. quoit of, 143
 Ἴρη, ii. 309

- Ismenium, 254
 Isthmius, 111
 Ithome, siege of, 209
 κανσία, 4. 479
 κατωνάκη, ii. 38
 κηληδόνες, 350. 365
 κιθάρα, 349
 Κόλη Λακεδαιμῶν, explained, 76. 104
 κονίποδες, ii. 57
 κορυθάλεια, 343
 κορυνηφόροι, ii. 54
 κρεμβαλιαστὺς, 358
 κρυπτεία, ii. 240
 κυθηροδίκης, ii. 27
 Κυλλήριοι, ii. 61. 161
 κυνέη, 478
 Laciis, 125
 Lacmon, 452
 Laconia, 75. divided into six provinces, 106. domestic economy, ii. 213. money, ii. 214. dialect, ii. 434
 Laomedon, 241
 Lapathus, 24. 139
 Lapithæ, 29
 Larissa, 22. 25. Phriconis, 42
 Lasus, ii. 378
 Latin language, 17
 Laurel, 343
 Λεχέρνα, 396
 Leogoras, 275.
 Lepreum, 202
 Lesche, ii. 396
 Letters, considered as Phœnician symbols, 143
 Leucadia, constitution, ii. 159
 Leucatas, 251
 Lichas, ii. 406
 Lilæa, 39. 44
 Limnæ, ii. 48
 Linus, 353. 427
 Lipara, 137
 Lochus, ii. 246
 Locri, 140. ii. 238
 Logographi, 56
 Λόμβαι, 382
 Long walls, 215
 Leucæ, 247
 Lycia, 236
 Lycorea, 49. 233
 Lyctus, 227
 Lycurgus, 146. 152. 270. ii. 12
 Lydia, kings of, 441
 Lydias or Ludias, 451
 Lyncestis, 458
 Lyre, ii. 377
 Lysander, ii. 219. 404
 Macaria, 60. valley of, 78
 Macedon, 172
 Macedonians, 2. their dialect, 3. 485. not Dorians, 37. but Illyrians, 479. their customs, 482. religion, 483
 Macedonis, 455
 Maceta, 474
 Magnesians, 276
 Malians, 47
 Mallus, 124. 126
 Mantinea, battle of, ii. 244
 Manufactures of Laconia, ii. 25
 Marsyas, 351
 Medea, 396
 Megara, 97. one of five hamlets, 99. colonies, 132. comedy, ii. 354. comic poets, ibid. constitution, ii. 171. history, 186. 194. 212. 249. kings, ii. 113. dialect, ii. 437
 Melampodidæ, 272
 Melcart, 443
 Melia, 79
 Melos, 136. constitution of, ii. 178
 Mesambria, 134
 Mesoa, ii. 48
 Messenia divided into six provinces, 106. history, 108. kings, ii. 113. character, ii. 413. dialect, ii. 435
 Messenian wars, 156. third war, 208
 Messenians, 209
 Metapontum, 281. 286

- Meteora, 26
 Miletus, 244
 Military games, ii. 313. at
 Crete, ii. 320
 Minos, 35
 Minyans, 12
 Μνολα, ii. 51
 Molycreium, 127
 Mora, ii. 248
 Mopsium, 25
 Mopsuestia, 124. 126
 Mopsuerene, 124. 126
 Mopsus, 125
 μολάκες, ii. 43
 Music, Doric, ii. 323
 Musical contests, ii. 338
 Mycenæ, 79
 Myceneans, 192
 Mygdonia, 454
 Mygdonians, 8
 Mylasa, 116
 Myndus, *ibid.*
 Myron, 154. 178
 Myscellus, 140
 Myson, ii. 26
 Narcissus, 353
 Naupactia, 156
 Naupactus, 65
 Nemea, 79. 433. lion, *ibid.*
 νεοδαμώδεις, ii. 43
 νεολαία, ii. 307
 Nisyrus, 120
 Nome, ii. 337
 Nomophylaces, ii. 131
 Nomus, 355
 Νόμος, *numus*, ii. 224
 Noricum, 117. 138
 Oba, ii. 78. 249
 Œchalia, 28. taking of, 411.
 situation, 412
 Œnōe, 258
 Œnophyta, battle of, 211
 Œta, mount, 41
 Œtæans, 48
 Olen, ii. 379
 Olympic games, list of victors
 at, 143. 270. 436. ii. 315
 Ὀπρις, 373
 Orestæ, 458
 Orneatæ, 92. 176. ii. 55
 ὄροι, 150
 Orsippus of Megara, ii. 272
 Oxyllus, 68. 71
 Pæan, the god, 308
 — the song, 309. 325. 370
 Pæonia, 459
 Pæonians, 471, 472
 Pagasæ, 224
 παιδεραστία, ii. 300. of Crete,
 ii. 302. of Sparta, ii. 300
 παιδόνομος, ii. 310
 Palm tree of Delos, 303. 322
 Pamphyli, ii. 76
 Pantaleon, 165
 Panthus, 241
 Parauæa, 457
 Παρθενίαι, ii. 294
 Paroria, 457
 Patara, 237
 Patronomi, ii. 132
 Pausanias, 204. 489
 Pedaritus, ii. 406
 Pelagonia, 460
 Pelagonian Tripolis, 25
 Pelasgi, 6. 7. 15. 36. 220
 Pelinna, 26, 27
 Pella, 452. 455
 Peloponnese, division of, 70
 Peloponnesian league, 196
 Peloria, festival of, 27
 Perinthus, 135
 Penestæ, ii. 65
 Penthelidæ, 72
 Perdiccas, 463
 Periander, 182. ii. 158. ii. 222.
 ii. 276
 Pericæci of Laconia, ii. 18
 περφόρεις, 288
 Persian war, 497
 Petalism, ii. 163
 πέτασος, 478
 Petra, 24
 Phaëthon, 301
 Phæstus, 89. 227
 Phalanna, 25
 Phalanthus, 139
 Phalces, 89
 Phallophori, 404. ii. 352

- Pharcedon, 26
 Pharis, 104
 Phaselis, 122
 φειδίτια, ii. 288
 Pheidon, 172. 464
 Phidippus, 120. 419
 Philammon, 356. ii. 377
 Phlegyans, 234
 Phlegyas, 234. 297
 Phlius, 79. 89. constitution of,
 ii. 170. its satiric drama, ii.
 373. character, ii. 410
 Phocis, plain of, 38
 Phœbus, 312
 φοιβάζειν, *ibid.*
 Phormis, ii. 357
 φούαξις, 384. ii. 326. 491
 Phricium, 422
 Phrygians, 8. 480. their lan-
 guage, 9
 Phthiotis, 20. 490
 Πίτανα, ii. 48
 Plautus, ii. 362
 πόλις, ii. 71
 Polybœa, 361
 Polycæon son of Butes, 58
 Polycrates, 189
 Polydorus, ii. 449
 πόρπαξ, ii. 256
 Poseidon, 258. 402
 Potidæa, 132
 Pratinas of Phlius, ii. 373
 Praxilla, 405
 Priestesses of Here at Argos,
 catalogue of, 144
 πρόβουλοι, 206
 Procles, 186
 Procris, 251
 προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, ii. 147
 Prytanes of Lacedæmon, 145.
 of Athens, ii. 140
 Psammetichus, 185
 Purification, 264. 370
 Pydna, 456
 Pylæa, ii. 396
 Pylas, Nelean, 104 Nestorian,
 82. 435. Triphylian, 81
 Pyrrhic dance, ii. 342
 Pythagoras, league of, ii. 182.
 ii. 316. ii. 393. philosophy
 of, ii. 186. government of, ii.
 184. 193
 Pythiad, ii. 454
 Pythian strain, 325
 Pythians, ii. 15
 Pythium, 24. 258
 Registers, public, of Lacedæ-
 mon, 144
 Rents of the Helots, ii. 31
 Rhacius, 247
 Rhadamanthus, 427
 Rhegium, 164. 278
 Rhetoric of Sparta, ii. 386
 Rhetra, 148. of Agis, ii. 47. of
 Lycurgus, ii. 86. of Theo-
 pompus and Polydorus, ii.
 87. 118
 Rhianus, 158
 Rhinthon, ii. 368
 Rhipæan mountains, 291
 Rhodes, colonies, 122. consti-
 tution, ii. 151. Prytanes of,
 ii. 139. character, ii. 408.
 dialect, ii. 437
 Rhodia, 126
 Rhoduntia, 42
 Riddles, ii. 392
 Sacadas of Argos, ii. 328. 338
 Sacred road of Apollo, 223
 Sacred slaves, 274. 392. 405
 Sagalassus, 139
 Salamis, 194
 Sarpedon, 237
 Sciras, ii. 369
 Sciritæ, ii. 253
 Sculpture, Doric, ii. 362
 Scythians, 288
 Selge, 138
 Selinus, 136. 406
 Selymbria, 134
 Sibyls, ii. 346
 Sicyon, constitution, ii. 169.
 history, 177. music, ii. 330.
 tribes, ii. 58. slaves, ii. 583
 character, ii. 410
 σιδεῖναι, ii. 309
 σκνταλισμός, ii. 149
 Slavery, kinds of, ii. 36

- Socrates the poet, ii. 335
 Soli, 122. 125
 Solium, 130
 Solygius, hill of, 95
 Sopatrus, ii. 369
 Sophron, mimes of, ii. 364-7
 Sous, 108. 147
 Sovereignty, Doric, ii. 100
 Sparta, once an inconsiderable town, 102. colonies, 136. courts of justice, ii. 228. education, ii. 307. ephors, ii. 114. gerusia, ii. 94. ii. 236. infantry, ii. 253. kings, ii. 100. succession, ii. 105. king's house, ii. 266. military system, ii. 242. marriage, ii. 292. public assembly, ii. 88. stealing, ii. 319. taxes, ii. 221
 Spartans number of, ii. 203. character of, ii. 402
 Spartan brevity of speech, ii. 387
σφαυρεῖς, ii. 309
Στεμματιαῖα, festival of, 66
 Stenyclarus, battle of, 208
 Stesichorus, ii. 375
 Strymon, 453
 Stymphæa, 457
 Styra, 47
 Subject classes, dress of, ii. 73
 Syme, 137
 Synedrion, during the Persian war, 498
 Synnada, 117
 Syracuse, 128. 380. character, ii. 409. constitution, ii. 161. slaves, ii. 61. date of foundation, ii. 447
 Syssitia of Sparta, ii. 210. ii. 283. of Crete, ii. 211. ii. 286
 Tænarum, 248
 Taleclus, 101
 Talthybiadæ, ii. 28
 Tarentum, 139. 164. 439. constitution, ii. 181. princes, ii. 113. character, ii. 413. dialect, ii. 438
 Tarrha, 228
 Tarsus, 124
 Tauria, 386
 Taygetus, mount, 77
 Tegea, 207. 269
 Tegyra, 254
 Teichius, 42
 Telesilla, 381. ii. 377
 Telliadæ, 272
 Temenus, 88
 Temenidæ, 463
 Tempe, 21. 30. 222. 290
 Tenea, 239
 Tenedos, *ibid.*
 Tenure of land in Laconia, ii. 196
 Terpander, ii. 376
 Tetrapolis, why spared by the Spartans, 61. 430
 Teucrians, 11
 Teutamus, 35
 Thaletas, 350. 359. ii. 14. ii. 328
 Thapsus, 136
 Theagenes, 92
Θεαροδοκία, 280
 Thebes, 254
 Themistocles, 206
 Theoclus, 157
 Theopompus, 162. ii. 448
 Thera, 136. ephors, ii. 115
 Therapne, 103
Θεράπων, ii. 35
 Theseus, 229. 257. 262. 263
 Thessalians, 4. ii. 64
 Thirty tyrants of Athens, ii. 98
 Thoricus, 250
 Thrace, 244
 Thracians, 10. 470. 484
 Tilphossa, 253
 Timocracy, ii. 8
 Timotheus, Spartan decree concerning, ii. 330
 Tiresias, 255. 343
 Tiryns, 192
 Tisamenus, 69
 Titacidæ, 431
 Tityrus, ii. 351
 Tityus, 254. 329

- Tlepolemus, 119, 120
 Tolmides, 212
 Trachis, 42
 Tragedy, 404. ii. 371
 Treasury of Atreus, ii. 267
 Triacon, 91
 Tricca, 26
τριχάϊκες, 33, 34
τριόφθαλμος, oracle respecting, 68
 Triopian promontory, 115
 Triopium, 279
 Tripod, robbery of by Hercules, 426
 Tripolis and Tetrapolis, Doric, 43
 Træzen, 91. 118. 248
 Trogilus, 136
τύρβη, 404
 Tyndaridæ, 431
 Typhaon, 320
 Tyrtæus, 156. 160. 164. 166. ii. 15. 198
 Vases, illustrating ancient comedies, ii. 359—361
 Vejovis, 307
 Ver sacrum, 276
 War, how carried on by the Dorians in the conquest of the Peloponnese, 85
 Wise men of Greece, ii. 39
 Wolf, symbol of Apollo, 264. 314
 Writing, art of, when introduced into Greece, 143
 Xanthus, 237. 313
 Xenelasia, ii. 4
 Xenodamus, 359
 Xerxes, 300
 Xuthus, 258
 Zaleucus, laws of, ii. 227. ii. 231. ii. 236. ii. 239
 Zeus, of the Dorians, 318. 394

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

VOL. I.

P. 79. l. 18. In the explanation of *Melia*, the ash has been confounded with the alder. It seems that the ash, which probably reached a greater height than any other tree in Greece, is used in this genealogy, as in Hesiod Theog. 187, for the force of vegetation generally.

P. 80. l. 11. It may be objected that the countries in which commerce and manufactures have flourished most, have not possessed mines of the precious metals. This remark is true of modern Europe; but in Greece the copper of Chalcis appears to be connected with the Chalcidean trade and colonies, and the gold of Thasos with the maritime pursuits of the Thasians and their large navy before the time of Cimon. The silver of Laurion likewise contributed to the industry and foreign commerce of Attica. The prosperity of the maritime cities of Asia Minor was at least assisted by the gold mines in Lydia; as may be seen in the very ancient golden staters (partly made of electron, which according to Soph. Ant. 1025 came from Sardis) of Phocæa, Lampsacus, Clazomenæ, &c.

P. 82. l. 2. It now appears to me that Leake, *Morea*, vol. III. ch. 30. is right in considering the *Contoporia* as a footpath over the hills, which required the use of long sticks or poles. The road in the valley between the rocks bore the name of *Tretos*.

P. 127. l. 25. *for all its colonies read all its early colonies.*

P. 209. notes, col. 2. l. 10. *for Platæon read Platean.*

P. 212. notes, col. 2. l. 10. *for εἰρήνης, read εἰρήνης.*

P. 252. note¹ add—The emendation of Dobree, *Adv.* vol. I. p. 599. of *ἐπαστὰς* for *ἱερεῖς* is not needed, since it is proved that the leap from the Leucadian rock was originally a religious rite.

P. 384. note^c add—The identification of Artemis with the moon is earlier than that of Apollo with the sun (B. II. ch. 5. § 5.) The former occurs not only in *Æschyl.* Xant. fr. 158. ed. Dindorf, but is also manifest in the worship of the Munychian and Brauronian Artemis. The name *Αἰθονία* designates her shining countenance or orb; and a cake surrounded with lights, called for

that reason ἀμφιφῶν or ἀμφιφῶς, was offered to the goddess on the 16th of Munychion, because the moon was full on that day. See Callim. fr. 417. ed. Benti. Eratosth. ap. Steph. Byz. in Αἰθοπία, Hesych. in Αἰθιοπαῖδα, Apollod. fr. p. 402. Heyne.

P. 390. note ^r add—I cannot approve of Lobeck's emendation of Ἑρμῆς for Ἡρακλῆς in Etymol. Mag. et Gud. in κηρυκεῖον (Aglaoph. vol. II. p. 1166); since the mythical system there alluded to is very different from that of the ordinary Greek mythology.

P. 475. note ^o. In the passage of Constantinus, read καὶ τὴν Ὀρέστειαν δὲ. Ὀρέστεια is used by Appian, quoted in the following note.

VOL. II.

P. 5. notes col. 1. 1 8. after the parenthesis add: with Cimon (Plut. Cim. 14.)

P. 8. note ^p for Zeeob read Zenob.

P. 131. l. 15. It does not appear that the Spartan nomophylaces were guardians of *written* laws. The Athenian and Olympian nomophylaces were not obviously connected with the written legislation. By nomophylaces in Greece were generally understood *guardians of manners*. See p. 240. note ^a.

P. 132. l. 7. for nomophylaces read nomothetae.

Directions to the Binder.

The map of Northern Greece to face the title-page of vol. I.

The map of Macedonia to face vol. I. p. 488.

The map of the Peloponnese to face the title-page of vol. II.

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